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Mr. Dalton

STATE CAPITOL

HISTORY
OF
SOUTH CAROLINA

EDITED BY
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In collaboration with
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General Historian

*and on Editorial Advisory Board including
Special Contributors*

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History of South Carolina

CHAPTER XXXVIII

STATE VS. FEDERAL AUTHORITY

The chief home issue of the campaign in 1830 for the election of members of the Legislature and governor, as well as an intendant of Charleston and a representative to Congress from that district, was whether a convention should be called to give voice to the predominance of public opinion on the tariff and the most effective way to prevent its enforcement in South Carolina. As a rule, those who were against nullification which took the form of physical resistance to the general government, were also opposed to calling a convention, fearing that the rising tide of public indignation against the operation of the American System would sweep all before it in such a gathering, and force such a radical expression of sentiments as to take the form of a revolution against the general government and a distinct threat to the Union. In fact, though the rule was not unanimous, the Unionists were generally arrayed against a convention and the State Rights leader favored it. Like General Williams, the Unionists thought the tariff the acme of oppression for the South, but thought best to suffer its inequalities, while persistently laboring to repeal or modify them, rather than to threaten the very life of the Union by a resort to arms and civil warfare.

The majority of the up-country people, swayed ever more and more by the logic and personality of Calhoun, were advocates of extreme State Rights. There were noteworthy exceptions to the rule, the most conspicuous being Benjamin Franklin Perry, the eloquent and scholarly young lawyer, who, in January, 1830, had established the Greenville Mountaineer. Wherein he "professed to feel certain that the leaders and advocates of Nullification did not apprehend the dangers which he foresaw would result from those doctrines," although he did not impugn the motives of such men as John C. Calhoun, Robert Y. Hayne, George McDuffie and James Hamilton, Jr.

DIVIDED ON "CONVENTION" OR "NO CONVENTION"

On the 20th of September, a State Rights meeting, promoted by advocates of the convention and fairly representative of citizens from the interior of the State, was held in Columbia.* The great majority of these not only favored a convention, but openly declared for State action, immediate and decisive, though Judge Langdon Cheves demanded instead a program of co-operation with the rest of the South—a program which twenty years later became the platform of the controlling party in the State. Judge J. P. Richardson also spoke

* Dr. Chauncey S. Boucher's "Nullification Controversy in South Carolina."

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The address of George McDuffie, "the political economist of the Slave-labor System," to the people of the other states pursued much the same lines as the other addresses. He gave warning to the General Government that if South Carolina were driven out of the Union, all the other planting states and some of the Western states would follow, for they would not continue to pay to the North, for the privilege of being united with the North, a tribute of 50 per cent on their consumption, when they could receive all their supplies duty-free through the ports of South Carolina. The address closed by * disclaiming the slightest apprehension that the General Government would attempt the use of force, but announced that, if it did, South Carolina would be "the cemetery of freemen rather than the habitation of slaves."

The proceedings of the convention were conducted with great solemnity, and there seemed to be very little excitement among the members of either party. The Union delegates silently voted against the report, ordinance and addresses; the State Rights delegates adopted the measures unhesitatingly, confident that they were doing the bidding of the people as expressed by their election.

The convention was generally composed of men who had advanced to middle life or beyond it. There were but few young men, probably not one under twenty-five and very few under thirty. Seven of them had served in the Revolutionary war and six of them were afterward to sign South Carolina's Ordinance of Secession. The wealth of the State was well represented. Of talent no one could deny that the convention could boast of a large share, for the papers adopted by the convention were pronounced, even by men of the opposition, as among the most able they had ever read.

After deliberating and arguing and listening to the addresses of the State Rights leaders named by the convention to present the Nullification doctrine to the people of South Carolina and other states of the Union for five days, the ordinance drawn by William Harper, long chancellor of the State, then a justice of the Court of Appeals, and one of the ablest lawyers and jurists of the South, was unanimously adopted by the State Rights delegates. It was a condensation of all the logic, the learning and fire, which had characterized the speeches and formal addresses presented to the convention, and is a document of such historic value and significance that it is given verbatim, with the names of the signers—138 in number.

TEXT OF NULLIFICATION ORDINANCE

An Ordinance,

To Nullify certain Acts of the Congress of the United States, purporting to be Laws, laying Duties and Imposts on the Importation of Foreign Commodities.

Whereas, the Congress of the United States, by various acts, purporting to be acts laying duties and imposts on foreign imports, but in reality intended for the protection of domestic manufactures and the giving of bounties to classes and individuals engaged in particular employments, at the expense and to the injury and oppression of other classes and individuals, and by wholly exempting from taxation, certain foreign commodities, such as are not produced or manufactured in the United States, to afford a pretext for imposing higher and excessive duties on articles similar to those intended to be pro-

* Boucher: "Nullification Controversy in South Carolina."

tected, hath exceeded its just powers under the Constitution, which confers on it no authority to afford such protection, and hath violated the true meaning and intent of the Constitution, which provides for equality in imposing the burdens of taxation upon the several States and portions of the Confederacy; And,

Whereas, the said Congress, exceeding its just power to impose taxes and collect revenue for the purpose of effecting and accomplishing the specific objects and purposes which the Constitution of the United States authorizes it to effect and accomplish, hath raised and collected unnecessary revenue for objects unauthorized by the Constitution;

We therefore, the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do Declare and Ordain and it is hereby Declared and Ordained, That the several acts and parts of acts of the Congress of the United States, purporting to be laws for the imposing of duties and imposts on the importation of foreign commodities, and now having actual operation and effect within the United States, and more especially an act entitled "an act in alteration of the several acts imposing duties on imports," approved on the nineteenth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight, and also an act entitled "an act to alter and amend the several acts imposing duties on imports," approved on the fourteenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, are unauthorized by the Constitution of the United States, and violate the true meaning and intent thereof, and are null, void, and no law, nor binding upon this State, its officers, or citizens; and all promises, contracts and obligations, made or entered into, or to be made or entered into, with purpose to secure the duties imposed by said acts, and all judicial proceedings which shall be hereafter had in affirmance thereof, are, and shall be, held utterly null and void:

And it is further Ordained, That it shall not be lawful for any of the constituted authorities, whether of this State, or of the United States, to enforce the payment of duties imposed by the said acts, within the limits of this State; but it shall be the duty of the Legislature to adopt such measures and pass such acts as may be necessary to give full effect to this Ordinance, and to prevent the enforcement and arrest the operation of the said acts and parts of acts of the Congress of the United States, within the limits of this State, from and after the first day of February, next; and the duty of all other constituted authorities, and of all persons residing or being within the limits of this State, and they are hereby required and enjoined, to obey and give effect to this Ordinance, and such acts and measures of the Legislature as may be passed or adopted in obedience thereto:

And it is further Ordained, That in no case of law or equity, decided in the courts of this State, wherein shall be drawn in question the authority of this Ordinance, or the validity of such act or acts of the Legislature as may be passed for the purpose of giving effect thereto, or the validity of the aforesaid acts of Congress, imposing duties, shall any appeal be taken or allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States, nor shall any copy of the record be permitted or allowed for that purpose; and if any such appeal shall be attempted to be taken, the Courts of this State shall proceed to execute and enforce their judgments, according to the laws and usages of the State, without reference to such attempted appeal, and the person or persons attempting to take such appeal may be dealt with as for a contempt of the Court.

And it is further Ordained, That all persons now holding any

office of honor, profit or trust, civil or military, under this State (members of the Legislature excepted) shall, within such time and in such manner as the Legislature shall prescribe, take an oath, well and truly to obey, execute and enforce this Ordinance, and such act or acts of the Legislature, as may be passed in pursuance thereof, according to the true intent and meaning of the same; and on the neglect or omission of any such person or persons so to do, his or their office or offices, shall be forthwith vacated, and shall be filled up, as if such person or persons were dead or had resigned, and no person hereafter elected to any office of honor, profit or trust, civil or military, (members of the Legislature excepted) shall, until the Legislature shall otherwise provide and direct, enter on the execution of his office, or be in any respect competent to discharge the duties thereof, until he shall, in like manner, have taken a similar oath, and no juror shall be impanelled in any of the Courts of this State, in any cause in which shall be in question this Ordinance, or any act of the Legislature passed in pursuance thereof, unless he shall first, in addition to the usual oath, have taken an oath, that he will well and truly obey, execute, and enforce this Ordinance, and such act or acts of the Legislature, as may be passed to carry the same into operation and effect, according to the true intent and meaning thereof:

And, we, the People of South Carolina, to the end, that it may be fully understood by the Government of the United States, and the People of the co-States, that we are determined to maintain this, our Ordinance and Declaration, at every hazard, Do further Declare, that we will not submit to the application of force on the part of the Federal Government to reduce this State to obedience; but that we will consider the passage by Congress of any act authorizing the employment of a military or naval force against the State of South Carolina, her constituted authorities or citizens, or any act abolishing or closing the ports of this State, or any of them, or otherwise obstructing the free ingress and egress of vessels to and from the said ports, or any other act on the part of the Federal Government to coerce the State, shut up her ports, destroy or harass her commerce, or to enforce the acts hereby declared to be null and void, otherwise than through the civil tribunals of the country, as inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union; and that the People of this State will thenceforth hold themselves absolved from all further obligation to maintain or preserve their political connection with the people of the other States, and will forthwith proceed to organize a separate Government, and do all other acts and things which sovereign and independent States may of right do.

Done in Convention at Columbia, the twenty-fourth day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, and in the fifty-seventh year of the Declaration of the Independence of the United States of America.

JAMES HAMILTON, JR., President of the Convention,
and Delegate from St. Peter's.

James Hamilton, Sen.	Benjamin Adams	R. W. Barnwell
Richard Bohun	James Adams	Isaac Bradwell, Jr.
Baker, Sen.	James Anderson	Thomas G. Blewett
Samuel Warren	Robert Anderson	P. M. Butler
Nathaniel Heyward	William Arnold	John G. Brown
Robert Long	John Ball	J. G. Brown
J. B. Earle	Barnard E. Bee	John Bauskett
L. M. Ayer	Thomas W. Boone	A. Burt

Francis Burt, Jr.	John S. James	Benjamin Rogers
Bailey Barton	M. Jacobs	Thomas Ray
A. Bowie	J. A. Keith	James G. Spann
James A. Black	John Key	James Spann
A. H. Belin	Jacob H. King	S. L. Simons
Phillip Cohen	Stephen Lacoste	Peter J. Shand
Samuel Cordes	James Lynah	James Mongin Smith
Thomas H. Colcock	Francis Y. Legare	G. H. Smith
C. J. Colcock	Alex J. Lawton	Wm. Smith
Charles G. Capers	John Lipscomb	Stephen Smith
William C. Clifton	John Logan	Wm. Stringfellow
West Caughman	J. Littlejohn	Edwin J. Scott
John Counts	A. Lancaster	F. W. Symmes
Benjamin Chambers	Benj. A. Markley	J. S. Sims
I. A. Campbell	John Magrath	T. D. Singleton
William Dubose	John S. Maner	Joseph L. Stevens
John H. Dawson	Wm. M. Murray	T. E. Screven
John Douglas	R. G. Mills	Robert J. Turnbull
George Douglas	John B. McCall	Elisha Tyler
F. H. Elmore	D. H. Means	Phillip Tidyman
William Evans	R. G. Mays	Isaac B. Ulmer
Edmund J. Felder	George McDuffie	Peter Vaught
A. Fuller	James Moore	Elias Vanderhorst
Theo. L. Gourdin	John L. Miller	John L. Wilson
Peter G. Gourdin	Stephen D. Miller	Isham Walker
T. J. Goodwyn	John B. Miller	William Williams
Peter Gaillard, Jr.	R. P. McCord	Thomas B. Woodward
John K. Griffin	John L. Nowell	Sterling C. Williamson
Geo. W. Glenn	Jennings O'Bannon	F. H. Wardlaw
Alex. L. Gregg	J. Walter Phillips	Abner Whatley
Robert Y. Hayne	Charles Parker	J. T. Whitefield
William Harper	William Porcher	Samuel L. Watt
Thomas Harrison	Edward G. Palmer	Nicholas Ware
John Hatton	Charles C. Pinckney	Wm. Waties
Thomas Harlee	William C. Pinckney	Archibald Young
Abm. Huguenia	Thomas Pinckney	R. Barnwell Smith
Jacob Bond I'On	Francis D. Quash	
John S. Jeter	John Rivers	
Job. Johnston	Donald Rowe	

(Attest)

ISAAC W. HAYNE,
Clerk of the Convention.

Of the signatures to the Ordinance, the seven first were, according to the Resolution, the signatures of those delegates who bore arms in the War of the Revolution. The signatures of the other delegates, approving, were taken alphabetically, with the exception of R. Barnwell Smith (Rhett), Esq., who, though prevented by sickness from taking his seat in the convention, was, by resolution, permitted to sign the Ordinance and record his approval of the proceedings.

THE LEGISLATURE AS AGENT OF THE CONVENTION

The convention which thus passed the Ordinance of Nullification adjourned subject to the call of Governor Hamilton, its president. The Legislature immediately reconvened to carry out its behests and to take practical measures of resistance to the enforcement of the

tariff act in the ports of South Carolina. The Senate resolved that the governor be requested to intimate to the commanding officer of the Federal troops in Charleston that he make arrangements to remove the troops now in garrison at the State Citadel as early as possible, as the accommodations of that building were needed for the arms of the State. This resolution, in the light of Governor Hamilton's address and recommendation to raise 12,000 South Carolina troops as a "State Guard," seemed to bring a physical clash between State and Federal forces nearer than ever.

President Jackson had already sent five thousand stand of muskets to Castle Pinckney, with the promise that a sloop of war and a smaller armed vessel should reach Charleston harbor in due time. The commanding officer there was to deliver the arms, ordnance and other equipment to the order of Poinsett, the trusted Union leader, as the occasion should demand and as they could be spared from the arsenal. In short, the President depended upon the Union men of South Carolina to "save the State!"

The State Legislature, however, gave most of its attention to the passage of an act defining the methods of peaceful, legal and judicial resistance to the operations of the Federal act, through the collectors and other agents of the General Government, by means of the civil officers and courts of the State. The sheriff was to replevin the goods seized by the collector for failure of the merchant to pay the Government duties; the merchant was to give bonds to the sheriff for the value of the seized merchandise, which he was to retain and dispose of as he thought fit; the case would come into court, and as the jury had been sworn to enforce the Ordinance of Nullification it would logically and legally decide that the revenue officer had no claim upon the goods seized. In case the collector insisted upon retaining the goods, the sheriff might seize his private property in an amount double the value of the merchandise in dispute. It was to be a fight between the sheriff, or the State agent, and the collector, or Government agent, and even, as a last step, the latter might be seized bodily. Any person arrested by process of the Federal court could be immediately released by any State judge, and upon no account could an appeal be taken to any court outside the State. The collector and his assistants were subject to fine or imprisonment if they resisted any court or civil process directed against them by the State, and no building in South Carolina was to be used for the imprisonment of any person arrested for the non-payment of duties. The act, which contained many other provisions calculated to make the Federal authorities completely subservient to the State was to go into effect on the first day of the following February, with the Ordinance of Nullification.

PRESIDENT JACKSON ISSUES PROCLAMATION

In pursuance of the stand he had taken, and in face of all these moves openly defying the Federal authority in South Carolina, President Jackson, who more than once had approved of nullifying doctrines, issued a proclamation (written for him by Edward Livingston), giving his own views on the proceedings of the convention and the recommendations of Governor Hamilton, with the subsequent measures adopted by the Legislature to oppose all efforts to put the tariff into effect. On the 9th of December, 1832, he issued the famous proclamation defining the sum total of all these acts as "not merely rebellion, but positive treason." He declared that he considered "the

power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one State, incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed."

SECOND UNION CONVENTION

On December 10th, a second Union convention began its sessions at Columbia, while the Legislature was still sitting. It developed that even among the Unionists there were conservatives and radicals—the latter believing that there should be no compromise with the State Rights and Nullification party. Before the convention adjourned, it was strongly Jacksonian.* A plan was recommended for organizing the Union men of the state into "Washington Societies" for self-defense and protection. There was to be a central society in each district, with as many branches as possible in the local neighborhoods. In case of emergency these societies were to become military companies. Joel R. Poinsett was made commander-in-chief, with division officers in different parts of the State, and Col. Robert Cunningham was appointed for the upper divisions of the State. Poinsett made it clear to the convention that President Jackson indorsed his plans, and when James O. Hanlon read a letter from Jackson to the convention in secret session, it seemed to inspire great courage; for some cried out "Enough! What have we to fear? We are right, and God and Old Hickory are with us"; or, at least, that is the story Hanlon sent to Jackson. The Union convention, which comprised about 180 delegates, adopted an official protest against the Ordinance of Nullification.

In their "Remonstrance and Protest" the Unionists declared the ordinance "contrary to both the National and State constitutions, and with special vigor decried the test oath, which would keep out of office all Union men who would not perjure themselves." They declared they would maintain a peaceable inactive position as long as possible; but that "should they be forced to draw the sword, it would be wielded in defense of the Union."

HAYNE, GOVERNOR; CALHOUN, SENATOR

December 13 and December 14, 1832, were momentous days for South Carolina; on the former Robert Y. Hayne, succeeding Hamilton, was chosen governor by 123 to 26 blank ballots, and on the following day John C. Calhoun succeeded him in the United States Senate, by a vote of 121 to 28 scattering. Hayne had just attained his forty-first year, having been senator for ten years, and his services as governor of South Carolina closed his distinguished public record, although his talents and restless energy were devoted to the public good to the very end of his life.

William C. Preston, a member of the Legislature and one of the most thoroughly educated and ablest members of the bar, who was afterward to make a brilliant record in the United States Senate and as president of the South Carolina College, has left this account of Hayne's resignation of the senatorship and elevation to the governorship: "When towards the close of General Hamilton's administration, the progress of the South Carolina controversy with the General

* Boucher: "Nullification Controversy in South Carolina."

Government seemed to lead to a dangerous collision, all those in the State who were actively engaged in it, with one accord turned their eyes to General Hayne as the leader in the approaching crisis. There was no division of sentiment, no balancing between him and others. His superior, indeed, his perfect fitness for the occasion, left us no choice, and compelled him to resign a station suited to his tastes, adapted to his habits, for which he had peculiar talents and in which he was in the midst of circumstances promising the highest gratification to the loftiest ambition, for one full of difficulties and dangers, of labors and uncertainties; but which necessarily involved, at least, a temporary sacrifice of a wide field of national glory for a circumscribed sphere of State duty. His long and exclusive occupation in public affairs, to the entire neglect of his private, had made it inconvenient for him to encounter the increased expenses which our peculiar condition exacted from the governor. All the difficulties and peculiarities of his position were fully present to his mind, and were the subject of a free and confidential conversation between him and several of his friends. The interview was protracted until a late hour of the night, and concluded by this declaration from General Hayne: "Gentlemen, you think my services are needed by the State. She shall have them. I acquiesce from a sense of duty. You must give me a liberal support, and we will do the best we can."

HAYNE'S INAUGURAL SPEECH

Of Hayne's inaugural as governor, Preston declares that it was the "most successful display of eloquence" he had "ever heard." Extracts convey some idea of the views of the man, if but little of the power of the speech. "Fellow citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives," he began, "I appear before you in obedience to your commands to take upon myself the discharge of the important duties you have imposed upon me. The office of Chief Magistrate of the State is at all times one of high dignity and trust, and assumes at the present juncture very great and fearful responsibility, and believe me when I say I enter on its duties with a sincere distrust of my abilities. These considerations, however, have not deterred me from attempting the discharge of the duties confided to me, convinced that every man owes a duty to his country which he is bound to perform at every sacrifice." He then asks his hearers to bear with him, while he indicates the difficulties.

"The intense excitement which prevails in the bosom of our State, the evils from which we are threatened from without and the embarrassments which exist at home, satisfy me that emergencies will arise during which, let your Chief Magistrate act as he may, he will be compelled to encounter reproach and reprehension."* These difficulties, however, he declared would not shake his determination to do his duty, and he pledged himself to uphold the sovereign authority of the state, with regard to which he acknowledged no paramount allegiance elsewhere. The carrying into effect of the ordinance of the convention and every act of the Legislature and judgment of the courts founded on the same, he asserted he would strive faithfully to perform; while, in administering the ordinary affairs of the office he would "endeavor to reconcile the discontent which prevails among our people to allay party animosity and to bring all of our citizens to a recollection that we are members of one family, and that our highest

* Jervey: "Robert Y. Hayne and His Times."

and constant aim should be in the greatest degree to promote each other's happiness."

Governor Hayne then states the case: "After ten years of unavailing remonstrance, in common with other Southern States, South Carolina has, in the face of her sisters of the confederation and the world, put herself upon her sovereignty. She has declared in the most solemn manner that the acts of Congress imposing duties on the importation of foreign commodities for the protection of manufacturers shall not be enforced within her borders. She was compelled to assert her just rights or sink into a state of Colonial vassalage. What steps will be taken in the present emergency by the other States, it is impossible for us to foresee. If South Carolina is not relieved, either by a satisfactory adjustment of the tariff or by a general convention of all the States, she has declared before God and man that she will maintain the position that she has assumed; nor will she change it until her wrongs are redressed, or until some mode is pointed out that will relieve her of her burdens. She is anxiously desirous of peace; she has no wish to dissolve the political bonds which connect her with the other States; but, with Thomas Jefferson, she does not regard the dissolution of the Union as the greatest of evils; she regards one as greater, viz., submission to a government of unlimited power. She has regarded the present tariff as the settled policy of the government, but, if deceived, is willing to be undeceived.

"South Carolina desires that the question may be settled whether the General Government possesses the power to make it the unalterable policy of the country. She appeals to the Constitution, as it was originally adopted, not as it is at present converted into an instrument of oppression. Standing on the basis of the Constitution, she cannot think that an attempt will be made to drive her from her position by force. She will regard any attempt to force her into submission as severing the tie which connects her with the confederated States."

GOVERNOR HAYNE'S COUNTER PROCLAMATION

By the middle of December, President Jackson had met the legislative proposal to raise a force of 12,000 Home Guards by a threat to order "thirty thousand to execute the law." "To this I may add," he says in a letter to Van Buren, "the request for the custom house to be removed to Castle Pinckney on Sullivan's Island, and the power in the secretary of the treasury to demand the payment of duties in cash, deducting the interests, from all vessels entering a port where the States may have enacted laws to resist the payment of the duty." As the presidential rancor arose, the opposition in South Carolina took on a more threatening phase, and on December 20th Governor Hayne issued his counter proclamation.

This action was by no means at the Governor's initiative, but was at the request of the Legislature which had passed the following:

"Whereas, the President of the United States has issued his proclamation:

"Resolved that His Excellency, the Governor, be requested forthwith to issue his proclamation warning the good people of the State against the attempts of the President of the United States to seduce them from their allegiance, exhorting them to disregard his vain menaces and to be prepared to sustain the dignity and protect the liberty of the State against the arbitrary measures proposed by the President."

It is not necessary to take up the governor's counter proclamation

issued at the request of the Legislature, point by point, as it did little more than restate the arguments upholding State sovereignty and the right to nullify a congressional act judged to be unconstitutional; but, as Jervey shows, there was a personal matter between President Jackson and Governor Hayne which is worthy of note.

A few weeks after the governor had issued his proclamation, which was rather bitter in places for one of his temperament, it developed through a correspondent of the New York Courier and Enquirer and the editor of the Augusta Chronicle, that General Jackson had written a letter to General Hayne highly commending his speech on Foot's resolution, which advocated the doctrine of Nullification. Both journalists claimed to have seen and read the letter, but as the governor considered it as of a personal and confidential nature he made no allusion to it in his proclamation, although had he been less conscientious and chivalrous he might have made a strong point against President Jackson. It is believed that this fact may have accounted for Governor Hayne's unusual bitterness toward the President.

SPRIT OF COMPROMISE ABROAD

As the date approached when the Ordinance of Nullification was to go into effect, through the machinery of the civil and judicial officials of the State, there were signs both in South Carolina and in the Senate of the United States that a spirit of conciliation was abroad among both parties to the conflict. On January 21, 1833, a meeting of the State Rights party was held in Charleston, at which resolutions were adopted recommending that a collision with the Federal Government should be avoided until Congress had had an opportunity to modify the tariff. These resolutions were indorsed by the party at large throughout the State, and less than a week after the meeting of the State Rights convention Governor Hayne received a letter from Governor Floyd, of Virginia, setting forth the position of his State, the Legislature of which had asked South Carolina to suspend the Ordinance of Nullification until the close of the first session of the next Congress.

Hon. Benjamin Watkins Leigh, the special commissioner from Virginia to lay these matters before the representatives of South Carolina, reached Columbia on the 4th of February, and Governor Hayne assured him that he had already conferred with the president of the convention (Hamilton), and, further, that "as soon as it came to be understood that the Legislature of Virginia had taken up the subject in a spirit of friendly interposition, and that a bill for the modification of the tariff was actually before Congress, it was determined by the common consent of our fellow citizens that no case should be made until after the adjournment of the present Congress." On the 13th of February, the president of the convention ordered it to convene on March 11th, by which date it was anticipated that Congress would have taken some definite action on the vexatious tariff.

CLAY'S COMPROMISE TARIFF ADOPTED

Congress considered only two tariff bills. The Verplank measure, which embodied a too rapid reduction of the tariff to suit the manufacturers, was put aside definitely in February in favor of the Clay Compromise. The great Kentuckian brought in his bill on the 12th of

that month. As it provided for a slow reduction of the duties for a period of ten years, when they were to reach a general level of 20 per cent, it was more acceptable to the North and yet provided for such a material reduction as to be acceptable to Calhoun and the South Carolina Nullifiers. While it was being debated, Calhoun's statement that he assented to the two principles of the bill—that time should be given the manufacturers and that an *ad valorem* duty should be provided for—was received with applause by the galleries. Although both Webster and Dickerson opposed the bill, in spite of the motion of the latter that it should be referred to the Committee on Manufactures, it was referred to a select committee consisting of Clay, Clayton, Calhoun, Grundy, Webster, Rives and Dallas. The Clay Compromise finally passed Congress by a vote of 103 to 71, despite the bitter protest of John Quincy Adams.

The Revenue Collection, or Force bill, fathered by Wilkins, of Pennsylvania, was also put through Congress, but as it was understood to place the power of enforcing the revenue collection in the hands of the Federal Government, the measure was deemed a shaft aimed at State Rights and was accordingly opposed by the majority of the leaders who were now in the South Carolina saddle.

NULLIFICATION CONVENTION AGAIN MEETS

In less than a week after the adjournment of Congress and the passage of these two measures, the Nullification convention met, in pursuance of the call of its president, ex-Governor James Hamilton, Jr. It had been specially summoned to convene on March 11th at Columbia, to consider the Virginia mediation and such measures as Congress might then have adopted. After President Hamilton had resigned in favor of Governor Hayne as presiding officer of the convention, a select committee of twenty-one was appointed to prepare the work of the convention. The whole course of convention proceedings indicated that though the State Rights party temporarily agreed to withhold the operations of the Nullification ordinance, in view of the concessions made to the Free Trade or Low Tariff advocates, neither State Rights nor Nullification had been waived as political principles. Although Commissioner Leigh of Virginia, the agent of mediation from the Old Dominion, was received standing and uncovered, in a report later adopted the convention politely reaffirmed its adherence to the Nullification resolutions fathered by Jefferson in 1798. The Force Bill was also nullified by a large majority, and the Test Oath, which capped the climax of Nullification and had caused more bitter opposition from the Union, or Jackson party, than any other measure adopted by the State Rights party, was passed by the overwhelming majority of 132 to 19, in the following words: "That the allegiance of the citizens of this State, while they continue such, is due to the said State; and that obedience only, and not allegiance, is due by them to any other power or authority, to whom a control over them has been or may be delegated by the State; and the general assembly of the said State is hereby empowered, from time to time, when they may deem it proper, to provide for the administration to the citizens and officers of the State, or such of said officers as they may think fit, of suitable oaths or affirmations, binding them to the observance of such allegiance, and abjuring all other allegiance, and also to define what shall amount to a violation of their allegiance, and to provide the proper punishment for such violation."

ACCEPT HALF A LOAF: NULLIFICATION RESCINDED

The great work before the convention was consideration of the Clay compromise tariff bill and rescinding the Nullification Ordinance of November 24, 1832. It soon became evident that both actions would be adopted by the convention, but R. Barnwell Smith (Rhett) seemed to strike the keynote of the prevailing sentiment when he declared that the new tariff was no triumph for the dominant party, but only a step in the right direction. Through the select committee of twenty-one, which submitted a report on these dominant issues, March 13th, the convention declared that, in view of the provisions of the Clay bill establishing a system of ad valorem duties, the abandonment of specific duties, the reductions to an ultimate 20 per cent level, and the recognition of the principle that the duties should eventually be brought down to the revenue standard—in the light of these material concessions made by the Protectionists of the country, the convention agreed to rescind the Nullification Ordinance which was to have gone into effect February 1, 1833. The report of the committee and the rescinding ordinance were adopted by the convention, 153 ayes to only 4 nays. Three days later, another ordinance was adopted nullifying the Force Bill and making provision for the test oath, after which (March 18, 1833) the famous convention dissolved.

STATE RIGHTS PARTY STILL MARTIAL

The new tariff measure seemed to dissolve the most violent humors among the people of South Carolina, although the Nullifiers still maintained their military organizations. On March 26th, about a week after the convention adjourned, general orders were issued from the headquarters of the commander-in-chief, at Charleston, which were signed by J. B. Earle, adjutant and inspector general, declaring that, in view of the Force Bill, though the convention had repealed the ordinance of Nullification and the acts of the Legislature passed in pursuance thereof, it had expressly excepted the act "further to alter and amend the militia laws of the State," under which nearly 20,000 volunteers had been organized and their services accepted. The volunteers would, therefore, retain their existing organizations, at least until the next session of the Legislature. The old militia organization was also to continue as before. During the spring and summer, also, military balls and parades, Fourth of July celebrations and other public occasions were used by the State Rights men to keep alive the martial spirit, and strengthen their political organization. One of the results of these promotional movements was seen in the fall elections for Charleston city officers and members of Congress, and the State Rights ticket went through with flying colors. Only one Union congressman in the entire State was elected, James Blair.

The death of Robert J. Turnbull (Brutus) in the summer of 1833 was made the occasion for not only eulogizing the deceased, but for eloquently expatiating on the radical doctrines for which he stood in life.

COMPLETION OF THE HAMBURG-CHARLESTON RAILROAD

During the four years that the controversy over the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832-33 were at their height, the construction of the pioneer American steam railway from Charleston to Hamburg (near Augusta) progressed, as railroad progress was measured in those days. When

judgment is to be rendered, it must be remembered that the project represented the first effort in America to build a railroad expressly for steam locomotive power. The enterprise at that time was novel and a more gigantic one, indeed, than the building of the Northern Pacific when that was undertaken, and well might the Charleston Mercury boast in May, 1833, that the locomotive on that road "travels over a greater extent of line of railroad in consecutive miles than is or now can be done in any part of the world." The construction of this railroad (as indeed of the Santee Canal) by a city, for practically the whole capital was subscribed in Charleston, generally regarded as the head center of slavery in the South, may also modify the opinion that many modern historians and economists who hold that "the peculiar institution" engendered sloth and, except in agriculture, balked all great commercial and industrial enterprise.

As stated, William Aiken was the first president, and served thus from the organization of the South Carolina Canal and Railroad Company in May, 1828, until his death March 5, 1831. On the 28th of December, 1829, contracts were let for the construction of the railroad, and on the 9th of January, 1830, the enterprise was actually put under way by the driving of piles for the road bed at Lines Street near Charleston. In October, 1833, the entire line from Charleston to Hamburg, 136 miles, was completed and opened to the public.

"The mode of construction adopted for the railroad," says a cotemporary writer in the *Southern Review*, "is to drive piles every six feet apart in parallel lines. The heads of these piles are bound together by transverse sleepers.* These are surmounted by the longitudinal wooden rail, about nine inches square, in various lengths from fifteen to thirty-five feet, on the top of which, on the inner side, the flat bar-iron is nailed. The tracks are about five feet apart."

FIRST RAILWAY LOCOMOTIVE IN AMERICA

E. L. Miller, one of the directors of the company, undertook, at his private risk, to provide a locomotive that should draw three times her own weight at a speed of ten miles an hour, and the contract was accepted by the Board of Directors on the 1st of March, 1830. The locomotive was built in New York under Mr. Miller's direction, and was the first constructed in the United States for actual service on a railroad. It weighed four tons, had four wheels made with spokes, was called the "Best Friend," arrived in Charleston on the 23d of October, 1830, and made one trip on the 2d of November. As the wheels proved to be of insufficient strength, others had to be obtained from New York, and finally on December 14 and 15, 1830, trial trips were made. Upon these occasions the "Best Friend" accomplished from sixteen to twenty-one miles an hour, drawing four or five cars with forty or fifty passengers. Without the cars, the locomotive made thirty-five miles an hour, to the amazement of all spectators. This really was an achievement, when it is considered that the roadway was formed of stringers set on posts, with only a strap of iron spiked along one edge of the surface of the stringers for the rail.

In 1830 six miles of road were built, and in the following year the entire line from Charleston to Hamburg was placed under contract. In November, 1832, the road was opened to Branchville, 62 miles; in

* Footnote in W. L. Trenholm's "Transportation in South Carolina," Board of Agriculture Report, 1883. "Hence, probably the term 'cross-tie,' which still adheres to the transverse piece of timber underlying the rails, though the piles which they tied across are no longer used."

February, 1833, to Midway, 92 miles, and in the following October, the entire 136 miles to Hamburg. In February, 1832, the first United States mail ever carried on a railroad was transported over the twelve miles then in operation nearest the city of Charleston. Stages between Columbia and Augusta completed those routes.

PRESIDENT HORRY'S REPORT

At the death of Mr. Aiken in March, 1831, Elias Horry succeeded to the presidency of the South Carolina Canal and Railroad Company. In October, 1833, he reviewed the history of the railroad in an address delivered in Charleston, before the Medical College of South Carolina. The most interesting portions of the address, strange though it may seem, are his general statements as to the causes which made a railroad of special concern to the prosperity of the State and the South. "It becomes my duty," he says, "as president of the South Carolina Canal and Railroad Company, to address you on the completion of the railroad from Line Street, near Charleston, to the town of Hamburg, on the Savannah River.

"The great success of the Railroad System in England, particularly that of the Liverpool & Manchester Road, soon attracted the attention of the other Kingdoms and States of Europe, and simultaneously that of the best informed citizens and the mercantile communities of our American Union.

"Our citizens immediately and correctly saw that every benefit arising from the system could be extended to every city and town in the United States, and particularly to those near the Atlantic. That, by establishing railroads so located as to pass into the interior of the several states, every agricultural, commercial, or salable production, could be brought down from remote parts of the country to these cities and towns; and from them such returns as the wants of the inhabitants of the interior required could be forwarded with great dispatch and economy, thereby forming a perfect system of mercantile exchanges, effected in the shortest possible time and giving life to a most advantageous commerce.

"In South Carolina, particularly in Charleston, a respectable portion of our citizens wisely determined that railroads would be eminently beneficial to the State; that they would revive the diminishing commerce of our city and tend to bring back the depreciated value of property to its former standard. In fact, it became necessary that some efficient measure, some great enterprise, should be resorted to. Real estate in and near Charleston had sunk to half its former value, and, in some instances, to less; and this depreciation had extended also to our country property. Industry and talent had lost encouragement and met not their merited rewards. These evils had commenced and accumulated within a few years and were still progressing; and during this same period the Northern and Eastern States and cities had attained to great and increasing affluence and prosperity, while those of the South were gradually falling into decay. To improve, therefore, the welfare of Charleston and forward as much as possible her prosperity and that of the State our best merchants and most intelligent men decided in favor of adopting the railroad system. The plan was that a railroad be located from Charleston to Hamburg, on the Savannah River, and that a branch be extended from the main line when completed to Columbia, and afterward another branch to Camden.

"The project was grand, and required knowledge and experience

to have devised it. A petition was accordingly presented to the Legislature on this important subject, for the establishment of a company and granting to it a charter. On the 19th of December, 1827, the Legislature passed an act to authorize the formation of a company. But this act was not satisfactory to those citizens who wished to locate a railroad. It served, however, to show the sense of the Legislature as regarded so great an object. On another application to that body, the present charter of the South Carolina Canal and Railroad Company was granted on the 30th of January, 1828.

"This act was deemed satisfactory, and books for subscriptions to the stock were to be opened on the 17th of March following at Charleston, Columbia, Hamburg and Camden by commissioners therein appointed. But the system being at that time new, much important information was necessary to be procured before the opening of the books, and it was required to be ascertained, in some measure, the probable cost of so great an enterprise, its proper location, feasibility of execution, and also to induce our citizens to subscribe to the stock and form a company.

"To forward this desirable purpose, the Chamber of Commerce met on the 4th of February, 1828, and appointed a committee of ten to 'inquire into the effects likely to result to the trade and general interest of the city of Charleston by the establishment of a railroad communication between the city and the town of Hamburg;' and they were authorized to 'collect and report every information on the subject of railroads which they may deem necessary to form an opinion on the probable cost of and the revenue likely to be derived from the enterprise.'

"On the 3d of March following, Major Black from the committee made a very lucid report on every point of inquiry wherein the whole matter referred to them is fully discussed, and all the information to be procured from the most practical engineers and writers on canals and railroads was adduced. They proved the relative advantage of railroads over canals in every respect, as regards the cost of construction, convenience, expedition, liability to interruption by casualties, expense of attendance and repairs, and the superiority of locomotive engines over horse or animal power. They showed the great preference which had been given to railroads wherever they have been constructed, either in Europe or the United States, and fully proved the very great importance which a railroad from Charleston to Hamburg would be to our agricultural and commercial interests and to the trade and general prosperity of the city of Charleston.

"A number of our citizens were also desirous of ascertaining the levels and the situations of the lands through which the location of a railroad could be made between Charleston and Hamburg. To obtain this information, two respectable surveyors were employed, and Col. (Abraham) Blanding, of Columbia, gave to them his friendly assistance and experience. They ascertained that from the Savannah River near Hamburg to the summit over which the line of location would have to pass was a distance of about seventeen miles, and that the height gradually commenced a few miles from the summit, which could be easily surmounted by a stationary engine and inclined plane; that there were none other than ordinary obstacles from the summit to Charleston, the Edisto River being crossed by a substantial bridge. The report of the committee was published and that of the surveyors was, on the 15th of March, laid before the citizens who caused the survey, and before the commissioners on opening the books. The com-

missioners opened the subscription books on the 17th of March. Three thousand five hundred and one shares were subscribed for in Charleston; at Columbia, Camden and Hamburg, none.

"The true cause for things is seldom known; but I will suppose that the reason for this must have been on account of the system being new and not sufficiently understood; and therefore the inhabitants of the interior wished further information to induce them to engage in so great an enterprise. But the shares taken in Charleston were sufficient to form a company. And afterwards some shares were taken in the interior of the State but not to a very large amount.

"The stockholders were organized as a company on the 12th of May, 1828, by the commissioners, at the City Hall in Charleston. They elected the late William Aiken, Esq., president, and twelve other gentlemen directors who, together, formed the Direction. A similar election has been since annually made on the first Monday in May. At the same meeting a committee was appointed to draw up by-laws, which were afterward accepted. To complete their organization, the Direction elected Mr. Edwin P. Starr, secretary. This gentleman afterwards resigned and in December, 1828, Mr. John T. Robertson was elected and has continued in that station to this time.

"The Direction entered promptly on the discharge of their duties. Correspondences were formed in England and at the North. Surveyors and civil engineers were employed and other officers were appointed. Surveys for information were made and a line with a view to location was nearly completed. The railroad had been commenced agreeably to the stipulations of the charter. The number of stockholders had increased, various contracts had been made and most of the arrangements required for the success of our enterprise were in full progress, when, by an accident unforeseen, but one of those attendant on the vicissitudes of life, we, as it were in an instant, were deprived of our president. He died on the 5th of March, 1831, in the midst of his usefulness.

"The compass of this address will not permit me to detail the proceedings of the Direction in the prosecution of this great work. Neither is it necessary. Their reports have been made regularly to the company; also the report, with a view to location, by Dr. Howard, a civil engineer of talents in the service of the United States. The reports of Horatio Allen, Esq., our chief engineer, full of science and information, and those of Major Black, our intelligent commissioner—all these have been printed for the use of the stockholders and have been given to the public. Numerous have been the duties of the Direction, and sometimes they have been arduous. They now have the satisfaction to announce to the public the completion of the road from the Depository, at Lines Street, to Hamburg.

"How delightful, fellow citizens, it is to the mind of an individual when he can reflect that he has contributed by his exertions to the welfare of his fellowmen and to that of his country. The fact must be acknowledged, and the stockholders of the South Carolina Canal and Railroad Company, especially those who engaged early in the enterprise, must feel that delight in a very eminent degree, when they reflect on the public good they have rendered to this State and to a large portion of their country, by constructing a railroad from the vicinity of Charleston to Hamburg, a distance of 136 miles; and this, too, through opposition, as well as encouragement, and through all the difficulties, labors and expenditures attendant on the execution of so great a work."

ROLLING STOCK IN 1834

In the winter and spring following the opening of the Charleston and Hamburg Railroad, several events occurred in the development of the South Carolina "system," which therefore had to do with the history of the American Railroad and Locomotive. Early in February, 1834, according to the Charleston Courier, the locomotive Edgefield made the run from Charleston to Hamburg in seven hours and twenty minutes. This average speed of nearly 18½ miles an hour broke the world's record and excited universal comment. But, better still the press also conveys the gratifying information that the weekly receipts of the road exceeded the expenditures.

In March, 1834, a locomotive named the "Native" was added to the eight engines then comprising the equipment of the railroad, and it was in a class by itself, as it was of home manufacture. Thomas Dotterer, one of the skilled mechanics for which Charleston had become noted, drew the plans for the locomotive which was made at his foundry and therefore shares the honors with E. L. Miller, who constructed the "Best Friend" in New York, four years before, as the pioneer in the development of the American Railroad System. Mr. Dotterer brought fame more especially to the home community, and the "Native" was not only considered to have been appropriately christened, but as a fine specimen of mechanical ingenuity. Horatio Allen, the chief engineer of the railroad (an expert of northern education and training), declared of the Native: "In the extreme simplicity of its arrangements, the directness with which the power is applied and the working parts operated, as well as the substantial character of the workmanship, it holds out the promise of being one of the most permanent engines."

Among the other engines in operation, besides the Best Friend, the Edgefield and the Native, were the Horry and the E. L. Miller. In addition to the nine locomotives, the rolling stock of the company comprised fourteen passenger coaches and ninety freight cars, to be increased by July to twenty-four passenger and 170 freight cars.

DAWN OF LARGER RAILWAY DAY

Up to this time, however, it seemed that Charleston was the only point in South Carolina which really appreciated the importance of the railroad innovation, and although President Horry made a direct proposal to Abraham Blanding, of Columbia, in behalf of the Charleston and Hamburg Railroad, to construct a road from Columbia to Branchville, on the main line, the proposition did not meet with favor. It was still the idea among the people of the interior that the scheme would redound almost entirely to the advantage of Charleston, but in the following year, when the prospect of large western connections by rail commenced to take tangible form, the magnitude and far-reaching benefits to be derived from the railroad system began to dawn upon the State at large.

The death of Elias Horry, in the fall of 1834, was a distinct blow to the western railroad project and to the proper realization of the importance of the new system in the development of the agriculture, the cotton industries and the commerce of South Carolina in general. With the realization, or at least materialization, of the Louisville, Cincinnati & Charleston Railroad and the coming to the front of Mr. Blanding, in the development of the western railroad projects, the cotton men even of the up-country came to understand that the new

System was to open new and extensive markets to their product and be of untold benefit to the entire interior.

THE TEST OATH AT ISSUE

But before Governor Hayne himself was to actively promote the enterprise which was to be the first spoke in the transportation system destined to connect South Carolina with the other sections of the United States, he was to act as the arbiter in a matter vital to the peace and best interests of the state. The form and application of the Test Oath created by the Nullifiers of South Carolina was, in fact, for many months, the only important question before the Legislature, and the State Rights men, as the discussion progressed under the guidance of the governor, came to the wise conclusion that the objections of the Unionists should be considered in the interest of harmony.

Finally, the majority proposed to incorporate into the constitution the following as the oath to be taken by all officers in the service of the State, such constitutional amendment requiring the approval of two successive legislatures: "I do solemnly swear or affirm that I will be faithful and true allegiance bear to the State of South Carolina so long as I may continue a citizen thereof; and that I am duly qualified, according to the constitution of this State, to exercise the office to which I have been appointed; and that I will, to the best of my abilities, discharge the duties thereof, and preserve, protect and defend the constitution of this State and of the United States. So help me God."

The Union men still opposed the proposed amendment and test oath as unnecessary and, if anything, a rejection of Federal supervision and a reiteration of Nullification. In June, 1834, the Court of Appeals, by a vote of two to one, annulled the new test oath, and, after consultation with John C. Calhoun, William C. Preston, James Hamilton, Jr., George McDuffie and other leaders of the party, Governor Hayne issued a proclamation announcing the decision of the judiciary and his own decision to issue commissions on the basis of the old oath without requiring the new one.

NULLIFIERS AGAIN IN HEAVY MAJORITY

The Nullification party carried Charleston as usual in the September election of 1834, although by a reduced majority. Throughout the State, the returns showed that the Senate would muster 32 State Rights men and 13 Unionists, and the House 93 of the Nullifiers and 31 members of the Union party. Thus the Nullifiers had the required two-thirds majority required to incorporate the new oath into the State constitution, and in December they made it acceptable to the Unionists by placing the following construction upon it, through their joint Committee on Federal Relations: "The allegiance required by the amendment is that allegiance which every citizen owes to the State consistently with the Constitution of the United States." This construction was passed by a vote of 36 to 4 in the Senate and 90 to 28 in the House; date, December 24th.

HAYNE LEAVES PUBLIC LIFE

Both sides to the controversy claimed that they had abandoned none of their principles, although each acknowledged that the outcome of the matter was a compromise. On the day after the agreement was reached, George McDuffie was elected governor of the State to succeed

Robert Y. Hayne. Although a State Rights man from the up-country, he received the unanimous vote of the Union party—a prompt evidence that the compromise had restored harmony to the political factions of the State, for the time being. Hayne who thus went out of office with strengthened fame as a public man and a patriot, was to give the remainder of his life and strength to the promotion of the new transportation system which aimed to bring South Carolina into the class of prosperous States.

CHAPTER XXXIX

WAR AND DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT (1834-1840)

George McDuffie, who succeeded Governor Hayne in January, 1834, was one of the ablest of South Carolina's representatives in Congress, to which he had been elected in 1821. As chairman of the Ways and Means committee in Congress, Dr. Burgess says, he showed "keen intelligence, strong courage and great persistence." In 1824 he made one of the leading arguments against the removal of the deposits from the Bank of the United States, characterizing the performance of President Jackson "as an act of usurpation, under circumstances of injustice and oppression, which warranted him in saying that the rights of widows and orphans had been trampled in the dust by the foot of a tyrant." In Judge O'Neill's opinion he was the strongest and boldest member of the party in the Nullification convention, and assented most reluctantly to the compromise, made by Clay and Calhoun, of the tariff, and consequently to the rescision of Nullification. In his early political career he had been a strong Union man, and even earlier at college, for his graduation speech was on the "Permanence of the Union."

Former Governor James Hamilton, Jr., however, who had been commander-in-chief of the State troops by appointment of Governor Hayne, was even more dissatisfied than McDuffie, and not long after the Compromise had been put in force left for Texas, where he became identified with the fortunes of the Lone Star State and ambitious republic, and passed his last years in its service.

SOUTH CAROLINA IN SEMINOLE WAR

The Seminoles in Florida by a compact of the year 1832 had agreed to emigrate within three years to the west bank of the Mississippi. Osceola one of their chiefs at the end of this period repudiated the agreement, and with a large following began hostilities. President Jackson had urged Congress repeatedly to remove all Indian tribes to the "Indian Territory beyond the Mississippi." This policy was finally adopted in his second administration, giving rise to the brief "Black Hawk war in the Northwest" and to the long-drawn-out Seminole War in Florida. From the impenetrable swamps of the peninsula the Indians prolonged hostilities until 1842.

In January, 1836, Governor McDuffie sent expresses to every district announcing that the Federal Government had made a requisition for two regiments, one of infantry and the other of cavalry, from South Carolina. As a result, in the years 1836, 1837 and 1838, 2,265 men, including 141 officers, were mustered, including the infantry regiment of Colonel Goodwyn, the cavalry regiment of Col. A. H. Brisbane, and an independent company under Captain Elmore; the latter command being over and above the quota called for from South Carolina. The veteran Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott and Col. Zachary

Taylor, Col. W. J. Worth, Colonel Harney, Colonel Twiggs, Capt. Robert Anderson and others, who were to play more or less conspicuous roles in greater wars, were prominent figures in the Florida war. Pierce M. Butler, some time lieutenant in the old army, volunteered and was appointed lieutenant colonel in Goodwyn's regiment. Capt. J. A. Ashby of the Second Dragoons, was the only South Carolinian brevetted (major) "for gallantry and good conduct." The bulk of the casualties among all the troops was due to malaria and other diseases of the sub-tropics. One searches the main authorities in vain for any conspicuous deed of heroism or great military movement in this wearisome struggle. It must not be assumed that there was any lack of martial spirit among the South Carolinians. As an instance, take Kershaw District, from which Governor McDuffie had asked for only one company of seventy-six men. When Colonel Chesnut's regiment paraded and Gen. J. W. Cantey read the order for a draft "if a sufficient number did not volunteer" the entire regiment with the exception of twenty, immediately volunteered. Many volunteers were disappointed when Colonel Chesnut marched away as captain of a single company. * All that the young soldiers were ordered by General Eustis to do during their entire term of service, was to burn "the villages of Abram, who is described as a 'negro-Indian,' and of Micanopy, the head chief of the nation," soon after which they were honorably discharged, and sailed for Charleston and home. In Edgefield, upon which a requisition for three companies had been made, the draft was superseded by the prompt volunteering of the men.

In the Charleston contingent were two historic companies: The "German Fusileers," organized in 1775, with William Henry Timrod, father of the poet, as captain; and the "Irish Volunteers" organized 1801, whose ensign, afterward adjutant of Brisbane's regiment, was A. G. Magrath, afterward United States judge and war-governor of South Carolina.

REVIVAL OF SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE

Governor McDuffie, who was a distinguished alumnus of South Carolina College, did what he could to revive its condition, which was low at the time of his governorship. He became, ex officio, president of its board of trustees.

ORIGIN AND FOUNDING OF STATE LUNATIC ASYLUM

Governor McDuffie also gave his attention to the reorganization of what is now the State Hospital for the Insane at Columbia, the foundations of which had been laid in 1822, but of which the official life was uncertain until 1836. On December 18, 1827, was passed an act to carry into operation the lunatic asylum, and Dr. J. W. Babcock said (1907): "And though subsequently found defective in many respects some of its provisions remain in force to this day." As the construction of the asylum proceeded slowly, it was not ready for occupation until six years after its foundations were laid. As late as 1831, because of lack of funds to maintain the institution, the regents were on the point of resigning, when Governor Hamilton came to their relief with \$654 from the contingent fund and thus tided over a crisis.

But from 1836 the South Carolina asylum not only was thrown

* Kirkland and Kennedy: "Historic Camden" (Vol. II unpublished).

open to the insane of the State, but patients were received from North Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Alabama, which were not thus provided. Georgia opened her asylum in 1844; North Carolina in 1856; Alabama in 1860; while Georgia and South Carolina divided the care of Florida's insane down to 1877. South Carolina was therefore the pioneer of the southern South in the care of the insane. The State Hospital for the Insane, or, as it was called in its earlier years, the State Lunatic Asylum, owes its inception to Capt. Samuel Farrow, of the Spartanburg district. Judge John B. O'Neill, in his "Bench and Bar," says that the asylum "originated with Mr. Farrow from seeing by the roadside, on his way to Columbia, a poor woman from Greenville, who, at the sessions of the Legislature, visited Co-

MAIN BUILDING STATE HOSPITAL FOR THE INSANE, COLUMBIA (1885)

lumbia for many years." There are several variations of this legend, but of Captain Farrow's experience and sympathy with the insane there can be no doubt.* But with all his deep interest in the subject, his perseverance and his undoubted ability, Captain Farrow did not succeed in getting the Legislature to pass a creative act until he had secured the co-operation of the cultured Charleston lawyer, William Crafts, whose name and services are also identified with education in South Carolina—popular, medical and the mental development of the deaf and dumb. Through the combined efforts of these able gentlemen the Legislature in December, 1821, passed an act authorizing the erection of suitable buildings for a lunatic asylum and a school for the deaf and dumb. Under that act a commission was also appointed, empowered to draw from the State treasury \$30,000 with which to purchase sites and erect suitable buildings of brick or stone for the purposes of the asylum and school.

* Dr. J. W. Babcock: "Handbook of South Carolina," 1907.

The commission collected information about the defectives of the State, showing that there were fifty-five lunatics and twenty-nine deaf mutes, and reported that they had purchased four acres within the town of Columbia. Furthermore, they reported that it was not feasible to have the asylum and school together, and that provision should be made for the lunatics alone.

* Robert Mills, a native Charlestonian who had assisted in designing the South Carolina College building and grounds, had been appointed State architect and engineer of the State in 1820, and in that capacity drew the plans for the original asylum building. He was a most talented architect, as is proven by his subsequent career. On December 12, 1828, while the Legislature was still in session, a young white woman was received as the first patient of the State Lunatic Asylum, and her mother was appointed matron to care for her.

GOVERNOR BUTLER AND THE FREE SCHOOLS

Col. Pierce Mason Butler, of the middle country, was chosen governor in 1836, succeeding George McDuffie. With the tariff and Nullification temporarily in the background, the Legislature resumed consideration of its long-neglected free school system. Heretofore, the weakest point in the system was that, although school commissioners had been authorized who were supposed to supervise the free schools of the State, the law had imposed no penalties upon them for non-performance of their duties, and they also were expected to serve without pay. In 1835, penalties were provided, but no salaries were forthcoming, and no official was designated who should impose the penalties made and provided, or otherwise enforce the provisions of the law.

While such thickly settled localities as Charleston had derived benefits from the free schools, imperfect as they were, little good from them had come to the interior and sparsely settled communities. Instead, however, of abandoning the attempts to improve the system as a whole, increased efforts were made during the administrations of both Governor Butler and his successor, Patrick Noble. In 1838 a committee was appointed, consisting of Rev. Stephen Elliott and Rev. James H. Thornwell, to confer with the various school commissioners and suggest improvements. Their report (not printed until the following year) included an elaborate paper by Hon. Edmund Bellinger, of Barnwell, which showed that in twenty-seven years the average attendance for the State was 6,018 pupils and the average annual expenditure, \$35,000; that during the entire period regular reports were made in only five years; that the expenditure for each year bore no proportion to the number of scholars; that several parishes and districts received no regular sum; that the expenditure for each district bore no proportion to the scholars educated or to the population, and that out of the attendance not more than one-sixth was believed to be composed of necessitous pupils. The idea had not developed in South Carolina that "Free Schools" were open to all, rich and poor.

The greatest number of scholars in any one year was 10,718, in 1833. The largest expenditure was \$48,951, in 1819, during which year the attendance was but 3,002. Since 1815 the annual appropriation had been \$37,000.

* See Chapter XXV (Governor John L. Wilson's administration) for illustration of the Mills building.

There was an almost unanimous concurrence in the recommendation for a general supervision of the system either by one official, or of several, with liberal salaries. The suggestion had been made by leading public officials and educators time and again, but had not been adopted. And this report brought no definite and immediate results.

During Governor Butler's administration, the commissioners of free schools reported the number of schools at 695 and the number of pupils, 6,718, far below the attendance of 10,718, in 1833; but the annual appropriation of the State for their support remained unchanged.

GOVERNOR PATRICK NOBLE

Patrick Noble, Governor Butler's successor, was a well poised public man of middle age, at one time Calhoun's law partner in the Abbeville district and with many years of legislative experience. Mr. Noble was elected speaker of the House for four successive legislative terms from 1818, and headed the State House of Representatives for a fifth time in 1834. In 1836 and 1838, he presided over the State Senate, and in 1839 was elevated to the governorship. He died, April 7, 1840, before the expiration of his full term.

FARMERS AND PLANTERS ORGANIZE

The governor, as a practical man and a native of South Carolina, was much interested in the general development of the agriculture of the state. It was largely through his efforts that the first State Agricultural Society—outside of Charleston—which really brought practical results to the planters and farmers of South Carolina, was organized. He was elected its first president.

As far back as 1785 the South Carolina Agricultural Society * was established, with Thomas Heyward, Jr., as president, and is still in active operation. In 1823 as many as eleven agricultural societies were in existence in different portions of the State. These were the South Carolina, the Pendleton, the Edgefield, the St. John's Colleton, the St. Helena, the Beaufort, the Beaufort District, the St. Andrews, the St. Paul's and the Winyaw Agricultural Societies. In July, 1826, the St. John's Society invited its "sister" organizations to a conference in Charleston, and in the following November a "United Agricultural Society" was formed with Whitemarsh B. Seabrook as president. From this organization was evolved in 1839 what is known today as the "State Agricultural and Mechanical Society of South Carolina," which takes the entire State for its field, and holds a "State Fair" annually at the capital, Columbia. The society has published some very valuable papers—Hammond on marl, and Seabrook's memoir on the cotton plant and republished Chancellor Harper's "Memoir on Slavery." These efforts at a State organization of the agricultural interests had other results. Their influence upon the Legislature caused a geological and agricultural survey of the State to be made, and induced the establishment of more than one journal devoted to agriculture, which in their day accomplished good. Among these were the Southern Agriculturist, edited by J. D. Legare and B. R. Carroll, published at Charleston; the Carolina Planter, edited by R. W.

* In December, 1795, incorporated under its present name, The Agricultural Society of South Carolina.

GATHERING OF SOCIETY MEMBERS AT THE T. FARM, CHARLESTON
COUNTY, IN 1918

Gibbes, published at Columbia; the Farmer and Planter, published by Seaborn & Gillman, of Pendleton, and the Southern Agriculturist, edited by A. G. and William Summer, of Pomaria.

HENEGAN CONCLUDES UNEXPIRED TERM

At Governor Noble's death in April, 1840, B. K. Henegan, the lieutenant governor, succeeded as chief executive. Governor Henegan's short administration was uneventful, but he did not fail to show in his message to the Legislature an enthusiastic interest in free education.

THE LOUISVILLE, CINCINNATI & CHARLESTON RAILROAD

The three administrations of McDuffie, Butler and Noble saw the great western railroad enterprise (the Louisville, Charleston & Cincinnati) well advanced and the material prospects of South Carolina brightening. Hayne stepped from the governorship into the commanding position with respect to this forward movement in the development of the railroad system of the South and its linking together with that of the West. With sectional matters, for the time, quieted, Hayne obviously saw in the co-operative railway project a means of healing the breach which had appeared so wide and deep between the West and the South. If the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi could be placed in direct communication with the Atlantic coast by way of Charleston and South Carolina, that great section of the United States might become friendly through the potent influence of "understanding" the southern states.

AS A BOND OF UNION

Hayne had been placed at the head of the committee appointed to examine into the feasibility of the projected road to Cincinnati, and in that capacity he submitted a report in November, 1835, in which he said: "A railroad which shall enable the citizens of Charleston and Cincinnati, of Lexington and Louisville, to visit each other, and return home in the course of a few days, would multiply the cords of sympathy by which men's hearts are united, and from which spring all the gentle charities of life. The natural effect of all this in strengthening the bonds of our political union will be felt by everyone who reflects on the influence of social intercourse in smoothening asperities, removing prejudices and binding us together by those social ties which are among the strongest bonds of society. In one point of view, these considerations assume an importance to which too much weight cannot possibly be given. We allude to the effect which such a connection must have upon the peculiar institution of the South. Slavery, as it now exists in the southern states, which we all feel and know to be essential to the prosperity and welfare—nay, to the very existence of these states—is so little understood in other portions of the Union that it has lately been assailed in a spirit which threatens, unless speedily arrested, to lead eventually to the destruction of the Union and all the evils which must attend so lamentable an occurrence. We believe that an establishment of such an intercourse with the Western States, as is now proposed, would have a powerful tendency to avert this dire calamity." Continuing, the report indicated how earnestly New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore were moving for what was offered to Charleston, and how "impossible it was to remain stationary when all others were pressing on." And that "to remain inactive is to lose the prize."

APPEAL TO STATE LEGISLATURES

* The result of the report was an appropriation of \$5,000 for an immediate survey and the appointment of a committee of correspondence, with Hayne at its head. At Columbia, Abraham Blanding, Wade Hampton, Senator Preston and others, had taken hold of the project. The last named severely criticised Columbia for failing to assist the road in the past from Charleston to Columbia, and not long afterward Hayne stated: "After a free interchange of opinions between the Columbia and Charleston committee, it has been determined that application shall be made to the legislatures of the several states interested for charters to be granted to a joint committee, for which subscriptions will be opened as soon as the necessary surveys and estimates can be made." He also stated that Colonel Blanding had consented to take charge of the petitions to the legislatures of Tennessee, Kentucky and North Carolina.

In a letter to one of the influential western movers of the railroad, Calhoun now interjected himself into the project, arguing that a route to the head of steamboat navigation on the Tennessee River and thence toward the southwest and Arkansas would be preferable to the one most in favor, which was through the central districts of South Carolina and North Carolina to the Ohio and the West, by way of French Broad River Valley.

Not long after Hayne made his report mentioned, Governor McDuffie spoke encouragingly of the scheme in his message to the Legislature, and by that body Robert Y. Hayne, Patrick Noble, Thomas Smith, Abraham Blanding and C. Edmondson were appointed commissioners to further its interests. Blanding had, as he was delegated, attended various sessions of the North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky legislatures. The Kentucky legislators appeared to oppose the project on the score that it was giving too many advantages to Cincinnati and Ohio and not enough to Kentucky, and that the railroad spelled Harrison politics, although the Indiana Legislature endorsed Hayne's position that it would tend to harmonize the conflicting sectional interests of the Union.

Meanwhile Hayne was devoting himself closely to the railroad, and avoiding all discussions which might tend to keep alive the old dividing and festering issues. Surveyors were despatched with instructions to report to the board of survey at Flat Rock, North Carolina, on June 20, 1836, to enable that body to prepare a report for the convention which was to meet at Knoxville, Tennessee, on July 4th. As chairman of the board, Hayne issued an address calling on the people of South Carolina to select delegates to represent them in that body. He reiterated his advice to ignore local interests and sectional jealousies and consider the enterprise from a broad standpoint and as a potent means of preserving the Union.

GENERAL RAILROAD CONVENTION MEETS

The railroad convention assembled at Knoxville, as planned. Delegates were present from Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee, to the number of 380, and Mr. Hayne was unanimously chosen president. The first business of importance was the presentation of the report made by the South Carolina Board of Survey, Mr. Blanding being

* Jervey: "Robert Y. Hayne and His Times."
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chosen for that purpose in place of its chairman, the presiding officer of the convention. The result of its investigations, with those of four engineers detailed by the secretary of war, was that "there is no route within the limits of the existing charter by which a railroad can be carried across the Blue Ridge that must not pass along the valley of the French Broad River, and the commissioners are under a full conviction that this valley affords by far the best channel of communication between the Ohio River and the Atlantic Ocean."

The report of the committee of forty-five made it clear that, for the times, it was a most stupendous undertaking. The estimate for the 241 miles to be built in South Carolina was \$2,514,546; for the 100 miles in North Carolina, \$2,560,000; for the ninety miles in Tennessee, \$2,700,000; for the 250 miles necessary to reach both Cincinnati and Mayesville, \$3,040,500 would be required; while the cost of the additional branch to Louisville was approximately placed at \$990,000.

The report entered very fully into the material advantages of the railroad, but did not fail to reiterate "its controlling and permanent influence on the peace and perpetuity of the Union by practically increasing the reciprocal dependence of the North and South, from Michigan to Florida, by establishing connections in business, promoting friendships, abolishing prejudices, creating greater uniformity in political opinions and blending the feelings of distant portions of the country into a union of heart." Thus did the Hayne keynote reverberate through the railroad convention.

THE FUTURE OF THE ROAD

Before the convention adjourned, President Hayne was requested by the delegates to issue an address, presenting the general results of its deliberations. This he did before the end of 1836. He claimed that if Maryland could appropriate \$8,000,000 to secure her share of western commerce, and Indiana \$10,000,000 for her internal improvements, surely the six or eight flourishing states interested in the western railroad ought speedily to raise any required amount for their great work. Coming down to facts and figures, Hayne concluded: "The charters provide that subscriptions for stock shall be opened in the several states on the third Monday in October next (1837) to raise the sum of \$4,000,000 in shares of \$100 each, on which \$5 shall be paid at the time of subscribing. The books are to remain open until the first of January following when, if the sum of \$4,000,000 shall not have been subscribed, the charters are declared to be forfeited and the enterprise will have utterly failed. Should this amount be subscribed then, the company is declared to be established and are allowed two years to commence operations and ten to complete the work, with liberty to raise the further amounts that may be required by additional subscriptions, loans or otherwise, and they are created a corporation in perpetuity with ample powers and privileges."

CALHOUN WANTS A MORE SOUTHERN ROUTE

It is immaterial to the purposes of this history to describe the various routes suggested for the new western road, the main opposition to that by way of the French Broad River coming from Calhoun, who finally resigned from the directory of the enterprise when he lost his case. In sending in his resignation, he puts his case thus to his friend Hayne, president of the company: "I do verily believe that Charleston has more advantages in her position for the Western trade than any

city on the Atlantic, but to develop them we ought to look to the Tennessee instead of the Ohio, and much further West than Cincinnati or Lexington. With all the lights I have, there are two routes by all comparison superior to all others; the one through Georgia to Ross's landing or thereabouts and the other by Savannah River, from Ham-burgh to the head of steamboat navigation on the Little Tennessee. If I am not mistaken, steam navigation might be brought by the latter within a hundred miles, or much less, between the Eastern and Western waters for the fourth part of the expense which the projected route by the French Broad would cost; and then it would not cost half the sum to bring a ton weight by that route to Charleston, even from Cincinnati or Pittsburg, as it will by the French Broad Railway, if the navigation of the Tennessee should be improved, as it will, for steam navigation. I throw out these suggestions not, of course, to influence your judgment, which seems to be deliberately made up in favor of the French Broad route, but simply as indicating the state of my own mind; and from which, you will see, it would be doing injustice to myself, to remain longer in the Direction."

HAYNE, CHARLESTON'S FIRST MAYOR

In 1836, Hayne was elected mayor of Charleston, the first to bear the title, succeeding the long line of "Intendants."

The mayor's position regarding the treatment of the blacks under his jurisdiction is altogether to his honor and is more definitely defined in the following extract from his valedictory address to the City Council made in September, 1837: "In reference to our Colored Population, it has been my unceasing effort to improve their condition, and, at the same time, to enforce an exact, though mild and wholesome, system of discipline. The City Ordinances give great power to the Mayor over this class of people, and it depends in some measure upon the sound discretion, steady firmness and enlightened humanity displayed by this officer in his dealings with them, whether they shall, like the free blacks of the North, become vagabonds and outcasts, or be an orderly, industrious and contented class of productive laborers. No efforts have been spared on my part to break up their connection with the dram shops and gambling houses, which has hitherto been so destructive to their health and morals, and I am truly rejoiced to be able to say that, though much remains to be done, a great deal has been accomplished in this respect. A few years more of steady exertion, sustained by public opinion, will rescue our slaves from the temptations to which they have hitherto been exposed, and cut up by the roots the infamous practices to which they have so often fallen victims."

* Having brought his one-year term of the mayoralty to a conclusion, with a total expenditure of \$284,146.69 and a balance in hand of \$7,443, in spite of many improvements, he at once reentered the railroad movement with characteristic energy and definiteness of purpose. On his way to Flat Rock, North Carolina, the headquarters of the surveyors, and the place of the annual meeting of the Western Railroad Company, he visited the districts of Orangeburg (which he was enabled now to reach by rail), Richland, Fairfield, Chester, Marion, Spartanburg and Greenville. While absent on this mission, there appeared in the *Courier* a long communication from Col. James Gadsden, Calhoun's right hand man, in criticism of the French Broad route

* Jervey's "Robert Y. Hayne and His Times."

and laudatory of the Georgia route toward the Southwest. Thereafter, the two worked hand-in-glove in all the controversies over the railroad. To meet this particular attack, Hayne placed the proper information in possession of his friends and supporters, Ker Boyce and James Hamilton, Jr. And so the duel progressed; now one side lunging and the other parrying, and vice versa.

Governor McDuffie appears to have been won over to Mr. Calhoun's way of thinking, but his successor, Pierce M. Butler, supported the Hayne men, and the French Broad route was definitely chosen. Hayne was unanimously chosen president of the company, under an amended charter, although he could not attend the meeting at Knoxville which thus honored him, as he had been elected first mayor of Charleston and his duties kept him closely occupied at home.

DIRECTORS CHOSEN AT KNOXVILLE MEETING

At the Knoxville meeting of July, 1836, the following directors had been chosen: For South Carolina—R. Y. Hayne, James Hamilton, Charles Edmonson, Mitchell King, B. F. Elmore, Abraham Blanding, John C. Calhoun, John W. Simpson and Robert G. Mills; for Ohio—E. D. Mansfield, William Green and Joseph Bonsal; for Kentucky—Robert Wickliffe, W. H. Richardson, James Taylor, J. W. Tibbatts, J. B. Cary and J. L. Ludlow; for Tennessee—John Williams, J. G. M. Ramsay and Alexander E. Smith; for North Carolina—F. E. Hardy, Thomas J. Forney, and Benjamin Roberts.

* The total amount subscribed was \$4,333,200, of which South Carolina's share was \$3,525,100. On the 5 per cent installment the State had paid in \$176,255 of the total \$218,660. But although South Carolina thus contributed over six-eighths of the estimated required subscriptions, she claimed only three-eighths of the board of directors (the Direction, as it was then called), allowing one-eighth to each of the states of North Carolina, Tennessee and Ohio, and two-eighths to Kentucky.

ENGINEER'S REPORT ON TWO ROUTES

Maj. William G. McNeill was appointed chief engineer and Captain Williams, associate. The latter, who had been assisted by Lieutenant Drayton and Mr. Featherstonhaugh, reported exhaustively on the route proposed by Calhoun, and showed that it would have a rise and fall in thirty miles of 5,159 feet to 1,294 along the French Broad Valley. The change in the original charter of the road, which had been accepted by the states most interested and which materially reduced the original estimate of the cost of the line, made Lexington, Kentucky, the simple terminus of the road, instead of providing for a network of roads over that state, branching from Lexington to Cincinnati, Louisville and Mayesville.

COMBINATION OF WESTERN AND SOUTH CAROLINA RAILROADS

The Louisville, Cincinnati & Charleston Railroad had invited the South Carolina Canal and Railroad Company to unite with it at Columbia, or any other point on the charter limit; in reply to which, the latter had offered to construct a road from Branchville to Columbia, having the same permanency as the line above Columbia, and that

* Jervey's "Robert Y. Hayne and His Times."

the same should be put in operation as soon as 100 continuous miles of the Louisville, Cincinnati & Charleston should be completed above the State capital. But the opposition against the French Broad route seems to have discouraged this plan of cooperation, and subsequently resulted in the purchase of the Hamburg road for over \$2,800,000, as is shown by the report of President Hayne submitted on September 16, 1839, at the last meeting of stockholders which he ever attended and which preceded his death by only a few days. He also stated that the company had no pledge of any further contribution from North Carolina in the event of the road being extended to the State line, and depended upon the good will and grant of banking privileges from that State. The engineers estimated the cost of the road from the State line to Knoxville at about \$4,000,000.

FINANCES OF THE LOUISVILLE, CINCINNATI & CHARLESTON (1839)

From the reports of various committees submitted during the two remaining days of the meeting (September 17th and 18th) it was gleaned that the company would be obliged to raise \$1,500,000 during the succeeding twelve months. On account of the purchase of the Hamburg road there had already been paid (principal, interest and improvements) \$1,859,042. On the construction of the road from Branchville to Columbia, \$331,507 had been expended. The company had received \$1,383,629 from the European loan, and one-half of the sum advanced by the Charleston banks for the purchase of the road, viz., \$377,656, had been repaid. There was still payable on the Hamburg road \$795,000, with interest. These sums were due: To the Charleston banks, \$344,000; for iron, \$255,000; construction contracts, \$552,696; Columbia banks, \$40,000. It was estimated that on the semi-annual interest payments on \$2,000,000 bonds and engineers' salaries, there was still due \$144,776, and, in addition to outstanding contracts, in order to complete the road to Columbia, \$584,304 would be required. The resources of the company (cash in hand and State bonds) were placed at \$715,821.

VARIOUS CRITICISMS

As the meeting progressed, various criticisms were leveled against the management of the road by the stockholders present, who represented about 10,000 shares upon which the third installment (5 per cent) had not been paid.

* "Criticism was directed against the contracts given to planters to be executed with slave labor. Why, it was asked, had not this work been given to Northern contractors, who had offered to execute it at a price 12½ to 15 per cent cheaper? The answer was comprehensive. The planters objected to imported free labor being brought into contact with their slaves. This was unfortunate; but the company could not antagonize an element which practically controlled the State; and, in addition, they had in many instances given the right-of-way. But further still, when the chief engineer obtained the floor, he challenged the correctness of the charge. Finally, a preamble and resolutions were adopted which, reciting the disturbed condition of the country, declared, "without the united assistance of the States through whose territories the road was to pass, the work could not be accomplished and, unless they cooperated, the company would be unable to proceed

* Jervy's "Robert Y. Hayne and His Times."

with the enterprise." The salaries of the engineers were also criticised as being too high, and there was a disagreement as to the proper junction of the two roads, although President Hayne and the other directors had adopted Branchville upon the recommendation of the chief engineer.

On the last day of the meeting, it was decided that the part of the report of the Committee of Thirteen as related to surveys between Branchville and Columbia be struck out, but the portions relating to the finances of the company and the proceedings of the convention be retained and printed. The president and the board were directed, at their discretion, economically to press on the work below Columbia, and, if necessary, to appeal to the State to enable them to make the last payment on the Hamburg road. An adjournment was then taken to Columbia on December 4th.

DEATH OF ROBERT Y. HAYNE

But President Hayne was not fated to attend the adjourned meeting. The strenuous work and perplexing anxieties connected with his invaluable services in connection with the great western railroad project were too much for his constitution and he even entered the convention as a fever-stricken victim. Less than a week after the adjournment of the Columbia convention, while at Asheville, North Carolina, to consult the friends of the railroad regarding its interests in that State, he died under the load of his responsibilities, and the other part of his personality passed to the beyond. His death occurred on the 25th of December, 1839. His body was borne to the grave in the church yard of historic St. Michael's, in the midst of mourning friends, relatives and a host of public citizens. The presentation of a marble bust of Hayne, as a feature of the public observance of Charleston's centennial of incorporation in 1883, with a portrait of Richard Hutson, the first intendant of the city, placed in the keeping of posterity his most striking memorial in marble.

* The pedestal upon which the bust rests bears this inscription:

Robert Y. Hayne

Speaker of the House; Attorney General; United State Senator;
Governor of South Carolina; First Mayor of Charleston
His last public service was his effort to open direct railroad communication with the vast interior of our continent.

"Next to the Christian religion, I know of nothing to be compared with the influence of a free, social and commercial intercourse, in softening asperities, removing prejudices, extending knowledge, and promoting human happiness."—Hayne.

Born November 10, 1791—Died September 25, 1839.

* Mayor William A. Courtenay's "Annual Review" (1883).

CHAPTER XL

MAINLY THE MEXICAN WAR

The election of John P. Richardson as governor in 1840 was an indication of how the factional differences, which came to white heat during the Nullification controversy, and which seemed at one time to be irreconcilable with peace among the statesmen and politicians of South Carolina, had been placed in the background of the public mind. Richardson was a Sumter planter, had been a member of Congress and both in State and national politics had trained with the Unionists. South Carolina, like other states of the Union, was still in the throes of the panic and depression which had commenced in 1837, and Calhoun came forward in the United States Senate with his Independent Treasury system, designed to place the currency of the country on a specie basis. He had supported the United States Bank in 1816, and again in 1834 but now favored another financial plan which made the expansion and contraction of the currency independent of the fiscal operations of the General Government.

CALHOUN'S INDEPENDENT TREASURY SYSTEM

Under the Independent Treasury system three-fourths of the money due the government was to be paid in notes issued by specie-paying banks and after 1840 all sums must be paid in legal currency of the United States. Federal officers were to be the custodians and disbursers of the revenue, and sub-treasuries were to be established for such purposes independent of the banks. Calhoun's bill creating the system passed the Senate, but it failed in the House and Congress adjourned in October, without taking decisive action. Finally, in July, 1840, as the result of a combination between its author and President Van Buren, it was passed with the specie provision, which had been previously eliminated. The Whigs repealed the law in 1841, but in 1846 it was revived "and has been a feature of our financial system ever since."

As noted by Gaillard Hunt in his "John C. Calhoun" (American Crisis Biographies): "Early in the year (1840), accompanied by a mutual friend Calhoun called at the White House and, shaking hands with Van Buren, said: 'Mr. President, by your course as chief magistrate, you have removed the difference in our political relations; I have called to remove that in our personal.' As Calhoun explained to his daughter Anna, who, it seems, questioned the propriety of his thus showing friendship toward one whom he really despised, the sole basis of the personal relationship was political convenience. He thought that, if his party did not act with Van Buren, it would be helping the Whigs into power, and then could expect to influence the course of neither party. Not only was the Independent Treasury bill passed, but a proposition to distribute revenue from the sale of public lands among the several States to be used by them to extinguish or diminish their debts, was defeated. There was manifested, also, a disposition to meet the tariff question, when it should come up, in

an accommodating spirit, and the question of slavery was momentarily not before Congress.

"Northern men were found among Calhoun's supporters, and it was shown how easily the sections coalesced on matters other than slavery. His primary object was to keep the treasury empty. The attention of the Democratic party would then not be engrossed by the subject of spoils and men would have time to devote themselves to principles. He gave his influence, therefore, to Van Buren's reelection and, if it had been accomplished, would have had an overweening power in his second term. The plans failed. William Henry Harrison was elected, and when Calhoun went to Washington for the last session of the Twenty-sixth Congress, he encountered the efforts of the Whigs to put forward the measures of the new administration."

LEGISLATURE ENDORSES CALHOUN

Following Calhoun's entente with Van Buren, the Legislature of South Carolina, on December 18, 1840, adopted resolutions explanatory of the reasons why the State had participated in the election of president and vice-president, expressing approbation of Van Buren's course especially in regard to the slavery question,* declaring in favor of the sub-treasury system and against a United States bank, and pronouncing against a protective tariff. Regarding the measure last named, the Legislature declared that "a tariff to protect the industry of one portion of the community at the expense of another is a violation of the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States; and when such a case occurs the several states will decide for themselves the mode and measure of redress." State Rights were thus reasserted, although Nullification was not brought into the foreground. The Legislature also resolved that "this State has seen, with great satisfaction, the steady and consistent adherence of her senator, John C. Calhoun, to the well-known, avowed and mature principles of the State, and they accord to him their deliberate and strong approval for vindicating and upholding the settled and well-known doctrines of the State from which he holds his high commission."

The Richardson administration was, in fact, more interesting because of its connection with Calhounism and national politics, than because of any State measures which it either passed or initiated.

In the fall of 1841, the Whigs were beaten at the polls, and it seemed likely that the Democrats would unite on Calhoun for the presidential nomination, in preference to Van Buren, his chief competitor. It would appear, however, that the politician obtained the upper hand over the statesman, and Calhoun finally refused to allow his name to go before the nominating convention, on the ground that its delegates who had been chosen by state conventions, the members of which had, in turn, been selected by district or county conventions, were so far removed from the popular vote as not really to represent the people.

Calhoun consistently opposed the new tariff bill passed on August 30, 1842, and which was more protectionist in its features than the Clay Compromise. It caused considerable excitement in the South, but so many tariff measures had been enacted that none were longer

* Van Buren's position regarding slavery was set forth in his inaugural address, which repeated an ante-election pledge, to the effect that he was opposed to the abolition of the institution in the District of Columbia without the consent of the Slave States, and to the slightest interference with it in the States in which it already existed.

considered as a permanent menace to industrial or commercial prosperity, and as the belief was current among the southern leaders, headed by Calhoun, that the South could elect the next president, a repeal of the obnoxious bill was well within the realm of the probable.

CALHOUN RESIGNS THE SENATORSHIP

In the later portion of the year (1842), Calhoun sent in the resignation of his seat in the Senate to the Legislature of South Carolina, which had elected him to the upper house of Congress in December, 1832. He had served continuously in public life since 1811, or for a period of more than thirty-one years, his physical constitution was breaking and he yearned for a season of comparative quiet which he might devote to his private affairs—to the superintendence of his plantation "Fort Hill" and the prosecution of contemplated literary work on economic and governmental subjects.

JAMES H. HAMMOND ELECTED GOVERNOR

James Henry Hammond, who succeeded John P. Richardson as governor in 1842, was also a middle country man, a graduate of the South Carolina College and a lawyer by profession. His father, who was a classmate of Daniel Webster at Dartmouth College, was principal of Mount Bethel Academy, at Newberry. Mr. Hammond was a warm admirer and an ardent follower of Calhoun and his doctrines, and in 1830 when State Rights and Nullification were rapidly bringing South Carolina affairs to a crisis, he became the editor of the Southern Times, a Columbia newspaper which ably presented the views of the party and its leader. During the excitement of 1830-34 he was an aide on the military staffs of Governors Hamilton and Hayne, and in the latter year was elected to Congress. He did not serve his full term, ill health compelling him to resign his seat in February, 1836. Then he spent two years in Europe, and, as stated, became governor in 1842.

SOUTH CAROLINA MILITARY ACADEMY

Governor Hammond was much interested in military matters and during his administration not only was the State militia reorganized, but the South Carolina Military Academy was permanently founded. This institution has played an important part in the history of the State and Governor J. P. Richardson is generally regarded as its founder, for he it was who first suggested the propriety of supplying the place of the two garrisons (guarding the State's arms and munitions in Charleston and Columbia), with young men, who in addition to military training should receive instructions from their officers in the useful and mechanic arts. It would thus appear that "the full history of the South Carolina Military Academy, embracing the Arsenal Academy and the Citadel Academy begins with the history of the origin and development of the Arsenal and the Citadel that preceded in each case the academic organization." *

In 1789, the land on which the Citadel now stands was purchased by the State for the establishment of a tobacco inspection. In 1822 the Legislature decided to erect on this ground suitable buildings as a depot for the arms of the State and to house the municipal guard. The

* John Peyre Thomas: "History of the South Carolina Military Academy."

FORT HILL, THE OLD HOME OF JOHN C. CALHOUN
Part of the Clemson bequest to the State of South Carolina.

General Assembly appropriated \$12,500 for the completion of the buildings in 1826. In 1832 \$200,000 was appropriated for the purchase of munitions of war, 10,000 muskets, 4,000 pistols and 2,000 sabers, and for the support of the Citadel and Magazine guard. To these were added smaller appropriations, in the '30s, for building a magazine at Columbia, for enlarging the same and for the erection of another building—all for the Arsenal. The grounds at the capital comprised two squares. The site is now known as Arsenal Hill, and the buildings have been converted into the governor's mansion.

The expense of maintaining the two military establishments at Charleston and Columbia was \$24,000. In pursuance of Governor Richardson's suggestions, Colonel Phillips introduced a bill into the House to convert the arsenal at Columbia into a military school, but it failed of passage. Nevertheless, Governor Richardson placed a number of deserving young men under the instruction of the officers of the guard, and before the conclusion of his administration had recommended that legislation should be enacted establishing two military schools upon a sure foundation. Such recommendation was in direct line with the efforts of the nullification governors of this period to build up a strong military establishment under direct control of the State government. It was reserved for the administration of Governor Hammond to carry into practical operation the suggestions of his predecessor.

On the 20th of December, 1842, Gen. D. F. Jamison introduced a bill which became a law, converting both the Citadel and the Arsenal into military schools. By the act, as subsequently amended, authority was vested in a board of visitors consisting of the governor, the adjutant and inspector-general (ex-officio), and five persons appointed by the chief executive. The first members of the board were Governor Hammond, General Cantey, and Messrs. James Jones, D. F. Jamison, W. J. Hanna and John H. Means. At the time, the Arsenal at Columbia was in command of Capt. M. L. Shaffer, and the Citadel at Charleston, of Capt. C. R. Parker, both natives of South Carolina and graduates of West Point.

Under the corporate name of the South Carolina Military Academy, both schools were opened in March, 1844. Provision was made for the entrance of fifty-four beneficiaries and as many pay cadets, the latter paying \$200 a year, which covered all expenses.

In his sketch of "Education in South Carolina," by Prof. R. Means Davis, published in the report of the Board of Agriculture for 1883 in the "Handbook of South Carolina," it is stated: "The course of study resembled as near as possible that pursued at West Point, taking, in some departments, even a higher range." It may justly be claimed that the education there imparted was that of which the State has now the greatest need. The constant purpose of the Board of Visitors was not to attempt too much, but to do thoroughly what was prescribed. The cadets were taught how to think, not what to think. Thus practical education was aimed at and attained.

"The course of training was designed to develop the whole man by careful attention to the cultivation of all his powers, physical, mental and moral. From the moment of his matriculation until the time at which he left the academy, the cadet was ever under the eyes of vigilant officers. Thus he was shielded from many of the temptations and allurements of vice which so often beset and mislead the youth when first freed from the restraint of parental discipline and deprived of the watchful guidance of parental love. But while the

authority thus exercised was absolute, it was not arbitrary and, though the discipline was firm, it was not harsh."

At first the academies were independent of each other. An attempt to unite both in Charleston, in 1845, failed; but the Columbia Arsenal was then made auxiliary to the Charleston Citadel, providing for the instruction of the entering class. Thus organized, the South Carolina Military Academy was in full and successful operation from March, 1843, until April, 1865.

The first military service of the institution was performed in drilling the Palmetto Regiment previous to its departure for the Mexican war. Its participation in the War of Secession, the seizure of the Citadel by the Federal forces and its occupation as a garrison by the General Government, and its final restoration to the State in the early '80s, are all matters for comment later in this work.

DEATH OF LEGARÉ, THE STATE'S GREATEST SCHOLAR

Hugh S. Legaré, the brilliant and learned secretary of state under Tyler, the Charlestonian, who, with such friends as J. L. Petigru, Randall Hunt, Wm. Drayton and afterward William C. Preston, dared to differ with Calhoun and his doctrines, and who ranked as the ablest classical scholar and among the ablest of the Unionists of South Carolina—this physical weakling, but giant of intellect and soul, died on the 16th of June, 1843, at the residence of his friend, Prof. George Ticknor.

Hugh Swinton Legaré was of Scotch-French Huguenot descent, which largely accounts for both the solid and the brilliant qualities of his character. At the age of four, an attack of small-pox physically blighted him for the rest of his days. In spite of such drawbacks, while still in his early youth he showed remarkable thoroughness and brilliancy in the classics and polite literature, entered South Carolina College at the early age of fourteen, and in 1814 graduated with the first honors of his class. After being admitted to the bar, he spent two years in European study at the University of Edinburgh and travel.

Toward the end of 1827, the Southern Review was established in Charleston under the joint auspices of Legaré and Stephen Elliott. In this review appeared the bulk of Mr. Legaré's scholarly contributions, while the publication, in its short life of five years, rose under his editorship to the highest position in American literature.

For nine years he was a member of the South Carolina House of Representatives, and until 1830, when he became attorney general of the State. Following quickly upon this promotion came the nullification excitement, and he promptly arrayed himself with the conservatives or Unionists. He escaped much of the bitterness and violent contention of the subsequent period, which so nearly developed into physical warfare, through his appointment as chargé d'affaires at Brussels, the duties of which office kept him in Belgium for the succeeding six years.

Mr. Legaré returned to South Carolina in 1836 and at once showed his political strength and personal popularity by defeating H. L. Pinckney for Congress. Two years afterward, he failed of a reelection, largely through Mr. Calhoun's persistent opposition. Legaré then returned to active practice. His friend, Petigru, one of his most ardent admirers, brought him forward in the conduct of many important cases before the Supreme Court of the United States. The unusual ability which he displayed in these cases attracted the attention of

President Tyler, who, in 1841, appointed him attorney general of the United States. The two years of Legaré's service in that high office convinced the administration that the learned and eloquent South Carolinian was even equal to greater responsibilities, and he was therefore honored with the portfolio ad interim of secretary of state after Webster's retirement. In the earnest and able performance of the duties attaching to that great post, death found its shining mark.

His intimate friend and college mate, William C. Preston, said of Legaré, "though his bosom was inspired with a real love of country in the broadest sense of patriotism, yet it was warmed with a more genial glow for his own State, and cherished a romantic passion for his native city, Charleston. It was to him a dear and beloved impersonation, of which he never spoke but with a sort of filial devotion."

GOVERNOR HAMMOND SUCCEEDED BY WILLIAM AIKEN

Governor Hammond was succeeded, in 1844, by William Aiken, a Charleston planter of great wealth, who had previously served in both houses of the Legislature and as a representative in Congress. This William Aiken is not to be confused with the first president of the Charleston & Hamburg Railroad, who died in March, 1831.

During the Aiken administration, the Texan republic was annexed to the United States as a member of the Union, and the Oregon dispute was well on its way toward settlement. Negotiations were in progress between the new secretary of state, Abel P. Upshur, and the Texan charge d'affaires at Washington, when, in February, 1844, occurred the death of the American official. A few days afterward John C. Calhoun was nominated to take charge of the Department of State and the choice of the president was confirmed unanimously by the Senate. He reluctantly accepted the portfolio, which he had declined two years before, and entered on the discharge of his duties about the last of March, 1844.

The treaty of annexation went to the Senate April 22, 1844. If adopted, Texas would enter the Union as slave territory, and as Calhoun favored the measure, it received the united opposition of the Van Buren, Clay and Jackson factions. The Senate therefore rejected it by an overwhelming majority. The result of the presidential nomination, however, indicated that the public, as represented by the delegates to the Democratic convention, were in favor of annexation. James K. Polk, an annexationist, crowded out Van Buren, and the party platform declared unequivocally for the admission of Texas into the Union. Clay as the Whig nominee had no chance whatever. Although the annexation measure had been so decisively rejected in the early part of the session, it was carried, as decidedly, by a joint resolution of both houses of Congress, and signed by President Tyler the day before his administration closed.

That action was the undoubted *casus belli* with Mexico. In the early stages of the negotiations with the Texan representative, Upshur, the American secretary of state had assured the latter that as soon as the treaty of annexation was signed, American troops would be moved into the State to protect its territory against Mexican invasion. Calhoun also approved the wisdom of that precaution and the plan was put into effect. It was not war upon Mexico, but a measure of protection to the newly adopted State; but the neighbor across the way did not look at the move in that light.

CALHOUN AGAIN "RETIRES"

At the conclusion of the Tyler administration and the annexation of Texas to the Union, Calhoun retired from the portfolio of the Department of State, President Polk appointed Buchanan as his successor, and the Carolinian again returned to the care of his Fort Hill estate and his beloved plantation. The Rev. Dr. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, who knew him well, says Calhoun managed his farm with practical ability, in spite of his theoretical cast of mind, and required of his agents good results. He was an active member of the Farmers' Society at Pendleton. He controlled his slaves kindly, but firmly, and required honest labor of all. "An accomplished lady of Massachusetts (Miss Mary Bates)," says Doctor Pinckney, "a frequent guest at his house, is credited with the remark that the best argument Mr. Calhoun could make for slavery was to invite his friends to Fort Hill."

Soon after his return to Fort Hill,* Calhoun made an attempt to borrow \$30,000 from Abbott Lawrence, the Boston capitalist, who, although a Whig in politics, was always his warm friend. His son was now associated with him in his farming and they proposed to pay the loan by delivering annually 100,000 pounds of picked cotton, which he calculated would be worth 6 cents per pound. His object in seeking the loan is not known; but it was probably a desire to invest in the railroad enterprises which at this time he was actively encouraging. Lawrence viewed Calhoun's scheme as a bad business proposition, but he and his friends were willing to advance the money to oblige him. Learning of this, Calhoun promptly withdrew his request. Unless the loan could be made on terms mutually advantageous, he would not accept it. The transaction shows with what scrupulous care he strove to keep his personal finances from being improved by his public position.

In small affairs he was not always able to prevent the respect in which he was held by the people from contributing to his personal convenience. In the autumn of 1845, when he went to attend the Memphis convention to consider ways and means of developing the natural resources of the southern and western states, he received on his journey, from people of all classes and parties, marks of consideration which touched him deeply. Not even Jackson himself had been shown greater honors, and it was Jackson's country. Every town to which he came made him its guest, and passed him through without expense.

RETURNS TO U. S. SENATE

Soon after arriving home from the convention, it was apparent to Calhoun that events had taken a form which demanded his return to official life. The country looked to him in its need and the call was widespread and flattering, coming from Whigs as well as from Democrats. His followers wished him back in the Senate because they thought the addition to his fame which he would surely win would enable them even yet to put him in nomination for the presidency. He had a following of free traders in New York, friends in Pennsylvania and not a few supporters in New England, who heartily approved his stand against the British contention of forty-nine degrees

* Gaillard Hunt's "John C. Calhoun" (in American Crisis Biographies).

as the Oregon boundary to the north. One of the senators from South Carolina was Daniel E. Huger, a leading Union leader of the State who had staunchly opposed him on nullification grounds, but with the subsidence of that issue had become a Calhoun supporter on many current questions. At this crisis, he willingly resigned his seat in the Senate, and the latter was promptly elected to succeed him. So that in December, 1845, Calhoun left Fort Hill, with his wife and daughter, for another residence in Washington.

A few weeks afterward, in 1846, David Johnson, one of the judges of the Superior Court, a "chancellor" of the State and an able lawyer

COOPER LIMESTONE FEMALE INSTITUTE

Founded in 1846; afterward purchased by Peter Cooper, the New York philanthropist, donated to the Baptists, and until the close of the War of Secession, a famous female academy of the Spartanburg district.

of the up-country, was elected governor of South Carolina to succeed William Aiken. Governor Johnson's administration was stirred by the movements of the Mexican war, both at home and abroad.

MEXICO DECLARES WAR

As a United States senator, Calhoun was opposed to a war with Mexico, believing that the misunderstandings with her could be settled by negotiations, which he could have successfully conducted had he been secretary of state. Further, the treaty of annexation had not defined the boundaries of Texas, and there was a disputed territory to the south which the new State had offered to arbitrate. But President Polk and Buchanan, his new secretary of state, favored the war, and Gen. Zachary Taylor, in command of the American forces, was ordered to advance his army to the Rio Grande. Thus war became inevitable and was declared by Mexico on April 23, 1846.

OREGON BOUNDARY COMPROMISED

A few days previous to the declaration, President Polk had signed the treaty with Great Britain fixing upon the forty-ninth degree of north latitude as the Oregon or northwestern international boundary,

notwithstanding the campaign cry which had carried the day, "fifty-four forty or fight." There was no doubt but that the Americans had first occupied the territory up to the forty-ninth degree, although Calhoun, when secretary of state, had claimed the entire region drained by the Columbia River; but when it came to a clash with Great Britain, whose victorious armies were then in China within striking distance of the Oregon country, and in the face of a probable campaign in the far south of Mexico, Calhoun was for a compromise on the Oregon boundary dispute. His great speech to that effect, delivered in the Senate on March 16, 1846, undoubtedly carried the Forty-nine settlement through the Senate and led to the signature of President Polk.

PALMETTO REGIMENT ORGANIZED

When Mexico declared war against the United States a slight collision had already occurred on the Rio Grande between General Taylor's army and the Mexicans under General Arista. With the declaration of war, the United States appropriated \$10,000,000 to forward it, and President Polk called for 50,000 volunteers to serve for twelve months. Although remote from the theater of war, South Carolina lived up to her traditional spirit of military adventure and patriotism. In fact, the South furnished the great bulk of the American army which scored such a brilliant victory over the Mexicans.

"The State of South Carolina," said General Quitman, "although remote from the theatre of war; although not disturbed by the reckless spirit of adventure which forms so distinguishing a trait of character in the pioneer population of the new States, yet was thoroughly imbued with the military spirit of a free people."

The quota of South Carolina was one regiment, and the famous Palmetto Regiment was ready to be mustered into the service, thirty-six days after Congress passed the bill authorizing the President to call for volunteers to serve for a year. Shortly afterward, the Government determined not to receive volunteers except for "the period of the war," however long that might be; but that proviso made no difference with the officers and men who had already organized the Palmetto Regiment, and in December, 1846, it was mustered into the service of the United States "during the war." The names of the captains of the ten companies, with their places of organization, were: Francis Sumter, Sumter; R. G. M. Dunovant, Chester; Keith S. Mofatt, Kershaw; Preston S. Brooks, Edgefield; Foster Marshall, Abbeville; William Blanding, Charleston; Joseph Kennedy, Fairfield; William D. DeSaussure, Richland; Leroy Secrest, Lancaster; N. I. Walker, Barnwell.

PIERCE M. BUTLER, COLONEL

Pierce Mason Butler, of Edgefield, governor of South Carolina in 1836-38, an experienced soldier of the old army, and lieutenant colonel in the Seminole War, was chosen colonel of the regiment; J. P. Dickinson, of Kershaw, lieutenant colonel, and Adley H. Gladden, of Richland, major.

THE CHARLESTON COMPANY

One of the first companies to be mustered into the service was the Charleston company, commanded by William Blanding. A. M. Mani-

gault was its first lieutenant.* On the rolls of this company were the names of citizens who had been classically educated, professional men, business men of standing, and many men of means and comfortable expectations. Few companies of troops in the history of warfare in America have had an average grade of intelligence, education and general culture as high as that which marked the ninety-six men who went from Charleston to serve their country on the battlefields and campaigns of the Mexican war. They did what was expected of them—acquitted themselves with honor—and more than half of their number laid down their lives, within six months, on soil beyond the Rio Grande. The Palmetto Regiment flag, the first to float over the fallen City of Mexico, was presented to Colonel Butler's command by the City Council of Charleston.

OFF FOR VERA CRUZ

Soon after being mustered into the service of the United States, in December, 1846, the ten companies composing the Palmetto Regiment left Charleston by railroad and proceeded to Hamburg, across the Savannah River from Augusta. Then, partly by foot and partly by rail, the troops reached Montgomery, Alabama; thence by steamboat to Mobile, where they were quartered for some time awaiting transports for Vera Cruz. Serious fighting had already occurred between General Taylor and the Mexicans along the Rio Grande and in Mexico, and the Palmetto Regiment had been assigned to Gen. Winfield Scott's army which was to invade the enemy country through the port of Vera Cruz. General Quitman commanded the brigade which included the South Carolina troops. They first met their future commander "in the full harness of a soldier with a blanket stretched over three muskets stuck in the sand, to screen him from the burning sun." Their protracted exposure on the route and the long march to Alvarado, and back, over a burning sand beach, sowed thickly the seeds of disease, and many a gallant gentleman succumbed under its effects. When the regiment first mustered on the beach at Vera Cruz, March 10, 1847, it numbered 974 rank and file. On June 10, 1848, when formed on the same strand to embark for home, 433 had perished. Many subsequently died from the effects of wounds and exposure during that brief campaign.

† "From the commencement of the campaign," says General McGowan, "Colonel Butler was in bad health, but he shrunk from no service, and courted every danger. When unable to march or ride, he was carried in an ambulance at the head of the Palmettoes. There was one sentiment that inspired that heroic man, and which he constantly impressed on his command. He would remind them that South Carolina had always claimed a character for spirit, which her enemies had denied; that the regiment carried the flag of the State, the symbol of her sovereignty, and must perish man by man sooner than justify the taunts that had been cast upon her."

As soon as Scott's army of 12,000 men had assembled at its rendezvous, Lobos Island, Gulf of Mexico, all the transports sailed for Vera Cruz, which was being blockaded by a fleet of United States vessels. The siege and bombardment of the port, which lasted from March 7 to March 29, 1847, resulted in the fall of Vera Cruz. While Quitman's brigade was absent at Alvarado, sixty miles down the coast, Scott's army won the battle of Cerro Gordo. The Palmetto Regiment

* Mayor William A. Courtenay's "Annual Review," 1883.

† Samuel McGowan: Address before the Palmetto Association.
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participated in the capture of Puebla, where Scott's troops remained for about four months that they might recuperate from widespread disease contracted in the low coastal regions through which they had been campaigning. The commander-in-chief was also waiting for reinforcements.

FORGING TOWARD THE CITY OF MEXICO

The expected addition to Scott's army arrived at Puebla, and in August, 1847, after leaving a small garrison at that point to guard his line of communication with Vera Cruz, the march was resumed toward the city of Mexico. During the first part of the march, the Palmetto Regiment, which had been honored with the post of rear guard to the expeditionary force, did good service in keeping back large bodies of Mexican lancers or cavalrymen. After Scott had won the battle of Contreras, a suburb of the city of Mexico, he ordered his troops to advance through the marshes and lake country which lay before the enemy's capital. Fortunately, he had with him an able corps of engineers, who were enabled to make passable the most feasible military routes leading to the city of Mexico. Among that force upon which he especially relied were Capt. Robert E. Lee and Lieut. P. G. T. Beauregard.

WANTED TO BE "NEAR THE FLASHING OF THE GUNS"

The South Carolina troops had been very impatient at their enforced inaction, especially as they were held in reserve at the Contreras engagement. In the meantime, the Palmetto Regiment had been assigned to a brigade commanded by General Shields, and after the battle named Colonel Butler wrote to General Worth, a division commander, recommending Lieutenant Colonel Dickinson for a position on his staff. The colonel voiced his own spirit when he said, in laying the case of his subordinate before General Worth: "Colonel Dickinson desires a place near the flashing of the guns." Very soon their common ambition was realized.

THE ASSAULT ON CHURUBUSCO

On August 20, 1847, the day after the battle of Contreras, Scott ordered an assault on Churubusco, a strongly fortified position on the southern outskirts of the city of Mexico, which, at the time, he believed protected a cannon factory. After he had carried the works at heavy cost of life to his men, he discovered his mistake. He was afterward bitterly criticised for the assault on general principles, on the ground that he could have invested and taken the city by siege rather than costly assault.

South Carolinians had sad cause to regret Scott's decision to assault at Churubusco. As a part of Shields's brigade, the Palmetto Regiment was made the entering wedge for the other commands; the post of danger, so long coveted by its officers and men. The South Carolina troops advanced through a marsh of heavy mud and ditches into thick fields of corn and wheat, beyond which lay the enemy's works only three hundred yards away. There, where they first formed in line of battle, they were subjected to a withering fire from the entrenched Mexicans. Despite its effectiveness, the line was maintained and the men who remained on their feet promptly responded to Colonel Butler's command to charge the enemy's works. While leading the assault

and about half way across the last wheat field which nearly hid the Mexican trenches, the brave commander, already wounded, was killed by an enemy bullet which pierced his brain. His body was carried off the field of battle by his aides and he died on the 22d of August. Lieutenant Colonel Dickinson was also dangerously wounded during the charge, the effects of which also proved mortal. Maj. A. H. Gladden, of Richland, took command of the Palmetto Regiment after the death of his interpid superiors.

DICKINSON'S LAST REPORT

Although dangerously wounded, Lieutenant Colonel Dickinson made a report of the battle to General Shields, dated, "Quarters, San Augustin, South Carolina Regiment," August 23d, 1847. Wounded unto death himself, he thus enthusiastically reports the conduct of some of his subordinates: "A few instances of gallantry, falling accidentally under my immediate notice, I will mention as characteristic of the whole corps of officers. Major Gladden attracted my attention by his usual regard for regularity: disorder, however partial, seemed alone to give him concern. He was always at his post and his duty. Captains Sumter and Dunovant, of the flank companies, exhibited that promptness and order so necessary on the flanks. Never once did I see either corps in broken order, or behind its time upon the line or in advance. The first lost its flower in the fight, and ended the engagement without enough to bury its dead and bear its wounded to the hospital. In the deployment upon the color company (Captain Walker's), and Capt. De Saussure's, which formed the first upon its left, were nearly annihilated. I was on the right of Capt. De Saussure, and saw his clothing literally riddled with bullets. He stood on the right and front during all the firing, exhibiting such cool courage that not one of his men wavered, though the foot of each was bathed in the blood of his next comrade. Capt. William Blanding of Co. F, and Lieut. Moragne, commanding Co. D, bore their company flags on the right flank of their companies during the heaviest of the fire. The latter received his from the dying hands of his gallant subaltern, Lieut. Adams, who fell with it in his hands; and the former from his color sergeant Hicks, who had fallen with it severely wounded. Capt. Moffatt, of Co. C, received a severe wound in the leg but remained on duty. * * * Lieut. Clark, commanding Co. G. * * * received what I fear will prove a mortal wound; Capt. J. D. Blanding, being unmounted, * * * was wounded while sharing his fortunes in the honor and danger of the fight. Adjutant James Cantey was most painfully wounded. * * * Lieutenants Abney and Sumter were each severely wounded during the first of the engagement."

CHAPULTEPEC CARRIED

Both at Churubusco and the assault on Chapultepec, the Palmetto Regiment were constantly near the "flashing of the guns"—as its men desired to be. The latter was a rocky mound, some two hundred feet high, on the crest of which was a castle used as a training school for officers, and it was the key which would unlock the Belen gate of the City of Mexico and give passage to the entry of a victorious American army. The armistice between Scott and Santa Anna, the Mexican commander, following the battle of Cherubusco, had been terminated by the American general, and on September 13, 1847, after a preliminary bombardment of his batteries, the assault was ordered. The

account of what followed is largely adapted from Simm's History of South Carolina.

In the assault on Chapultepec, the Palmetto Regiment advanced up the steep side of the hill, at the head of Quitman's division, to which Shields's brigade was attached. The castle was successfully stormed and captured. Immediately after the castle fell, while the victorious American troops were still intermingled in its courtyard, an order came to double quick down the road on the side of Chapultepec to the causeway which led across a marsh to the Belen gate of the city of Mexico.

The Palmetto Regiment and Persifor Smith's Rifle Regiment were ordered out together. These regiments proceeded down the causeway. Fortunately for them, an aqueduct had been built in the center of the causeway. The Palmetto Regiment and the Rifles took shelter as they advanced together behind the great stone pillars of this aqueduct and, running from pillar to pillar, made their way toward the Belen gate, where Santa Anna himself was in command of the Mexican defenses. The South Carolinians and Smith's Rifles suffered heavily from a cross fire poured into them by the Mexicans. Their advance, however, was steady. Finally the Mexicans fled from the defenses immediately at the gate to stronger works behind it.

PALMETTO FLAG WAVES OVER MEXICO CITY

The gate was entered by the Palmetto Regiment and Smith's Rifles about 1:20 o'clock P. M., September 13, 1847. Lieut. Frederick W. Selleck, of the Abbeville company, climbed on top of the defenses at the gate and called for a flag. The banner of the Palmetto Regiment was passed up to him. It was thus the first American flag to fly over any part of the City of Mexico. Lieutenant Selleck was wounded as he held it aloft. The Mexican defenses within the gate were too strong to be attacked. Consequently, the Palmetto Regiment lay behind the defenses at the Belen gate all night.

The next day, September 14, 1847, the city of Mexico was surrendered to General Scott. With his army he occupied it until a treaty of peace was signed on February 2, 1848, between the United States and Mexico.

On October 19, 1847, about 275 troops under Maj. Maxcy Gregg, sailed from Charleston on the ship Orphan to re-enforce the Palmetto Regiment. They saw no service, except garrison duty at Vera Cruz.

PALMETTO REGIMENT HONORED

The Palmetto Regiment was honored by the State and the localities in which the companies were mainly recruited, or from which the men volunteered. The General Assembly voted gold medals for the officers who had specially distinguished themselves, and silver medals for the honor men of the ranks. The State also erected a monument to the regiment in the form of a bronze and iron palmetto tree which now stands on the State House grounds in Columbia, while the City Council of Charleston gave the home company a royal welcome, presenting handsome swords to each of the commissioned officers who survived, and silver medals to non-commissioned officers and privates. The face of the medals bears around its outer border the words "Presented by the City of Charleston to the Charleston Company of Volunteers in Mexico." On the reverse is the figure of a soldier display-

MEMORIAL TO SOUTH CAROLINA SOLDIERS OF THE MEXICAN WAR

ing the Palmetto flag in the City of Mexico, and on its outer border—Vera Cruz, Churubusco, Chapultepec and Garita de Belen.

With the Mexican war out of the way, domestic matters came again to the front, although the issues which most affected South Carolina were national, and chiefly related to the extension of the territorial domain of the United States and its relation to the expansion of slavery, rather than to strictly home affairs.

CHAPTER XLI

SLAVERY ISSUE UPPERMOST

The four gubernatorial administrations covering the period 1848-56 brought several facts to the foreground of South Carolina history. Cotton established himself as king of her products, though, with the admission of California and Kansas as free states, slavery, which seemed to be inextricably identified with the rule of King Cotton, was meeting with a direct challenge. With the coming of the late '50s, South Carolina led the South in protest against the exactions of the tariff, but mainly over the questions of territorial extension and of slavery extension, and against the autocratic assumptions of the Federal Government over the definite rights of the States.

Whitemarsh B. Seabrook, who succeeded David Johnson as governor in 1848, was a prosperous planter of Edisto Island, had served several terms in the Legislature, and was one of the most intelligent and progressive cotton agriculturists of the State. He had been tireless in the promotion of the State Agricultural Society and kindred organizations tending to improve the farming interests. Moreover, he was an able writer on agricultural topics and his voluminous essay on the cotton plant is still a standard authority on that subject. He was therefore a strong and popular governor.

CALIFORNIA KNOCKS FOR ADMISSION

In January, 1848, a few days before the treaty of peace with Mexico was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, near the international line, the exciting news reached the United States of the discovery of gold in California, and before the end of the year the exodus to the coast had become so tremendous that the new country was applying for admission to the Union. If it were admitted as a free State, the balance of power between the North and South would veer toward the former section, as at the close of the Mexican war, the Union numbered fifteen slave and fifteen free states.

This seemed the psychological moment for Calhoun to again assume the leadership of the South. In January, 1849, the bill for the admission of California was introduced. California, with the informal sanction of the President, but without any authorization from Congress, had adopted a State constitution prohibiting slavery. In April of that year Calhoun wrote that the time was at hand when the South must choose between disunion and submission, and in the following autumn Mississippi issued an address to the Southern States calling for a convention at Nashville, in June, 1850, to discuss the situation and take formal action as a representative southern body. But the great South Carolina statesman was never to assume the leadership of a confederated South, as his days on the earth were measured by the rapid outgo of a bodily vitality which was already flickering. The critical state of public affairs, the blow which so threatened the South—all tended to increase his anxiety and fan the fire which seemed, even in normal times, about to consume his delicate frame.*

* See frontispiece for portrait of John C. Calhoun.

CALHOUN'S LAST GREAT EFFORT

Even Von Holst, who attempted the "Life of Calhoun," and who is hypercritical and unsympathetic as to all of Calhoun's political tenets, relaxes in describing the closing scene of his great career. He says: "The hand of death lay heavily on his shoulder. His body was sadly bent under its weight, so that the tears involuntarily pressed into the eyes of those who remembered what an image of strong and noble manhood he had been. A dying man he was, though his mental faculties were still unimpaired. But it was not hope that fed the flickering flame of his mind, so that it shone to the last in all its original brightness. * * * Two years ago he had repelled the charges of Mr. Turney with the proud assertion, 'for many a long year, Mr. President, I have aspired to an object far higher than the presidency; that is doing my duty under all circumstances, in every trial, irrespective of parties, and without regard to friendships or enmities, but simply in reference to the prosperity of the country.' The sense of duty was now the strong staff on which the expiring man leaned, and his iron will bade death stay its hand till he had done and the country had heard his parting words. * * * Now nobody could accuse him of being actuated by presidential aspirations, and his most embittered adversary could not dare to intimate that he was a fiend in human shape, who would willingly and wittingly kindle with his dying hand a fire which was to consume his country's peace, prosperity and glory."

In December, 1849, Calhoun attended his last Congress. The old men eloquent, Clay and Webster, were also there, and in the following month the Kentucky statesman offered his compromise to secure "the peace, concord and harmony of the Union." It provided that California was to be admitted as a free state. Territorial governments in the territory acquired from Mexico were to be organized without restriction as to slavery. The disputed section between Texas and Mexico was to be determined, and the public debt of Texas was provided for. Slavery in the District of Columbia was not to be abolished without the consent of Maryland and the people of the district, but trade in slaves in that section should cease. There should be stricter laws in regard to the surrender of slaves, but no restriction of the slave trade between the States.

As to Calhoun, he was opposed to the admission of California as a free state and against the interference with slavery in the District of Columbia. He favored the Fugitive Slave law, free trade in slaves between the states and the establishment of territories without restriction of slavery.

Clay's compromises were finally carried after Calhoun's death. Toward the end of January, 1850, before they were even introduced, the South Carolinian became ill with pneumonia. *His lodgings were on Capitol Hill, and only a short walk from the capitol. On February 18th he had recovered sufficiently to go to the Senate chamber, but the next day was bad and he kept his room, having a return of cold and fever. In the ensuing days his condition improved. His one desire was to be back in the Senate, and on March 4th he was carried there with the speech which was to be the final great effort of his life. He was warned by his friends that he was too ill to deliver the address himself, so he gave it to James M. Mason, a senator from Virginia, to read. Mason had a fine delivery and pronounced it with dramatic effect and, as his voice rang through the Senate chamber, Calhoun sat

* Gaillard Hunt's "John C. Calhoun."

silent beside him, his rugged countenance motionless as if it had been chiseled in stone.

It is not too much to say that this was the most important speech made by a southern leader before the Civil war, and no other public utterance did more to crystallize popular sentiment. It raised the curtain and revealed the true drama that was acting, and it foretold the future with dreadful prescience.

After reviewing the tariff and slavery measures passed by Congress, including the Ordinance of 1787 and the Missouri Compromise, Calhoun stated that there were then in the United States 1,238,025 square miles of free territory to 609,503 of slave territory. If the territory acquired by treaty from Mexico was to be free, the South would have but a fourth part of the land acquired by the United States since the Declaration of Independence. The South was at the mercy of the North which regarded slavery as a sin and a crime.

The abolition agitation, started in 1835, when petitions to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia began to come before Congress, and thereafter extended its influence throughout the country. What was a small fanatical party had been courted by the other parties for the votes it controlled and its power had spread rapidly. The South was now, therefore, obliged to choose between Abolition and Secession.

Already many of the cords binding the Union had been broken. The great religious denominations had generally, except in the case of the Catholic Church, local and national governments like those of the State and Federal governments; but the powerful Methodist Church had split into hostile factions—one North, the other South. So had the Baptists, and the Presbyterians were about to follow. The two great political parties, which had originally extended over the whole country and bound it together, were now become sectional.

Soon there would be no bond of union except force, and this was not union, but subjugation. The Union could be saved only by satisfying the South that it could remain in it with safety and honor. It could not be saved by crying "Union, Union, the glorious Union!" any more than a patient dangerously ill could be made well by crying "Health, health, glorious health!" The cry usually came from those who were working to destroy the Constitution and consequently the Union—from those who were rendering nugatory the constitutional requirement concerning the surrender of fugitive slaves and advocating the abolition of slavery, although the Constitution safeguarded it to the States. The Union was a means to an end.

"Nor can the Union be preserved," continued Calhoun, by invoking the name of "the illustrious Southerner" (Washington). * * *

"He was one of us, a planter and a slave-holder. We have studied his history and we find nothing in it to justify submission to wrong! On the contrary, his great fame rests on the solid foundation that though he was careful to avoid doing wrong to others, he was prompt and decisive in repelling wrong:—in this respect I trust we have profited by his example."

How could it be saved? By observing justice toward the South and conforming to the Constitution. Concede to her an equal right in the newly acquired territory, observe carefully the law relative to fugitive slaves, cease agitating the slavery question and agree to an amendment to the Constitution restoring the equilibrium between the sections. If the North was not prepared to settle the questions at issue on this basis, let her say so and let the States part in peace; let her say so, and the South would know what to do. He closed by declaring that he had done his best to arrest the agitation of the slavery

question and save the Union; but if that could not be done, his efforts would be directed to saving the South, where he lived and upon whose side were justice and the Constitution.

"THE VISION OF A SEER"

In matters relating to slavery, Mr. Calhoun had "the almost magical vision of a seer." William M. Meigs, the latest and ablest of his biographers (1917), says: Not only did he see as far back as 1820 that the agitation of the slavery would split the Union, and wrote in 1838 that it would in the end 'divide (the Union), or drench the country in blood, if not arrested,' but he penetrated far deeper into the mystery of the future. In 1836 he predicted in outline—and in 1849 most distinctly—that event, which the world has since seen, that in case of abolition by the North, the franchise would be conferred on the slaves as a means of securing the political control of the South. And if he did not add that this measure would ere long fail of its purpose, owing to the infinite superiority of the white race, he did suggest that result which has already begun to appear, whether it is destined to go much further or not, that in the end emancipation would but make the negroes the slaves of the community, instead of the individual."

Three days after Senator Mason, of Virginia, had delivered Calhoun's great exposition of southern doctrines, on March 7th, the South Carolinian replied briefly to Webster's speech intending to conciliate the slave power, but stating at the same time that the Union could not be dissolved. Calhoun replied that it could be dissolved; in fact, that great moral causes would destroy it, if they were not checked. On the 13th of March, 1850, he spoke again—for the last time, in the Senate—and his hoarse and broken voice, his emaciated face and frame, his luminous eyes of unnatural brightness, carried all the marks of a dying man sustained by the power of a will not yet ready to surrender to mortality. While the question of the Clay compromise was under consideration, the Senate received word, on March 31, 1850, that the great and uncompromising nullifier had been snatched from the fray.

The end was not unexpected, as he had fainted three times in the lobby of the Senate while attending its sessions. On one of these occasions, R. Barnwell Rhett hastening to him from the House, found him lying exhausted upon a sofa in the vice president's room, with his coat and waistcoat off. As Rhett took his hand, Calhoun said mournfully, "Ah, Mr. Rhett, my career is nearly done. The great battle must be fought by you younger men."

"I hope not, sir," replied Rhett, "for never was your life more precious, or your counsels more needed for the guidance and salvation of the South."

"There, indeed," said Calhoun, his tears gathering, "is my only regret at going. The South! The poor South!"

Rhett urged him to put on his coat.

"I cannot," he said, "I am burning up. Wait till I am cool."

"THE REST IS SILENCE"

The approach of death brought no indication of impatience—no cloud upon his intellect. To a friend who spoke of the time and manner in which it is best to meet death he remarked: "I have but little concern about either; I desire to die in the discharge of my duty; I have an unshaken reliance upon the providence of God."

Richard K. Cralle, his faithful friend, who afterward edited his "Works"; John B. Calhoun, and Congressman Venable, of North Carolina, watched by his bedside.

VENABLE'S TRIBUTE

Mr. Venable thus closed the beautiful tribute he paid his dead chief in the House of Representatives: "I saw him four days after his last appearance in the Senate chamber, gradually sinking under the power of his malady, without one murmur at his affliction, always anxious for the interest of his country, deeply absorbed in the great question which agitates the public mind, and earnestly desiring its honorable adjustment in the opinions which he had held and uttered for many years, the ardent friend of the Union and the Constitution, and seeking the perpetuity of our institutions by inculcating the practice of justice and the duties of patriotism.

"Aggravated symptoms on the day before his death gave notice of the approaching end. I left him late at night with but faint hope of amendment, and on being summoned early the next morning, I found him sinking in the cold embrace of death, calm, collected, and conscious of his situation, but without any symptoms of alarm, his face beaming with intelligence, without one indication of suffering or of pain. I watched his countenance, and the lustre of that bright eye remained unchanged until the silver cord was broken, and then it went out in instantaneous eclipse. When I removed my hand from closing his eyes he seemed as one who had fallen into a sweet and refreshing slumber. Thus, sir, closed the days of John Caldwell Calhoun, the illustrious American statesman."* He died on Sunday morning, March 31, 1850.

† On Tuesday, April 2d, the body of the dead South Carolina senator and the supreme leader of the South was taken into the Senate chamber, with Clay, Webster, Mangum, Cass, King and Berrien acting as pall bearers, and state funeral ceremonies were held, after which there was a procession to the Congressional burying-ground, where the body was put in a receiving vault.

On Monday morning, April 22d, it was brought to the east front of the capitol and received by a committee of twenty-five prominent citizens of South Carolina who had been sent to accompany it back to the State. A second funeral procession carried the remains to the wharf on the Potomac, where they were placed on a boat and carried down the river to Acquia Creek, being met there by special train and deputies from Fredericksburg and Richmond. In these, and all other cities along the route to Wilmington, North Carolina, there were solemn obsequies in honor of the dead senator.

At that place, the steamer *Nina* and an escorting steamer were met, and the body was carried on to Charleston by sea, arriving off the Battery at 9 o'clock, Thursday morning, April 25th, and landed at noon. The coming was expected, but, in deference to the memory of the deceased (who, it was instinctively conceived, would have so desired), there was no welcoming crowd at the wharf, and the long funeral procession passed through the silent streets, lined with black-

* Von Holst says Calhoun "was not a statesman in the highest acceptation of the term," and "is certainly less entitled to it than either of his great rivals," and the United States Government seems to agree with the German scholar. There is no example of United States currency or stamps bearing the likeness of Calhoun!

† Gaillard Hunt's "John C. Calhoun."

draped and close-shuttered houses, to the Citadel. There, in the presence of a great throng, Senator Mason, of Virginia, who had read Calhoun's last great speech of the Senate, in behalf of Congress formally transferred the body to the governor of South Carolina.

CALHOUN'S FUNERAL IN CHARLESTON

Governor Seabrook,* in turn, surrendered the precious remains to the mayor of Charleston, Hon. T. L. Hutchinson. A funeral cortege was then formed and proceeded down King Street to Hasell, thence to Meeting, around White Point, up the bay to Broad Street and from that point to the city hall. There the body was formally received by Mayor Hutchinson and the City Council and deposited in a magnificent catafalque, where it lay in state until the next day, in charge of a guard of honor composed of 200 citizens. Thousands repaired to the city hall to pay tribute to the statesman they had trusted so absolutely.

On the following day (April 26th), at early dawn, the bells of the city resumed their toll, business remained suspended and a civic procession was formed. The remains were moved from the catafalque to St. Philip's Church, which was draped in deepest mourning. An anthem was sung by a full choir, the burial services read by Bishop Gadsden and a funeral discourse preached by Rev. James W. Miles. The body was then borne by the guard of honor to the western cemetery of the church and deposited within a structure of masonry raised above the ground and lined with cedar wood. Every organized association voluntarily paraded—the civil authorities, the military, the firemen, the Masonic and Odd Fellows lodges and the benevolent societies; everything that could add to the mournful pageantry of grief had, by its presence, outwardly manifested the inward sorrow of the community.

The funeral cortege was the largest gathering of citizens ever seen in Charleston, occupying over two hours in passing any one point. Every arrangement for moving so large a body of citizens was made and carried out under the direction of the Hon. A. G. Magrath, as chief marshal, and his assistants, in co-operation with committees of the City Council and citizens. Gustavus M. Pinckney, an ardent disciple of Calhoun, closes his account of the obsequies with a quotation from Carlyle: "How touching is the loyalty of men to their sovereign man!"

KING COTTON IN 1850

At the time of the death of Calhoun, from which epochal event the South Carolina historian is quite apt to take an account of stock, the State was in a rather prosperous condition, despite the tariff; the natural wealth of Carolina were too great to be permanently depressed, whatever the handicap. The manufacturers must have cotton and they bought the crops of South Carolina, famous then, the world over, for volume, and for the fine quality of both the sea island and the upland varieties. In the up-country, also, progress was being made in the establishment of cotton mills which should manufacture the raw material at the seats of its production. The Legislature was even going so far as to grant charters to corporations for that purpose, which until the early '50s it had refused to do, fearful that individual responsibility would thereby be avoided. But when William Gregg, the

* Mayor William A. Courtenay's "Annual Review," 1883.

WILLIAM GREGG

founder of Graniteville and one of the best known cotton men in the up-country, applied for a charter to incorporate a company which should establish a factory in or near Graniteville, the South Carolina law makers broke their rule and gave him what he asked, upon his pledge that he would subscribe to at least one-half the stock.

In the *Watchman of Sumterville*, T. B. Fraser, one of the editors of the paper in 1850, has this editorial: "In another column will be found the usual notice that an application will be made to our next Legislature for a cotton factory, to be situated in or near Sumterville. A few years since, when the application of the Graniteville Company was before the Legislature, so great was the prejudice against manufactures that it received a favorable report from the Committee on Manufactures—a committee of nine intelligent legislators of South Carolina—only by a majority of one vote. The act of incorporation was, however, passed, and the result has been the establishment of the first factory in the Southern States, both as to the quality and quantity of the articles manufactured, and which is, perhaps, at this time, the most profitable investment in the State."

Mr. Gregg, who wrote much on South Carolina industrial matters, was a man of superior attainments. In one of his early reports as president of the Graniteville corporation, he lays down these five causes for the failure of the cotton mill industry in the State:

"The first is an injudicious selection of machinery and of the kind of goods to be made.

"The second is a lack of steady, efficient and cheap motive power.

"The third is an injudicious location.

"The fourth is the lack of proper effort for the religious and moral training of the operatives.

"The fifth is to embark in such an enterprise without sufficient capital."

"How true these same pitfalls are today," adds August Kohn in his "*Cotton Mills of South Carolina*," from which work the foregoing is extracted.

AGRICULTURAL AND LIVE STOCK WEALTH

In the year 1850, when the experiment of manufacturing cotton in the State of its growth was well under way, the State had reached a high standard of prosperity in other than cotton production. Nearly 30,000 farms had been opened up, with an average size of 541 acres, or a total acreage of 16,217,700. But nearly seventy-five per cent of the land in farms was unimproved, which indicated that the full development of the agricultural wealth of the State had barely begun. The farms were valued at \$82,431,684, and the machinery employed to carry on agricultural operations throughout South Carolina was valued at only \$4,136,354.

Since 1850, the trend of the farming interests in South Carolina has been toward the reduction of the size of farms. As noted the average farm had then an area of 541 acres. In the succeeding decade this had dropped to 488 acres; in 1870, to 233; in 1880, to 143, with a constantly decreasing area since. Much clearing up of lands was accomplished between 1845 and 1860, and during the period covered by this chapter the farmers of the State were in the thick of it.

All the live stock in the State was assessed at a trifle over \$15,000,000. In this class were numbered 1,065,503 swine, 757,179 cattle (including 193,244 milch cows), 285,551 sheep, 97,171 horses, 37,483

mules and asses, and 20,507 working oxen. The dairy products of the State were represented by 2,981,850 pounds of butter.

In the year 1850, South Carolina standard crops were still rice, cotton and corn. Her supremacy as a rice-producing State is seen by the figures furnished by the United States census of that year, which indicated that she raised nearly 160,000,000 pounds of the 215,000,000 pounds, which represented the total crop of the nation. Of the 2,469,000 bales of cotton produced in the United States, the South Carolina output was nearly 301,000 bales. Although her corn crop amounted to 16,271,000 bushels, it bore small proportion to the 592,000,000 bushels raised in the United States. In 1850, South Carolina also raised 4,337,000 bushels of sweet potatoes, and 136,000 of the Irish variety. The other cereal crops than those mentioned cut little figure in her agricultural prospects or actual production. The wheat crop amounted to only 1,066,000 bushels; oats, 2,322,000 bushels; rye, 43,000, and barley, 4,500 bushels.

SOUTH CAROLINA FINANCES AND SCHOOLS

* Although the decade 1840 to 1850, does not appear as one of unusual prosperity, it was marked by great economy in the management of the financial affairs of South Carolina. A strong anti-debt feeling had been aroused among the people. No new loans were made and in 1850 the return of the comptroller-general shows the debt of the State, less the surplus revenue to be \$2,105,920, funded in three, five and six per cent stocks and bonds. The assets of the Bank of the State amounted to \$3,633,718, and other assets of the State in railroad stocks and bonds amounted to \$1,320,156; total, \$4,953,874.

The census of 1850 also illustrates the fact that the schools of South Carolina had not yet reached that status when they might be denominated either free or public, in the sense of the present-day application. It showed that the expenditures for education within the limits of the State amounted, during that year, to \$510,879; but of that sum \$410,430, were raised by tuition fees; \$21,350 by endowment, representing funds aggregating \$305,000 on a basis of seven per cent; and only \$79,099 by taxation and public funds.

In 1852, however, during the succeeding administration, the Legislature, by a close vote, passed an act doubling the appropriation for free schools, and afterward \$74,400 was annually set aside for their maintenance. The attendance in 1853 was over 17,000, exclusive of Charleston.

GOVERNOR JOHN HUGH MEANS

John Hugh Means, of Fairfield, a native and a planter of that district, succeeded Governor Seabrook to the executive chair in 1850, and it was during the early part of his administration that the death of John C. Calhoun occurred. He was a graduate of South Carolina College and had been sent to the Legislature as a stalwart advocate of State Rights and all that the great nullifier stood for, in the height of his activity and fame. While governor, he carried on the propaganda with unabated zeal and ability, making many speeches in favor of the withdrawal of the South from the Union, in case her burdens were not lightened or adjusted. As a preparation, in case of physical

* "Debt and Taxation" in report State Board of Agriculture, 1883.

conflict with the Federal Government, he was also active in promoting the organization of the State militia, as had been his predecessors.

A TIME OF STORM AND STRESS

The period from 1848 to 1860, in the South, and more especially in South Carolina, is characterized by confusion; "confusion in opinion of the significance of various developments affecting the national status of the South; confusion in questions of local policy in regard to the 'peculiar institution'; confusion as to the proper course nationally; and above all, confusion in leadership." No attempt will be made in this work to unravel all those twisted threads; the great salient facts can alone be treated.

On May 5, 1851, the Southern Rights Associations of South Carolina assembled at Charleston, with Gen. John Buchanan, of Fairfield, in the chair. Ex-Governor J. P. Richardson, some time Unionist, was chosen permanent president on the following day, and read a letter from Langdon Cheves, dated "Plantation (Ogeechee), May 1, 1851."

As the importance of the occasion called for a personal expression of his stand he stated that he "was not of the opinion that South Carolina should secede alone. * * * One State of the South cannot stand alone in the midst of her Sister States." There were thirty-nine associations represented by from three to thirty-five delegates from each, and with a total of nearly 450. The resolutions adopted looked definitely towards State action and expressed confidence that the Legislature and State convention would so order. It was decided to form a central association for the State to meet semi-annually. A central committee of nine was appointed to promote the cause generally.

The more radical of the Secessionists now believed beyond peradventure that the coming Legislature would call a State convention and take South Carolina out of the Union; but during the summer the Co-operation party throughout the State, especially in Charleston, worked with extraordinary vigor and success—as the result showed. "Men changed continually during the summer from one grade to another, and quite generally away from the Secessionists." When the election day came, so thorough had been the preliminary canvass that the vote was said to be the largest ever polled. The figures given in Miller's Almanac are: Secession, 17,056; Co-operation, 24,914.*

A lengthy document, printed "for confidential circulation," gives so clearly the views of the ultra Secessionists and their official position for the immediate future that space is given for its publication in full. So far as is known this circular has never been published before. It is signed by Col. "M. Gregg;" who is none other than Maxcy Gregg, one of the most distinguished generals in the War of Secession.

"FOR CONFIDENTIAL CIRCULATION AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE SECESSION PARTY"

"Columbia, October 24, 1851.

"Sir:

"Under the unexpected disgrace which has befallen South Carolina in the result of the late election, the Central Committee feel it a duty incumbent on them toward the gallant Party, for the furtherance of

* C. S. Boucher: "Secession and Co-operation Movements in South Carolina, 1848-1852."

whose high purposes they were appointed, to offer such suggestions for consideration as on a careful survey of the new posture of affairs may seem worthy to be presented.

"The defeat of the Secession Party has been effected by a coalition of Parties repugnant to each other in their principles; and by means the most pernicious to the safety, as well as humiliating to the character, of the State of South Carolina.

"The Anti-Secession coalition is composed of two principal sections. The first, which is much the smallest (sic) in number and has heretofore been regarded as of inconsiderable power, is the Union Party. Adherence to the Union, at the expense of whatever submission and degradation may be required, is the object of this party. The success of the coalition thus far enures the benefit of the Union Party.

"Another section of the coalition, and a much larger and more powerful one, consists of disunion men, who, sensible of the degradation and danger of our condition, desire to resist, and to form a Southern Confederacy, but regard the cooperation of other States in resistance either as indispensable, or of such paramount importance as not to justify the separate action of South Carolina at the present time.

"Between these two sections is perhaps to be placed another class of men, professing the resistance principles of the last, as most popular, but really desirous of defeating all efforts for resistance, and continuing in the Union. This class may, at any moment, when their time-serving propensities may prompt it, bring a great and sudden accession of power to the Union Party.

"But the Secession Party is much stronger than either of these parties separately.

"It would have been stronger than the coalition, but for the effect upon large masses of voters, of an ignominious panic.

"Throughout the State, with every appearance of systematic operation, alarms and falsehoods were covertly disseminated among the more ignorant class. They were told that if they joined the Secession Party, or attended meetings of that Party, they would forthwith be drafted for military service. They were told they would be taxed beyond their ability to pay. Non-slaveholders were told that they have no interest in the question of slavery,—and that all the horrors and sufferings of war would be brought upon them, for the exclusive advantage of their richer neighbors. These base appeals produced an effect not to have been expected in South Carolina. A sufficient number of votes was thus controlled, to reduce the Party of action from a great majority, which, according to all reasonable indications, they had previously constituted, to a minority.

"The coalition have defeated the party of action, struck despair into the hearts of our true friends in the South, and caused our enemies and oppressors to exult in contemptuous triumph.

"It is now for the Resistance wing of the successful coalition—for that party who do not use the name of cooperation as a cloak for submission—to prove their sincerity, and to endeavor to redeem the honor of the State.

"If they now regard the Convention of the People as bound to give up the purpose of Secession, it is their business to propose their measures of resistance, which they regard as wiser and more effectual than Secession.

"Heretofore, as members of a mere opposition, they have not made known their plan of action. As members of a popular majority, it is

time for them to do so now. If they will propose any substantial plan, they will meet with no factious opposition from the Secession party. We believe Secession to be the true and effectual remedy. But if we should find Secession impractical for the present, in consequence of domestic divisions, all our impulses would prompt us to support any measure which held out a hope, however faint, of any effectual resistance, or of leading to Secession.

"It appears therefore, to be the true policy of our party, at the present time, while quietly preserving its organization, and standing ready to avail itself of circumstances, to make no demonstration, but to endeavor to draw a demonstration from the resistance wing of the coalition, under that sense of responsibility, naturally resulting from the event of the late election.

"For this purpose, the Central Committee would respectfully suggest to the members of our Party, the propriety of constantly directing their efforts, through private discussion and through the Press, toward arousing that sense of responsibility among the true resistance men, who have opposed Secession, and inducing them to declare what they proposed to do, and to separate themselves from the Submissionists before it is too late. The comments of the Press abroad, on the recent Union triumph in South Carolina, as the defeat of the Secession party is everywhere regarded, must furnish the most serious matter for reflection to those resistance men who coalesced with Unionists and Submissionists to effect that defeat. Such comments, mortifying as they are to the pride of our State, if constantly copied by all our papers, ought to produce a wholesome effect.

"Gloomy as is the prospect, it is not yet necessary to give up the cause of the State in utter despair;—Submission is not yet to be contemplated as our inevitable destiny.

"Some of the members elect to the Convention, under the first feeling of despondency, have thought of resigning. The Central Committee would most respectfully suggest to them that this ought not to be done hastily or without the most mature consideration; and that it would be much better, that upon such a matter, a general consultation should take place among all the Secession men elected to the Convention, in order to act in concert in whatever may be regarded as the best course. But if such a step is taken by some delegates separately, and without waiting to come to a general understanding, it may produce embarrassment and injury to the common cause. There is no necessity for an immediate decision in this matter, especially considering that it may well be held that no resignation can take effect before the Convention has met to receive it. There are in the Convention several members of the Co-operation Party, whose constituencies are Secessionists by decided majorities. As it has not been considered necessary heretofore, during a period of many months, that those gentlemen should resign, on account of the known difference between them and the majority of their constituents, much less can a hasty resignation be deemed requisite on the part of others, who were elected with a full knowledge of their position as Secessionists, in consequence of a majority of their constituents having voted, in the late election, for the anti-secession candidates. At all events, the approaching session of the Legislature, assembling many of the Delegates to the Convention, and a large number of Members of the Party from every part of the State, will afford a convenient opportunity for consulting together, and determining on the course which may be proper.

"With regard to the time for assembling the Central Southern Rights Association, which has not yet been summoned to meet by the

President, the Committee beg leave to suggest, that for the purpose of preserving that attitude which they have above recommended to the Party, and of inducing the true resistance men of the Co-operation Party to bring forward their plan of action, it may be best to defer the meeting for the present. Should the Association be called together now, it might interfere with that object, by rendering members of the opposition Party disposed rather to watch the movements of the Secession Party, than to make any themselves.

"Should you be pleased to communicate your views on the proper course of the State, and for the Party of Action, in the present difficult position of affairs, the Committee will feel obliged to you."

"I have the honor to be, sir,

"Very Respectfully, your ob't serv't

"M. GREGG,

"Chairman of the Central Committee."

THE RIGHT OF SECESSION AFFIRMED

Before the meeting of the Legislature in November the Co-operationists held a convention in Columbia, and adopted a report affirming the right of secession, but deeming it inexpedient without co-operation of other states. This action of the convention was approved by the Legislature, by a vote of thirty-two to nine in the Senate, and sixty-eight to forty-four in the House, and a convention of "the People of this State" was called to meet in the succeeding April. The main purpose and sole important proceeding of this State convention of April, 1852, was the adoption of the following ordinance: "To declare the right of this State to secede from the Federal Union."

"We the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, That South Carolina, in the exercise of her sovereign will as an independent State acceded to the Federal Union, known as the United States of America, and that in the exercise of the same sovereign will, it is her right, without let, hindrance, or molestation from any power whatsoever to secede from the Federal Union; and for the sufficiency of the causes which may impel her to such separation, she is responsible alone, under God, to the tribunal of public opinion among the nations of the Earth."

The vote upon adoption stood: yeas, 136; nays, 19.

UP- AND LOW-COUNTRY STILL IN CONFLICT

As shown by Dr. Wallace, the irrepressible conflict between "up" and "low-country" as to representation in the legislature and the election of electors by the people, was widely and hotly discussed by the people and certain fiery anonymous pamphleteers during the Means administration. The contentions of the low-country men were that as they paid a very much greater proportion of the taxes, they should be allowed their predominance in the Senate, while the up-country, because of excess of white population, controlled the lower house. The objection of the coast parishes to any change was very much that urged by Ulster in the great struggle in Ireland. In spite of the fact that sectionalism was so marked in this local question, it did not appear in those issues which involved the State's relations with the Federal Government and as Boucher points out, Calhoun had always opposed any designs which would disturb the balance then existing between the upper and lower districts.

GOVERNOR MANNING'S ADMINISTRATION

John Lawrence Manning, of Sumter, succeeded Governor Means in 1852. He had had an honorable record in the State Senate, and physically and intellectually was an excellent representative of the so-called "Slave-Baron" class.

It was during his administration that Kansas became the debatable ground between slavery and abolitionism and each side was organized into colonization societies. While the debates raged in Congress as to whether the borderland should be slave or free, the question was being fought out on the soil of Kansas with burnings, hangings and firearms; with intimidation and bloodshed on both sides. Even South Carolina had its representatives, civil and military, in "bleeding Kansas," and companies of well armed colonizers went from Laurens, Union, Barnwell and from the Pee Dee section, to try and preserve the balance of power by making Kansas a slave State.

In the midst of all these debates and contentions, Andrew Pickens Butler, of Edgefield, who had been serving as United States senator since 1846, and whose eulogy on Calhoun had been a masterpiece, was keeping an even keel and, although faithfully supporting the South, was fighting against secession as too radical for those times. As we have seen, the public sentiment of the State then sustained him.

ATTEMPT TO REOPEN SLAVE TRADE

In 1854, James H. Adams, a wealthy planter of Richland, succeeded Governor Manning. His administration was chiefly marked by his recommendation that the slave-trade be reopened, as essential to furnishing adequate labor to the South—"a measure," as remarked by Simms, "no doubt highly desirable to the industry of the South, but which seems to be impracticable in the present confederacy, in consequence of the prejudices of the North and its numerical superiority in Congress."

The subject was referred in both branches of the Legislature to special committees, with leave to report at the next session. J. Johnston Pettigrew made the minority report for the House in 1857. Trescot very justly said it was "a clear, complete, eloquent and forcible exposition of the convictions of three-fourths of the slaveholders of the South" in its condemnation of the views and recommendations of Governor Adams, and is a document of permanent interest and value. Governor Adams represented a comparatively small school of those who had brought themselves to believe that African slavery in the South was intrinsically righteous and excellent; Pettigrew stood for a school of statesmanlike conservatives, and Trescot (in 1870) said that if the principles, which were the basis of that report, had been applied to the larger consideration of the whole question in controversy, "I think a school of public opinion would have been formed at the South which would have steadily widened the sphere of its influence and manifested its ability to deal wisely and successfully with those issues which have just reached their bloody solution."

Even Abraham Lincoln was speaking with remarkable sanity on some of the issues of slavery. Three years before, at Peoria, he had said: "They (the Southerners) are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give

it up. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself."

THE BROOKS-SUMNER ASSAULT

While the issue was in doubt and the territory was torn between the two factions; one claiming it was governed by a slavery constitution and the other by an instrument upholding abolition; at the height of the excitements marshaled by John Brown, Charles Sumner, who had represented Massachusetts in the United States Senate for five years, bitterly and slanderously attacked Senator Butler, during the absence of the latter from the chamber. Preston S. Brooks, the nephew of the absent senator, then a member of Congress from South Carolina, was present in the Senate chamber at the time, and resented the verbal assault by physically attacking the senator from Massachusetts. The incident caused great excitement both North and South, and the character of the comments upon it was usually determined by the fact whether the commentator lived north or south of Mason and Dixon's line.

SOUTH CAROLINA AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

One of the most important domestic events of Governor Adams' administration was the organization of the South Carolina Agricultural Society, from which was developed the body of State agriculturists still in existence and growing year by year. The society was founded in August, 1855, and was the outgrowth of the agricultural convention which met in Columbia on the 8th of that month. A. P. Calhoun was elected president and A. G. Summer, secretary. Mr. Summer was succeeded by Col. R. J. Gage as secretary, but Mr. Calhoun served as president, by re-election, until the outbreak of the Civil war. The society was then suspended, its buildings were destroyed by the burning of Columbia and its investments, for the time, became worthless; but the organization was revived in 1868 and since 1878 has received a State appropriation.

Soon after being organized, in the fall of 1855, the South Carolina Agricultural Society received aid from the Legislature to the extent of a \$5,000 appropriation. It was handsomely endowed also by the city of Columbia with grounds and buildings, and it had a considerable fund derived from the payment of life memberships. The annual fairs and stock shows of the original society were large, well attended, profitable financially and produced a marked improvement in the live stock of the state. Its transactions were first published in the *South Carolina Agriculturist*, then in the *Farmer and Planter* and in 1858-59 were compiled in a volume and issued by its secretary.

BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF RACE TRACK AND SOME FAIR BUILDINGS

PART OF CLEMSON COLLEGE EXHIBIT AT STATE FAIR

CHAPTER XLII

SLAVERY PRECIPITATES SECESSION

Robert F. W. Allston, who succeeded Governor Adams as chief executive of South Carolina (1856-1857), was not only one of the most successful and scientific rice planters of the state, with fine plantations near Georgetown, but was a West Point man, a graduate of the class of 1821, had served in the coast survey as a topographical engineer, and had been long a member of both houses of the Legislature. Few citizens of the State were more versatile in practical attainments. He was "a most unusual mixture of firmness and gentleness with rare executive ability." He was born in All Saints' parish fifty-five years before he became governor. When twenty years of age, he returned to South Carolina to assist his widowed mother in managing her large estate. His expert knowledge of surveying was invaluable in reclaiming wild territory and in the cultivation of his rice plantations, and in 1823 he was elected surveyor-general of the State. After completing his term of four years in that capacity, Mr. Allston began a long term of service in both branches of the Legislature, acting as president of the Senate from 1847 to 1856. In the latter year, as stated, he was elected governor. At that time he had been a trustee of the South Carolina College for fifteen years and continued as such until 1864.

THE ALLSTON ADMINISTRATION

The administration of Governor Allston was not marked by any noteworthy event in South Carolina. His education, his experience and his temperament easily account for his interest in the well being of the schools of the State and the progress of scientific agriculture.

DEATH OF ANDREW PICKENS BUTLER

On May 25, 1857, Senator Butler died in Washington in his eighty-first year, having served a decade in the upper house of Congress with credit and untarnished honor. During that period he had been charged with announcing the death of his two distinguished colleagues, Senators Calhoun and Elmore, within three months.

Judge Butler came of a distinguished South Carolina family, his father having been a Revolutionary captain and major general of the State militia. After graduating from the South Carolina College and studying law, he was admitted to practice and followed his profession with great success at Columbia, Edgefield, Lexington, Barnwell and Newberry. From 1824 to 1833 he continuously served either in the House of Representatives or Senate of the State, favored the nullification convention, and in the latter year, at the close of his legislative terms, was elected a circuit judge. He was judge of the new Court of Appeals for eleven years, and during that period pronounced many important decisions which are fine specimens of judicial argumentation and analysis. In December, 1846, Judge Butler

was elected a United States senator. In the Senate, although one of the acknowledged champions of the South, he also served for years as chairman of the judiciary committee, and his fellow members, in that capacity, never doubted his impartiality and unbiased honesty.

ECHOES FROM BLEEDING KANSAS

The Allston administration in South Carolina covered perhaps the most exciting period of Kansas history and one which brought the slavery question more definitely than ever into the domain of national politics and general civil warfare. In May, 1856, John Brown, the rabid Abolitionist, with six or seven others, all except two members of his own family, at Pottawattomie Creek, "took five men, innocent of anything which could even justify arrest by proper authorities, from their cabins, and murdered them, cutting and slashing their bodies with cutlasses, until their savage thirst for blood was partially satiated." Doctor Burgess says that the deed was "so barbarously atrocious" that the Republican members of the congressional committee of investigation of the territory "refused to make the event a part of their inquiry." Thus was John Brown rapidly approaching the hangman's noose at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. His mistake, which brought his doom, was in openly defying the organized and established authority of government State and Federal. In the North men of the highest standing proclaimed this brutal murderer a hero, and Ralph Waldo Emerson compared Brown's gallows to the cross of Jesus of Nazareth!

PETTIGREW'S HISTORIC REPORT

The agitation for the reopening of the slave trade which had begun during the administration of Governor Adams had been continued, it being claimed that an abundant supply of cheap labor was necessary for the development of cotton industries. As already stated, the consideration of the message of Governor Adams had been referred to a special committee to report at the next session, and J. Johnston Pettigrew, a brilliant young lawyer of the Charleston delegation, had prepared the masterly report of the minority, against reopening the trade. Comment has already been made upon the breadth and force and statesmanlike character of Pettigrew's report—one of the few historic papers of the slavery regime, but several portions of it are of such historic value that they are here reproduced.

"Another prominent argument in favor of this measure (proposing to introduce the slave trade as an economic measure of relief) is that at present labor is gradually transferred from South Carolina to the West, and that this emigration finds its only remedy in a corresponding immigration or importation. That a very considerable emigration, both of whites and blacks, from the Atlantic States to the valley of the Mississippi exists, is undoubtedly true—whether to the injurious extent represented cannot be positively ascertained until 1860.

INCREASE OF SLAVE POPULATION

"It is scarcely greater than in the decade from 1840 to 1850, during which period the slave population of South Carolina increased from 327,038 to 384,808, being 18 per cent notwithstanding the great drain upon it. Moving pictures have been drawn of mansions crumbling, plantations gone to ruin, etc., from want of labor. It has not been the fortune of the undersigned, in his journeys through the State, to

find these statements substantiated by the facts; on the contrary, prosperity is everywhere visible; everywhere lands have risen in value; everywhere wealth is accumulating, and were it not for the draft upon our resources by the summer absenteeism the invested capital would be immense. Certainly no portion of the United States has developed more rapidly and solidly than the valley of the French Broad since the attention of summer travelers has been turned in that direction.

REMEDY FOR INDUSTRIAL EXHAUSTION

"But suppose the fact to be as stated, that this industrial exhaustion really exists. Does the revival of the slave trade offer a remedy? The agricultural staples of South Carolina are three—rice, Sea Island cotton and upland cotton. The rice cultivation is confined to a small strip of territory commencing with Cape Fear and ending with certain rivers in Georgia. The crop is not very great compared with the general production of breadstuffs among the nations with whom we are in commercial communication. It is not a necessity of life, but rather belongs to the class of semi-luxuries. It is not a subject of speculation and each individual consumer requires but little. No one ever curtails his consumption on account of the increase in price. Owing to these circumstances and the superior quality of the Carolina article, it is a real monopoly, as is proved by the high price of rice lands.

"The cost of the item of labor is therefore a matter of comparative indifference to the planter; the consumer, not he, pays for it. It is not pretended that anyone will move West to cultivate this staple cheaper than here, simply because similar lands are not to be obtained there. This staple then stands aloof from the present question as an indifferent spectator.

"The next is Sea Island cotton, which occupies, in all essential features, the same position as rice. The territory suitable for its cultivation being limited to a few islands along the coast is absolutely without a rival, unless we except Algiers, which, as yet, has been an experiment, and a very sickly one. The idea of moving elsewhere to cultivate this staple is consequently preposterous. It always has been, and always will be, a monopoly. Its use is confined to manufacturers of luxury. * * *

REBELLIOUS; YET LAW-ABIDING!

"We suck in rebellion or obedience with our mother's milk. The Americans afford an illustration of this principle. Perhaps no nation on the globe is more high-tempered, restless, excitable and violent in resistance to illegitimate authority than the inhabitants of these Southern states; yet none submit with more cheerfulness and alacrity to the commands of the law, however disagreeable. The American general at the head of a conquering army in Mexico, with a prostrate nation at his feet, was ordered to lay down his command and appear before a court martial. He unhesitatingly obeyed the mandate. Mexicans were unable to comprehend such conduct. An American would have been unable to comprehend any other. The one had been educated to law, the other to anarchy.

"Our slaves have been subjected to the same influence as ourselves. They obey, without question, the law of their position, and, as a remarkable consequence, there has not been a commotion in the slave population of this, the most decidedly slave State in the Union, since

the suppression of the trade, with the single exception of 1822, which was entirely owing to emissaries from the West Indies, and was, moreover, much exaggerated in the reports of the time. Nor is it probable that another will ever take place. A partial outbreak they, of course, will not make; and the same knowledge which would fit them for a general insurrection will most effectually deter them, by showing its utter futility.

THE MENACE OF NEWLY IMPORTED AFRICANS

"With the introduction of savages, a new night would descend. The very ignorance by which they would be incapacitated for a grand scheme would urge them to outrages, individual and concerted, of a minor character, for which an unknown tongue would afford convenient means of concealment. Thefts, murders, plantation riots, would be the order of the day, until the old West India system was introduced, to which we would soon be driven. * * *

"It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of Africans imported into the West Indies since the opening of the trade, but it is probably greater than supposed. Some have estimated it for the British Islands alone at 1,700,000; others at 2,100,000; others, higher still. After 178 years, but 789,993 remained to be registered for emancipation. Between 1680 and 1776, a period of ninety-six years, 800,000 negroes, it is said, were imported into Santo Domingo. At the latter date, 290,800 remained. The decrease in Cuba has been estimated by authorities at from five to ten per cent per annum.

"Thus statistics disclose the fearful fact that in a climate similar to their own, surrounded by tropical abundance, the African population has not even preserved itself in the course of nature, but despite the continued renovation has decreased at the rate of hundreds per cent in the century. The fact is universally admitted and in the British Parliament was urged by the advocates of the Slave Trade as an argument for keeping open the source of supply.

HUMANITARIAN AMERICAN SLAVE-OWNERS

"In the United States a gratifying difference meets the view. The whole number imported has been estimated at 400,000. Since the year 1790, the increase has been at the rate of twenty-eight per cent for every decade, and the actual number is now about 4,000,000. By reference to the character of the importations, this fact will be placed in a still more striking point of view. For obvious reasons the Africans imported are seldom without the ages of fifteen and forty, and thus in the prime of life and best calculated to increase the population among which they are diffused.

"Now, the proportion of female slaves in the United States between these ages is about twenty per cent. Of the whole number of slaves and of both males and females in like manner, about forty per cent. The ratio of increase then to the latter, instead of twenty-eight would be seventy per cent, and to the former, one hundred and forty per cent for each decade.

"Now, why should the slave population decrease in a country similar to their own, and increase in one altogether different? What can have overcome the disadvantage of climate and produced such contrary results? So irreconcilable a difference in the result must be owing to some radical difference between the two systems. They resemble each other in every respect but one, and that is the existence

of the Slave Trade; under the one system it flourished without limitation—under the other, it never existed to any great extent, was almost suppressed in 1790 and absolutely, from 1808.

"In the one, the various considerations already alluded to, debarred the African from the benefit of his master's solicitude, while his cheapness deprived him of any hold upon the inferior motives. His original vices were not eradicated. They were merely accommodated to the new society in which he was placed. Polygamy became promiscuous concubinage; brutal debaucheries undermined his health, and continued labor completed the work of ruin.

CONSIDERATE TREATMENT INCREASES SLAVE POPULATION

"In America, the promptings of nature and self-interest alike contributed to produce the opposite result. Surrounded in his manhood by the descendants of those who had cultivated the paternal acres in his youth, it was impossible for the American planter to be indifferent to their welfare. The kindly feelings of early days were exchanged on the one hand for the respectful attachment and obedience of age, and, on the other, for a benevolent superintendence. Nature revolted at treating one in such a connection as a mere instrument of toil. The ties of marriage were acknowledged and respected; the claims of helpless youth and feeble old age, recognized, and not only moral, but physical wants supplied. If the cares of a parent sometimes failed, those of a master were ever present.

"Hence, this rapid increase, which would be impossible under the grinding rule of tyranny. The fact is at once the consequence and proof of the kindest treatment. Nor is the continuance of this situation dependent on virtue alone, from the influence of which a considerable portion of mankind would be exempt; for the dictates of worldly advantage counsel the same course to those who are devoid of the finer sensibilities. Ill treatment is sure to be followed by a loss, for which there is no Slave Trade to afford a cheap compensation. Both classes of owners are thus urged by the motives respectively most congenial to their natures to adopt the same course. Revive the Slave Trade and all this will vanish. We shall again find it necessary to prescribe by statute the manner of feeding slaves, lest they be compelled from want of nourishment to seek refuge and subsistence in the forest.

SLAVE LEGISLATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

"In taking leave of this subject, it will not be amiss to review cursorily the legislation of South Carolina in reference to the question. The British, having wrested the Assiento from the Spaniards, extended greatly their commerce with Africa, and enjoyed, until 1776, a monopoly of supplying the Carolina slave market. After the peace of 1783, the New Englanders obtained a participation in its profits. In the early history of the colony, individuals, mostly foreigners holding high positions under the government, were interested in this traffic, and it flourished greatly, the evil effects of which were soon felt, as will be apparent from the statutes enacted. The Acts of Assembly of 1698 for the encouragement of the importation of white servants, after the following preamble:—'Whereas, the great number of negroes which have of late been imported into this colony may endanger the safety thereof, if speedy measures be not taken and encouragement given for the importation of white servants'—requires each planter to take one white servant for every six negroes.

"Then followed a dozen or more acts passed during the eighteenth century, either prohibiting the importation of slaves into South Carolina, or endeavoring to discourage the practice by the imposition of high taxes upon them. The reasons given for opposing the practice were both sanitary and economical.

"It is apparent from this sketch that the injurious tendency of the importation of barbarism is not an idea originating with Yankee Abolitionists and forced upon a reluctant South as a stigma. It was recognized in Carolina as far back as 1714. Nor was it then the creature of sickly and maudlin equivocators, who had neither the firmness to give up the institution which they deplored and excused, nor to follow it to its legitimate deductions. There was no hint of abolition, no distrust of slavery, but these sterling citizens had sufficient wisdom to perceive a vast difference between a system of civilized, and a system of barbarian slavery.

"The great historical Carolinians of 1789 and 1791, many of whom were violently opposed to this grant of power to the Federal Government, never supposed themselves thereby committed to the approval of the slave trade, nor thought that their condemnation of this latter would be inconsistent with fidelity to the institution itself. They were keenly alive to the necessity of developing it at home, of keeping it free from all foreign impurities. Hence the preamble; hence the prohibition of importation from Africa, or even from sister States, unless with evidence of good character.

"The restriction against importation from Africa was removed a few years previous to 1808, but this was owing to the impossibility of preventing evasion of our laws, through the want of a State navy, and it was thought better to bring them directly from Africa than receive them through New York as pretended Americans. That the sentiment of the State underwent no change is proved by the subsequent unanimous vote of her delegation in Congress. To the wise statesmanship of these men is due the present felicitous condition of our laboring population. The progress of a joint civilization since that time has rendered the treatment of slaves throughout the Union nearly the same. There is, therefore, no reason for the suspicion which formerly existed with respect to negroes from other states, and all laws against their importation have been repealed. But every day widens the distance between the American and the native African slave, and the wisdom which counseled the passage of existing laws would imperatively demand their continuance.

"In the preceding discussion, reference to such topics as might appeal to prejudice rather than reason has been studiously avoided. If ever there was an occasion when the happiness of South Carolina should be the object of solicitude and wise deliberation, it is this; but the time for deliberation once past, any hesitation is fraught with infinite evil. The question having been brought directly before the Legislature; a year devoted to its consideration, and there remaining scarcely the shadow of a doubt as to the sentiments of the State, it is desirable that her position should no longer be equivocal. The undersigned therefore recommends the adoption of the following resolutions, embodying, to a certain extent, the sentiments contained in the preceding report:—

"1st.—Resolved, That in the opinion of this body the introduction of barbarians, whether slave or free, from any part of the world, would be injurious to the best interests of the State of South Carolina;

"2d.—Resolved, That in the opinion of this body an endorsement

by the Legislature of the proposition to revive the African Slave Trade would be calculated to sow dissension throughout the South at a time when its union is necessary to its safety;

"3d.—Resolved, That inasmuch as citizens of South Carolina do not participate in the prosecution of the African Slave Trade, this State feels little interest in the species of punishment denounced against the violators of the laws of the United States upon the subject, and would consider any effort on her part in the existing division of sentiment at the South to procure their repeal, as unnecessary and impolitic in the last degree.

"Respectfully submitted,

"J. JOHNSTON PETTIGREW."

An interesting and significant fact, unknown to the general reader, is that 18,000 slaves were the property of negro or mulatto masters, and a large proportion of these colored slave-owners were in South Carolina. These colored slave-owners had won their freedom, some by payment of money and others manumitted by their masters through love and affection, and they invested their earnings in the best paying property of the time.* Wm. Lloyd Garrison is said to have been greatly surprised when, on the occasion of a visit to South Carolina at the close of the war, he congratulated a negro acquaintance in Charleston upon the happy effects of emancipation, and received the reply: "What, me happy at de freein' o' my niggers!"

SLAVE PRICES—1800-1860

The complex working and far-reaching effects of American negro slavery can be learned with relative completeness only from a study of some long settled and very black portion of the southern black belts. Such a study has been made by Prof. Ulrich B. Phillips, who selected the low-lying coast region of South Carolina and Georgia, which had its focus at Charleston and which he calls "the Charleston district." Only one phase of the economic cost of slave-holding can be considered here, the averages for prime field hands in the Charleston district. Following is the table prepared by Professor Phillips:†

YEAR	PRICE	YEAR	PRICE	YEAR	PRICE	YEAR	PRICE
1800...	\$500	1814...	\$450	1830...	\$450	1844...	\$500
1801...	550	1815...	500	1831...	475	1845...	550
1802...	550	1816...	600	1832...	500	1846...	650
1803...	575	1817...	650	1833...	525	1847...	750
1804...	600	1819...	850	1834...	650	1848...	700
1805...	550	1820...	725	1835...	750	1849...	650
1806...	550	1822...	650	1836...	1100	1850...	700
1807...	525	1823...	600	1837...	1200	1851...	750
1808...	550	1824...	500	1838...	1000	1852...	800
1809...	500	1825...	500	1839...	1000	1853...	900
1810...	500	1826...	475	1840...	800	1855...	900
1811...	550	1827...	475	1841...	650	1858...	950
1812...	500	1828...	450	1842...	600	1859...	1100
1813...	450	1829...	475	1843...	500	1860...	1200

* Calvin D. Wilson: Popular Science Monthly, November, 1912.

† U. B. Phillips: Political Science Quarterly, Vol. XX, 264-267.

PROPOSED SECESSION DIVIDES DEMOCRATIC PARTY

In 1854, Stephen A. Douglas, the Little Giant from Illinois, had attempted to stave off the day of reckoning between the North and the South by the introduction and promotion of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. But that proved far from a compromise. Douglas was only making the more certain the power of his group of states, but the spokesman of the South felt compelled to support him in a fight against Abolitionists and anti-slavery agitators.

His debate with Lincoln, in 1858, had but further consolidated diverse sentiment on the question, and also developed the fact that, although there were many Democrats in the North who sympathized with the efforts of the Southern States to get from under their specially heavy burdens imposed by the various tariffs, there was also a strong party in that section, as well as in the South, which still refused to believe in the wisdom or necessity of secession. As the presidential election of 1860 approached, it became evident that Mr. Douglas represented the northern sentiment along these lines, and that Abraham Lincoln, his senatorial opponent of two years before, was looming as the strongest leader of the new Republican party of the North and West which was as firmly opposed to slavery, and all for which the South stood, as to secession.

GOVERNOR GIST SUCCEEDS ALLSTON

William H. Gist, of Union district, a lawyer, for many years a representative in the State Senate, and from all accounts a popular man of commendable parts, succeeded Governor Allston, in January, 1858. In October, 1859, late in his administration, John Brown was tried, found guilty and on December 2d was executed at Charleston, West Virginia.

Governor Gist came from a family that has "done the State some service" in peace and war, and he lived up to his high ideals through a very critical period in South Carolina history.

SOUTH CAROLINA LEADS THE SOUTH

South Carolina now stood head and shoulders above all the states as the leader of the extreme and uncompromising southern idea. There was more than one good, material cause for this. Not only had the state earned the post of leadership by virtue of the ability displayed by her public men, but by reason of her remarkable material progress in spite of the drawbacks under which she labored. But that advance had been made largely by means of the slave labor applied to the expansion of the cotton area and the productiveness of the more restricted rice fields.

SLAVE LABOR AND GENERAL PROSPERITY

In 1860, when the northern agitators were urging the abolition of slavery as an unmitigated curse, the nearly 27,000 slave holders of South Carolina held their bondsmen and bondswomen largely by ties of fair treatment, self-interest and even affection, and had raised their State to such a material prosperity that it stood third among the states of the Union in per capita wealth. Connecticut stood first and Louisiana second. South Carolina had risen from \$431 in 1850 to \$779 a head in 1860, against an average of \$501 for all the states of

the Union. Taxation, not national, was \$1.85 per capita, against an average of \$2.95 for the other states. The tariff had been reduced in 1857 below twenty per cent, which was lower than it had been since 1812.

In 1860, the slave holders of South Carolina numbered less than nine per cent of the white population. Of these, sixty per cent belonging chiefly to the mercantile and professional classes, owned each only a few slaves. They frequently freed their domestics, which accounts for the fact that the free negroes in the South increased more than twenty-three per cent during the decade 1850-60, while at the North they increased only thirteen per cent in spite of the Underground Railroad and the active resistance to the enforcement of the law for the capture of fugitive slaves.*

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF 1860

When the national Democratic convention assembled at Charleston, on April 23, 1860, it was apparent that the northern and southern democrats could never agree upon a common platform, split as they were by the policy to be adopted in regard to the admission of slavery into the new territories. No other city in the United States was perhaps more unfriendly to the cause of the leading candidate, Douglas. As the delegates gathered, it was seen that every delegation from every northwestern state was instructed to vote as a unit for Douglas, and it became evident that a safe majority would insist on his nomination. The enthusiasm of the followers of the "Little Giant" surpassed all similar demonstrations at previous conventions. On the other hand, the committee on resolutions was opposed to Douglas, and by a vote of seventeen to sixteen it reported a platform which was simply a restatement of the Dred Scott decision, adding only that the Federal Government was bound by the Constitution to support slavery in the territories.† When this report was read the Douglas majority rejected it, and accepted the minority report, which was the "popular sovereignty" of Douglas and the platform of 1856, for which all the South had stood in the campaign of that year.

CONFUSION WORSE CONFOUNDED

The convention was deadlocked, for the South could defeat Douglas for the nomination, under the two-thirds rule, and Douglas could prevent the adoption of any southern program, or the nomination of any candidate other than himself. On Sunday, April 30th, the clergy and the congregations of Charleston prayed as never before for a peaceable solution of the problem before the country. On Monday evening, the fiery and eloquent Wm. L. Yancey, of Alabama, after a most remarkable speech, broke the deadlock by leading a bolt of practically all the lower Southern States. The Tammany Hall delegation of New York followed. The bolters held a meeting in another hall, and called a convention of their element of the party in Richmond in June. The Douglas majority likewise adjourned a day or two later to meet in Baltimore at the same time. In closing the ineffective gathering, Mr. Cushing addressed the delegates to the effect that no convention having such immense interests at stake had ever before sat for so great a length of time with the observance of so great a share of honor and freedom from personalities or offensive language.

* South Carolina Handbook, 1908.

† W. E. Dodd: "Expansion and Conflict."

He regarded the convention as having in its destiny not only the permanence of the Democratic party, "but the question whether these United States should continue and endure. He would not, however, relinquish the hope that the Union would continue on to eternity."

The historic "Jacksonian" party had thus broken into factions, and each faction nominated a candidate; the southerners, supported by Buchanan, nominated Breckenridge; the Douglas men claiming that theirs was the only true "Union" ticket, nominated Douglas; and a third convention, which met at Baltimore, "the Remnant of the Know-Nothings of 1856," nominated Bell and Everett.

As was anticipated, there was a radical difference in the platforms of the branches of the Democracy. The dividing line was on slavery alone. Both parties adopted planks in promotion of the transcontinental railroad to the Pacific coast, in favor of the acquisition of Cuba and in condemnation of the efforts of various state legislatures to circumvent the operations of the Fugitive Slave law. The Douglas Democrats, after noting that differences of opinion existed in regard to "the powers and duties of Congress under the Constitution of the United States over the Institution of Slavery within the Territories," added that "the Democratic party will abide by the decision of the United States Supreme Court" in the matter. The Breckenridge Democrats, however, declared that "the people of the territories had the right to decide the Slavery question themselves;" that it was a matter of Territorial Rights then, as it had previously been, of State Rights.

The nomination of Bell by the old-time Whigs drew somewhat from the strength of the Republican party, but not sufficiently to offset the radical division among the Democrats.

CHAPTER XLIII

SOUTH CAROLINA SECEDES FROM THE UNION

The result of the November election was to give Lincoln, Republican, a popular vote of 1,866,352, or nearly forty per cent of the total, and 180 electoral votes; Douglas, the Northern Democrat, 1,375,157, more than twenty-nine per cent, and twelve electoral votes; Breckenridge, Southern Democrat, 845,763 votes, or a little over eighteen per cent of the total cast, and seventy-two electoral votes, and Bell, Union (Northern) candidate, 589,581 votes, or 12.60 of the total, and thirty-nine electoral votes. It will thus be seen, could the Democrats have been united and the presidential choice be determined by popular vote, that the Democratic party would have carried the election. That fact made them the more dissatisfied with the election of Lincoln, and greatly encouraged South Carolina, and the South in general, in its stand for secession.

MOMENTOUS STATE MOVEMENTS

The most prominent leaders of the State had been sent to the convention which first met at Columbia, in the First Baptist Church, on December 17, 1860, and then, on account of small-pox, adjourned to meet in Charleston.

In the meantime public speakers, especially clergymen throughout South Carolina, called general attention to the momentous crisis at hand, and the people of all denominations observed the intervening period as a season of fasting, humiliation and prayer. Governor Gist had appointed November 21st as the special day to be thus observed.

LEGISLATIVE DOINGS

Anticipating the election of Lincoln, Governor Gist called the Legislature together in extra session on November 5, 1860, that they might take action "if deemed advisable for the safety and protection of the State." When assembled, W. D. Porter, president of the Senate, announced that they were "all agreed as to their wrongs," and he urged unanimity of sentiment and action, "as the destiny and very existence of the State" depended in great part upon the action they should take.

South Carolina, it will be remembered, was the only State in the Union where the Legislature appointed presidential electors. Election of electors for Breckenridge was a matter which would have taken little time, but Mr. Porter, as did every member of the Senate and House, recognized that affairs of much greater moment hung in the balance.

GOVERNOR GIST'S OMINOUS MESSAGE

The governor in his call for the special session stated that it was exceedingly probable that a "sectional" candidate would be elected

to the presidency; that the policy of the party assuming power would "reduce the Southern States to mere provinces of a consolidated despotism."

Governor Gist therefore suggested that the Legislature remain in session and prepare the State for any emergency that might arise. In the event of Mr. Lincoln's election, he recommended that "a convention of the people of the State be immediately called to consider and determine for themselves the mode and measure of redress." * * * "The only alternative left, in my judgment," he said, "is the secession of South Carolina from the Union." In his opinion such action by South Carolina would be followed by the entire South. Among other measures, he recommended that the militia be reorganized, the whole military force of the State placed in a position to be used at the shortest notice; that every man between the ages of eighteen and forty-five be well armed, and that the services of 10,000 volunteers be immediately accepted. Two days after the Legislature had convened, its probable course of action had been largely influenced by stirring events in Charleston.

DRAMATIC SCENE IN UNITED STATES COURT

The grand jury of the United States District Court on November 7th refused to perform the duties of their office and the Hon. A. G. Magrath, United States district judge, formally resigned his office. Robert N. Gourdin, foreman of the grand jury, was asked by the judge whether he had any presentments to make. In the course of his brief and spirited reply Mr. Gourdin said: "The verdict of the Northern section of the Confederacy, solemnly announced to the country through the ballot-box on yesterday, has swept away the last hope for the permanence, for the stability of the Federal government of these sovereign States, and the public mind is constrained to lift itself above the consideration of details in the administration of law and justice up to the vast and solemn issues which have been forced upon us.

"These issues involve the existence of the government of which this court is the organ and minister. In these extraordinary circumstances, the grand jury respectfully declines to proceed with their presentments."

Not since 1774, when the grand jury of the "Old Cheraws," inspired by the charges of Judge William Henry Drayton, had determined to defend their rights "at the hazard of our lives and fortunes," had such a scene been enacted in a South Carolina court room.

CAST ASIDE HIS SILKEN GOWN

The profound silence which followed Foreman Gourdin's announcement was broken when Judge Magrath rose, and, casting his silken gown aside, formally resigned his office. He said, in part: "In the political history of the United States an event has happened of ominous import to fifteen slave-holding States. The State of which we are citizens has been always understood to have deliberately fixed its purpose whenever that event should happen.

"Feeling an assurance of what will be the action of the State, I consider it my duty to prepare to obey its wishes. That preparation is made by the resignation of the office which I have held.

"For the last time I have, as a judge of the United States, administered the laws of the United States within the limits of the State of

South Carolina. * * * So far as I am concerned the Temple of Justice, raised under the constitution of the United States, is now closed.

"If it shall never again be opened, I thank God that its doors have been closed before its altar has been desecrated with sacrifices to tyranny." *

Many of the spectators, it is said, were in tears during the delivery of Judge Magrath's address.

Upon the same day the United States district attorney, and soon after the collector of the port resigned their offices.

The news of these happenings in Charleston produced a profound impression upon the Legislature in Columbia and practically insured immediate action.

CALL FOR A CONVENTION

Up to this time even the Charleston delegation had not agreed that the time for decisive action had come, some of its members arguing that the call for a convention should be postponed until nearer the close of Buchanan's administration. The Committee on Federal Relations reported a bill on November 8th providing for calling a convention for the purpose of secession. It passed a second reading November 9th, with but a single vote in the negative, Senator McAlilley of Chester, and the next day (November 10th) the bill was passed unanimously. The House passed the bill unanimously November 12th. The resignation of United States Senator Hammond was communicated to the Legislature November 13th—after which that body, in extra session, adjourned.

The Legislature assembled in regular session on November 26th. The secession of the State was regarded as a foregone conclusion. Governor Gist in his message made recommendations regarding slaves and the punishment of Abolition agitators; he held that there was but one course for South Carolina, "to go straight forward to the consummation of her purpose;" that she had the right, and the Federal Government could not rightfully prevent her secession, but that "men having arms in their hand may use them" and therefore he urged the Legislature to arm the State "before the other (Southern) States move up in line." In his second and last message Governor Gist claimed that "having forever closed the door from which we have passed out of the Union, we may with safety seek co-operation and unite with other States." He presented to the Legislature one of John Brown's pikes (the gift of Edmund Ruffin of Virginia), and hoped confidently that "by the 25th of December no flag but the Palmetto would float over any part of the State of South Carolina."

GOVERNOR FRANCIS W. PICKENS

The Legislature on December 11th, as prescribed by the constitution, elected the successor of Governor Gist, and after seven ballots the choice fell upon Francis W. Pickens, who had recently returned from Russia, where he had represented the United States at the court of

* Gen. S. W. Crawford, in whose "History of the Fall of Fort Sumter * * * The Genesis of the Civil War," this series of events is clearly set forth, rightly estimates the importance of Judge Magrath's action. General Crawford quotes Judge Jere. S. Black, former attorney-general, by saying to him: "The act of that man (Magrath) caused more anxiety to Mr. Buchanan than any other event that occurred, except Anderson's movement from Moultrie to Sumter."

St. Petersburg. He had served with distinction in Congress where he had been an ardent disciple of Calhoun. He had to face unprecedented conditions and served with extraordinary zeal and patriotic devotion to the State, if not always with tact and discretion. On his return from Europe he had discussed conditions with the president, and it was believed that he was opposed to any call for a Secession convention, until after the close of Buchanan's administration.

THE COLUMBIA CONVENTION

It was under the provisions of the State Senate bill ratified November 13, 1860, that the delegates duly elected assembled at Columbia on Monday, December 17th at 12 o'clock noon. The Baptist Church had been secured for the purpose, as the General Assembly was then in session and no room in the State House was available. Gen. David F. Jamison, of Barnwell district, took the chair as temporary president, all of the 170 delegates but one reporting for duty.

After four ballots had been taken, General Jamison was elected permanent president, his only competitors at the final vote being Hon. James L. Orr, speaker of the National House of Representatives, and Hon. James Chestnut, Jr., who had just resigned from the United States Senate. During the first and second ballots, Governor Gist led the race.

After the permanent president had been selected, the following commissioners from sister States of the South were invited to seats on the floor: Howell Cobb, Georgia; John A. Elmore and J. W. Garrott, Alabama; Charles E. Hooker, Mississippi, and Hon. M. S. Perry of Florida. Henry Dickinson, commissioner from Mississippi to the State of Delaware, was also accorded the same honor.

Chancellor Inglis offered a resolution to the effect that when the convention adjourned for the day, it be to meet in Charleston, on Tuesday the 18th, at 4 o'clock. The resolution was adopted, and in the evening, from the same source, were offered resolutions (a) that "it is the opinion of this convention that the State of South Carolina should forthwith secede from the Federal Union known as the United States of America;" (b) that a committee be appointed to draft an ordinance to that effect and members be requested to submit to the convention any draft or scheme for such; (c) that the act of the General Assembly providing for the convention be referred to the same committee. Of these resolutions (a) was unanimously adopted; (b) seven was named specifically as the membership of the committee; and (c) was withdrawn. After some other formal business, which has no historical importance, the convention adjourned to Charleston. No definite reason for such adjournment is entered in the minutes, but it was generally understood that the existence of small-pox in Columbia was the prime cause for such action.

There was unquestioned dissatisfaction that the Secession Ordinance had not already been passed, and the Hon. W. Porcher Miles, a delegate from Charleston, warmly opposed the resolution to adjourn to that city, "or anywhere else," until the main purpose of the convention had been accomplished.

CONVENTION REASSEMBLES AT CHARLESTON

Under the terms of the adjournment, the convention reassembled at Institute Hall, Charleston, on Tuesday afternoon, December 18th. Its proceedings were opened with prayer by the Rev. J. C. Furman,

a delegate from the Greenville District. The president, General Jamison, then appointed the following as a committee to issue an explanatory address to the people of the Southern States: R. B. Rhett, John A. Calhoun, W. P. Finley, I. D. Wilson, W. F. DeSaussure, Langdon Cheves and M. E. Carn.

Before the adjournment of the day the president, Jamison, appointed Chancellor John A. Inglis, R. B. Rhett, James Chestnut, Jr., James L. Orr, Maxcy Gregg and W. F. Hutson to draft "an ordinance proper to be adopted by the convention." The convention then adjourned to meet in a larger hall, where the speakers could be better heard than in the large room of the Institute Hall. It is stated that it was large but "cold and uncomfortable."

ST. ANDREW'S HALL

On December 19th, the convention reassembled at the large and handsome hall of the St. Andrew's Society on Broad Street just east of the Roman Catholic Cathedral.

The session that day lasted but one hour. Judge Magrath moved: "That so much of the message of the President of the United States as relates to what he designates 'the property of the United States in South Carolina,' be referred to a committee of thirteen to report of what such property consists, how acquired, and whether the purpose for which it was so acquired can be enjoyed by the United States, after the State of South Carolina shall have seceded," etc., etc. This was made the order of the day for 1 o'clock the next day, when it was unanimously adopted.

December 20th, a fateful day for South Carolina and the South, was marked by enthusiasm all over Charleston. The business streets were gay with flags of all descriptions, except that of the Union. Cockades of blue—the Nullification color—or palmetto were worn in almost every hat; there was a general interchange of congratulations, and the people crowded the passage and stairways of St. Andrew's Hall. The State should and would secede, they thought; but very many of the people and of the delegates to the convention believed that Horace Greeley's advice would be taken and that South Carolina and her Southern sisters would be allowed to "go in peace."

The convention assembled; the Rev. T. R. English of Sumter offered prayer for divine guidance, and the doors were closed to all but the delegates. Within the hall there was no excitement; outside there were excited crowds and feverish anxiety.

SECESSION ORDINANCE INTRODUCED

Chancellor Inglis, of Chesterfield, chairman of the committee to draft an Ordinance of Secession, presented the following report:

"The committee appointed to prepare a draft of an Ordinance proper to be adopted by the convention in order to effect the secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union, respectfully report:

"That they have had the matter referred under consideration, and believing that they would best meet the exigencies of the great occasion, and the just expectations of the convention, by expressing, in the fewest and simplest words possible to be used, consistently with perspicuity, all that is necessary to effect the end proposed, and no more, and so excluding everything, which, however proper in itself, for the attention and action of the convention, is not a necessary part of the solemn act of secession but may, at least, be as well effected by a dis-

tinct Ordinance or resolution, they submit for the consideration of the convention the accompanying brief draft:

"AN ORDINANCE

"To dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled 'The Constitution of the United States of America.'

"We the People of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained

"That the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all Acts, and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of 'The United States of America' is hereby dissolved."

The question was put and every one of the 169 duly elected delegates to the convention answered "aye." * That was at 1:15 P. M. A few minutes later the news was flashing to all parts of the country and the Charleston Mercury issued a quaint "extra." It was a narrow strip of paper about three columns in width and about the length of the regular page of that newspaper. This extra was sent broadcast to all parts of South Carolina, but a copy of it is now a rare treasure to obtain.

"It will be recalled that the resolution provided for a committee to draft an ordinance providing that 'any individual member' could submit a 'draft or scheme' of such Ordinance to the committee. Chancellor Inglis is authority for the statement that a draft submitted by Chancellor Francis H. Wardlaw was used by the committee as a model for the ordinance submitted by the committee, of which he was chairman. * * *

"The General Assembly had been invited to attend and witness the ceremony of signing and both houses accepted and were on hand that evening. At 6:30 the convention reassembled and moved in procession to Institute Hall, where the proceedings were opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. John Bachman, the great naturalist, of Charleston.

"The attorney-general, Hon. Isaac W. Hayne, reported that he and the circuit solicitors, to whom the duty of engrossing and enrolling the Ordinance had been assigned, reported that they had performed that duty and had caused the great seal of the State to be attached thereto. (As a matter of fact, only a small seal had been attached and the great seal was put upon it, after it was taken to Columbia.)

"The Ordinance was then presented and was signed by every member of the convention—169. (The second delegate from St. Matthew's parish, A. T. Darby, who was subsequently elected, appeared in the convention on December 28th, took the oath and was permitted to sign the Ordinance.)

"The instrument lay on a table near the president, and, as each election district was called, the delegates from that district walked up and solemnly attached their signatures thereto. * * * When the signing was completed, the president of the convention said: "The Ordi-

* From article prepared by A. S. Salley, Jr., on the occasion of the semi-centennial celebration of the passage of the Ordinance, December 20, 1910.

nance of Secession has been signed and ratified, and I proclaim the State of South Carolina an Independent Commonwealth.'"

Despite the typical spirit of South Carolina, this act of secession was taken coolly and with long premeditation, and even then, the physical act of signing the portentous document was attended by scenes which indicated that all those who affixed their names to it did so with a sense of the awful responsibility it involved. In this connection Mrs. F. G. de Fontaine wrote in 1886: "When R. B. Rhett, the 'father of secession,' knelt and bowed his head in silent prayer over the document he was about to sign, there was scarcely a dry eye in the house, and the excitement was so intense that fully fifteen minutes elapsed before the next signature was affixed. Two of the members who had walked arm in arm upon the platform were discussing the matter later in the evening when one remarked 'Yes, we have signed it in ink, but many of us will seal it with blood.' They both became colonels of regiments, and were killed in the same battle not ten feet apart."

The Charleston Courier, in a contemporaneous account, says: "On this announcement (that the Ordinance had been ratified), the whole audience rose and gave vent to their enthusiasm in prolonged cheers, with the waving of hats and handkerchiefs. On motion of Judge Magrath the meeting then adjourned.

"After the announcement in the Hall of the ratification of the Ordinance several citizens left the Hall and proclaimed the ratification to an immense gathering outside of those who were unable to obtain admittance."

Beyond question the overwhelming majority of the citizens of Charleston did not question the right of the State to secede, though many of them, even in the excitement of the moment, doubted that such action was practicable.

"ONE AGAINST THE WORLD"

Some few there were who questioned both the constitutionality and the wisdom of secession. Among such was the distinguished lawyer James L. Petigru. The Hon. Joseph Daniel Pope, a delegate to the convention, some time law student under Mr. Petigru, and always his friend, relates that on the morning of the passage of the Ordinance, he met Mr. Petigru on Broad Street, just at the moment that the bells of the city began to ring aloud the tidings of the hour. He says Mr. Petigru rushed up and exclaimed: "Where's the fire?" And when being told that there was no fire, that those were the joy bells ringing in honor of the Ordinance of Secession, he turned instantly and said: "I tell you there is a fire; they have this day set a blazing torch to the temple of constitutional liberty, and, please God, we shall have no more peace."

THORNWELL SPEAKS FOR THE PEOPLE

The Rev. Dr. J. H. Thornwell, after the death of Calhoun regarded by many as the ablest mind in the State, thus eloquently voices the opinion of the great majority of South Carolinians of his day.

* "That there was a cause, and an adequate cause, might be presumed from the character of the convention which passed the Ordinance of Secession, and the perfect unanimity with which it was done. The convention was not a collection of politicians and demagogues.

* Southern Presbyterian Review (Columbia, South Carolina), 1860.

It was not a conclave of defeated place-hunters, who sought to avenge their disappointments by the ruin of their country. It was a body of grave, sober and venerable men, selected from every pursuit in life, and distinguished most of them, in their respective spheres, by every quality which can command confidence and respect. It embraced the wisdom, moderation and integrity of the bench; the learning and prudence of the bar; and the eloquence and learning of the pulpit. It contained retired planters, scholars and gentlemen, who stood aloof from the turmoil and ambition of public life, and were devoting an elegant leisure to the culture of their minds, and to quiet the unobtrusive schemes of Christian philanthropy.

"There were men in that convention utterly incapable of low and selfish schemes, who, in the calm serenity of their judgment, were as unmoved by the waves of popular passion and excitement as the everlasting granite by the billows that roll against it. There were men there who would listen to no voice but the voice of reason; and would bow to no authority but what they believed to be the authority of God. There were men there who would not be controlled by 'uncertain opinion,' nor be betrayed into 'sudden counsels'; men who would act from nothing, in the noble language of Milton, 'but from mature wisdom, deliberate virtue, and the dear affection of the public good.' That convention, in the character of its members, deserves every syllable of the glowing panegyric which Milton pronounced upon the immortal Parliament of Great Britain which taught the nations of the earth that resistance to tyrants was obedience to God.

"Were it not invidious, we might single out names, which, wherever they are known, are regarded as synonymous with purity, probity, magnanimity and honor. It was a noble body, and all their proceedings were in harmony with their high character. In the midst of intense agitation and excitement, they were calm, cool, collected and self-possessed. They deliberated without passion, and concluded without rashness. They sat with closed doors, that the tumult of the population might not invade the sobriety of their minds. If a stranger could have passed from the stirring scenes with which the streets of Charleston were alive, into the calm and quiet sanctuary of this venerable council, he would have been impressed with the awe and veneration which subdued the rude Gaul, when he first beheld, in senatorial dignity, the Conscript Fathers of Rome.

"That in such a body there was not a single vote against the Ordinance of Secession; that there was not only no dissent, but the assent was cordial and thoroughgoing, is a strong presumption that the measure was justified by the clearest and sternest necessities of justice and of right. That such an assembly should have inaugurated a radical revolution in all the external relations of the State, in the face of acknowledged dangers and at the risk of enormous sacrifices, and should have done it gravely, soberly, dispassionately, deliberately, and yet have done it without cause—transcends all the measures of probability.

"Whatever else may be said of it, it certainly must be admitted that this solemn act of South Carolina was well considered."

THE DECLARATION OF CAUSES

Immediately after the proclamation of the Ordinance of Secession, so simple, concise and impressive, the leaders of the movement issued their "Declaration of the Immediate Causes." Its author was C. G. Memminger, assisted by F. H. Wardlaw, R. W. Barnwell, J. P.

Richardson, B. H. Rutledge, J. E. Jenkins and P. E. Duncan. It reviews the national history, which had established "the right of a state to govern itself, and the right of a people to abolish a government when it becomes destructive of the ends for which it was instituted." The paper succinctly covers the ground of northern discrimination against the South, and the persistent interference of the North in the constitutional rights and domestic affairs of the southern states. The Declaration concludes: "On the 4th of March next this party (the Republican) will take possession of the government. It has announced that the South shall be excluded from common territory; that the judicial tribunals shall be made sectional, and that a war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States.

"The guarantees of the constitution will then no longer exist; the equal rights of the States will be lost. The slave-holding States will no longer have the power of self-government or self-protection, and the Federal Government will have become their enemy.

"Sectional interest and animosity will deepen the irritation, and all hope of remedy is rendered vain by the fact that public opinion at the North has invested a great political error with the sanctions of a more erroneous religious belief.

"We, therefore, the People of South Carolina, by our delegates in Convention assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, have solemnly declared that the Union heretofore existing between this State and the other States of North America is dissolved, and that the State of South Carolina has resumed her position among the nations of the world, as a separate and independent State, with full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do."

PERSONNEL OF THE CONVENTION

This South Carolina convention which thus put forth and ratified and defended the Ordinance of Secession was composed of much of the best manhood of the Palmetto State. Four had been governors—John Hugh Means, John Lawrence Manning, James H. Adams and William H. Gist. Three were to occupy the gubernatorial chair—A. G. Magrath, James L. Orr and John P. Richardson.

The bench, then or later, was represented by T. J. Withers, J. N. Whitner, Thomas W. Glover, D. L. Wardlaw, B. F. Dunkin, F. H. Wardlaw, A. G. Magrath, J. P. Carroll, John A. Inglis, W. D. Johnson, Thomas Thomson, Henry McIver, J. P. Reed and Joseph B. Kershaw.

Among leading educators were: Robert W. Barnwell, president of South Carolina College; W. P. Finley, some time president of the Charleston College; James H. Carlisle, afterward president of Wofford College, and R. J. Davant, president of the Board of Visitors of The Citadel.

The following had the rare distinction of having been enrolled as delegates to the 1832 convention, which considered Nullification, to the 1852 gathering which declared Secession might but not expedient and to the 1860 convention, which took the final step: R. W. Barnwell, T. L. Gourdin, F. H. Wardlaw and J. I. Middleton.

Three served in both the Nullification and Secession conventions, but not in 1852—R. B. Rhett, John L. Nowell and Governor James H. Adams (who was but twenty years of age in 1832). In 1852 R. B. Rhett was in the United States Senate.

In addition to the judges, former governors and other dignitaries, there were several members of Congress in the 1860 convention, viz:—L. M. Keith, L. M. Ayer, W. Porcher Miles and James Chestnut, Jr.

The number of ministers in the 1860 convention was quite remarkable—at least a round dozen.

Railroad and industrial interests were also well represented. Among the presidents of railroads were Thomas C. Perrin, of the Columbia & Greenville; Lieutenant Governor Wm. W. Harlee, of the Wilmington & Manchester; A. Baxter Springs, of the Charlotte & Columbia, and R. J. Davant, of the Port Royal. Perhaps the most prominent industrial member of the convention was William Gregg, founder of the great Graniteville cotton mill.

Many of those who sat as members of the 1860 convention were to become prominent military leaders of the Confederacy and some were to seal their faith with their lives upon the field of battle.

James L. Orr organized the famous command known as Orr's Regiment.

Col. W. H. Campbell, Episcopal priest, commanded a battery of artillery with the rank of colonel.

James Chestnut, Jr., became a brigadier-general, served on President Davis's staff and was elected to the Confederate Senate.

Laurence M. Keitt met his death while leading his regiment.

Col. John H. Means, ex-governor and president of the 1852 convention, was killed at Second Manassas.

Gen. Maxcy Gregg, the Mexican soldier and leader of the famous brigade which took his name, was killed at Fredericksburg.

James Conner, who succeeded his father H. W. Conner in the convention, was a distinguished brigadier in the Army of Northern Virginia, and was afterward attorney general of South Carolina.

J. B. Kershaw became a major general in the Confederate army. "Kershaw's Brigade" figures in most of the great battles in Virginia.

Col. J. M. Gadberry fell also at Second Manassas.

Col. B. H. Rutledge commanded the Fourth South Carolina cavalry.

Gen. John S. Preston, the gifted orator, was brigadier general and head of the Bureau of Conscription.

D. F. Jamison, the distinguished scholar and civilian, was author of "The Life and Times of Bertrand du Guesclin," a work of varied scholarship and research. His house and superb library were ruthlessly burned by Sherman's Army. It was not forgotten that he had been president of the Secession convention.

John A. Inglis, chairman of the committee which reported the Secession Ordinance and who was at the time it was adopted, a chancellor of the State Court of Equity, was a native of Baltimore, Maryland. Sherman men also destroyed the home and valuable library of Chancellor Inglis. Several years afterward he returned to Baltimore and became prominently identified with the University of Maryland and in connection with various judicial bodies. His death occurred in his native city in 1878.

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE STATE AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS

When Congress convened in December, it was generally understood that the convention called to meet at Columbia on the 17th would pass an ordinance of secession. In anticipation of that event, the representatives of Congress from South Carolina called upon President Buchanan on December 9th and assured him that their State would not molest the forts previous to the act of the convention or until oppor-

tunity could be had for an amicable adjustment of all questions in dispute with the General Government, provided the latter would not, in the meantime, send re-enforcements to Charleston harbor or otherwise change the military status of the situation. The president objected to the word "provided" and declined to give any formal pledge, but an informal understanding was always claimed by the State authorities in line with their requests.

To the end that there might not be needless delay in the settlement of these vital questions, one of the first acts of the convention after passing the Ordinance of Secession was to name Robert W. Barnwell, James H. Adams and James L. Orr as commissioners "to treat with the Government of the United States for the delivery of the forts, magazines, lighthouses and other real estate, with their appurtenances, within the limits of South Carolina, and also for the apportionment of the public debt, and for a division of all other property held by the Government of the United States, as agents of the Confederate States, of which South Carolina was recently a member; and generally to negotiate as to all other measures and arrangements proper to be made and adopted in the existing relation of the parties, and for the continuance of peace and amity between this Commonwealth and the Government at Washington."

MAJOR ANDERSON'S INSTRUCTIONS

* On the 11th of December, a few days after the interview between the president and the congressmen from South Carolina, instructions were sent from the War Department to Maj. Robert Anderson, in command of the garrison at Fort Moultrie (Companies E and H, First Regiment United States Artillery, less than eighty men), in accordance with the informal understanding. In substance, they were to the effect that he should carefully avoid every act which would needlessly tend to provoke aggression, and to that end he was instructed, not without evident and imminent necessity, to occupy any position which could be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude. At the same time, he was ordered to hold possession of the forts in the harbor and, if attacked, "to defend himself to the last extremity," or, as subsequently modified, "as long as any reasonable hope remained of saving the fort." His force was obviously too small to occupy more than one of the three forts in the harbor, but an attempt to capture any of them should be regarded as an act of war, and in that event he was authorized to occupy the one which could be most easily defended. He was further authorized to take this precautionary measure whenever he might have tangible evidence of a design on the part of the authorities of South Carolina to proceed to any hostile act.

ANDERSON'S DIFFICULT POSITION

The following analysis of Major Anderson's difficult position in the matter, with a deserved tribute to his ability and gallantry as an officer, is taken from "The Siege of Charleston," a work prepared from the unfinished manuscripts of Gen. Samuel Jones, a distinguished artillery officer, who for four months in 1864 commanded the Confederate military department comprising South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. In this connection, he says: "These instruc-

* "Siege of Charleston," by Gen. Samuel Jones, C. S. A.

tions (given to Major Anderson) are such as are not infrequently given by a military superior to an inferior, when the former has not, or does not choose to express a clear and distinct purpose as to what is to be done by the latter. In such cases the instructions are so worded as, in any event, to shield the one who gives, and throw the responsibility of action on the one who has to execute them.

"It was as well known at the War Department as to Major Anderson, that Fort Sumter could at that time be more easily and securely held than could Fort Moultrie. If Major Anderson had remained at Moultrie, the weaker post, and had he been attacked and his post captured, he would have been liable to censure under his instructions. Under the same instructions, if he abandoned the weaker and occupied the stronger fort, he thereby became open to censure for taking a position which could be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude."

"Major Anderson was in the embarrassing position which besets a soldier 'when the bugle gives an uncertain sound.' He ardently desired to avoid, if possible, a hostile attitude and he believed, or apprehended, that a collision would occur if he remained at Fort Moultrie. He was a well trained and tried soldier, and an accomplished gentleman, with a high and scrupulous sense of honor. He acted as might have been expected of such an officer so circumstanced."

AT FIRST THE MILITARY BACKBONE OF THE STATE

The Fourth Brigade of Charleston, State Militia, in command of Brig. Gen. James Simons, had been in active service and under the orders of the governor, since December 20, 1860, or the passage of the Ordinance of Secession. During the early months it was the only considerable body of troops thoroughly organized and disciplined in the State. The Fourth Brigade was well drilled and well armed, and continued to be the backbone of the war in South Carolina until the last of April, 1861, or until the organization of the army of the Confederacy.

In view of the fact that the Fourth Brigade was the nucleus of South Carolina's military opposition to Federal authority, the personnel of the organization is here republished:

FOURTH BRIGADE, SOUTH CAROLINA MILITIA

Brig.-Gen. James Simons, Commanding

First Regiment of Rifles—Colonel, J. Johnston Pettigrew; lieutenant colonel, J. L. Branch; major, Ellison Capers; adjutant, Theodore G. Barker; quartermaster, Allen Hanckel; commissary, L. G. Young; surgeon, George Trescot; assistant surgeon, Thomas L. Ogier, Jr.

Washington Light Infantry—Captain, Charles H. Simonton; Moultrie Guards—Captain, Barnwell W. Palmer; German Riflemen—Captain, Jacob Small; Palmetto Riflemen—Captain, Alexander Melchers; Meagher Guards—Captain, Edward McCrady, Jr. Carolina Light Infantry—Captain, B. Gaillard Pinckney; Zouave Cadets—Captain, Charles E. Chichester.

Seventeenth Regiment of Infantry—Colonel, John Cunningham; lieutenant colonel, William P. Singler; major, J. Jonathan Lucas; adjutant, Lieut. F. A. Mitchell.

Charleston Riflemen—Captain, Joseph Johnson, Jr.; Irish Volun-

had reinforced 'this work.' Major Anderson promptly responded that there had been no reenforcement of the work; that he had removed his command from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, as he had a right to do, being in command of all the forts in the harbor. To this Colonel Pettigrew replied that when the present governor (Pickens) came into office, he found an understanding existing between the previous governor (Gist) and the president of the United States by which all property within the limits of the State was to remain as it was; that no reenforcements were to be sent here, particularly to this post; that no attempt was to be made against the public property here by the State, and that the status in the harbor should remain unchanged. He was directed also to say to Major Anderson that it had been hoped by the governor that a peaceful solution of the difficulties could have been reached, and a resort to arms and bloodshed might have been avoided, but that the governor thought that the action of Major Anderson had greatly complicated matters, and that he did not see how bloodshed could be avoided; that he had desired and intended that the whole matter might be fought out politically and without the arbitration of the sword, but that now it was uncertain, if not impossible.

MAJOR ANDERSON'S DEFENSE

"To this Major Anderson replied that as far as any understanding between the president and the governor was concerned, he had not been informed; that he knew nothing of it; that he could get no information or positive orders from Washington, and that his position was threatened every night by the troops of the State.

"He was then asked by Major Capers, who accompanied Colonel Pettigrew, 'How?' when he replied 'By sending out steamers armed and conveying troops on board; that these steamers passed the fort going north, and that he feared a landing on the island and the occupation of the sand hills just north of the fort; that 100 riflemen on that hill which commanded his fort would make it impossible for his men to serve their guns, and that any man with a military head must see this. 'To prevent this,' he said earnestly, 'I removed on my own responsibility, my sole object being to prevent bloodshed.'

"Major Capers replied that the steamer was sent out for patrol purposes, and as much to prevent disorder among his own people as to ascertain whether any irregular attempt was being made to reenforce the fort, and that the idea of attacking him 'was never entertained by the little squad who patrolled the harbor.'

"Major Anderson replied to this that he was wholly in the dark as to the intentions of the State troops, but that he had reason to believe that they meant to land and attack him from the north; that the desire of the governor to have the matter settled peacefully and without bloodshed was precisely his own object in removing his command to Sumter; that he did it upon his own responsibility alone, because he considered that the safety of his command required it, as he had a right to do.

" 'In this controversy,' said he, 'between the North and the South, my sympathies are entirely with the South. These gentlemen,' said he (turning to the officers of the post who stood about him), 'know it perfectly well.' * * *

"Colonel Pettigrew then replied 'Well, sir, however that may be, the governor of the State directs me to say to you courteously, but peremptorily, to return to Fort Moultrie.'

THE PARLEY BROKEN

"'Make my compliments to the governor (said Anderson) and say to him that I decline to accede to his request. I cannot and will not go back.'

"'Then, sir,' said Pettigrew, 'my business is done'; when both of the officers without further ceremony or leavetaking, left the fort."

Immediately after Major Anderson had transferred the United States troops from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter,* the South Carolina commissioners at Washington, sent a letter to President Buchanan transmitting to him a copy of the full powers conferred upon them by the Convention (already stated), as well as an official copy of the Ordinance of Secession. At the same time, they gave him notice, as the chief executive of the Washington government, that "events of the last twenty-four hours" had completely changed the status of South Carolina's relations with it.

Two days later the president replied that he could only treat with them as "private gentlemen; that the entire matter was in the hands of Congress."

In other words, an empassé had been reached, at Washington as at Fort Sumter.

* The narrative of William Henry Trescot of South Carolina, the brilliant diplomatist, assistant secretary of state to President Buchanan, and acting as agent for South Carolina, gives invaluable information as to the vacillating course of the president, the break-up of his cabinet, and the futile efforts of the South Carolina commissioners.

CHAPTER XLIV

SOUTH CAROLINA CAPTURES FORT SUMTER

After Colonel Pettigrew and Major Capers returned on December 27th from their fruitless, in the light of aftertimes quixotic, mission to Major Anderson, when he had courteously but determinately refused to return to Fort Moultrie, they immediately made their report to Governor Pickens and his Council, then in session at the city hall. That afternoon Major Anderson raised the Stars and Stripes over Fort Sumter, mounted guns and otherwise put the fort in as good a state of defense as was possible. Whereupon, Governor Pickens issued orders to Colonel Pettigrew, First Regiment of Rifles and to Col. W. G. DeSaussure, First Regiment of Artillery, commanding them to take immediate possession of Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie. As neither was garrisoned their officers, after verbal protests, left and went to Fort Sumter and the Palmetto flag was raised over both forts.

The Arsenal in Charleston and Fort Johnson, on James Island, were also occupied by detachments from the Seventeenth Regiment and the Charleston Riflemen, respectively, and the governor ordered a battery, with two 24-pounders, to be built on Morris Island, bearing on the Ship Channel. Maj. P. F. Stevens, superintendent of the South Carolina Military Academy, constructed this battery, having under him a detachment of cadets, supported by the Vigilant Rifles, Captain Tupper. In taking possession of the forts and the Arsenal, every courtesy was shown the officers in charge, Captain Humphreys, commanding the Arsenal, saluting the flag before surrendering the property. The State authorities made a careful inventory of all the military stores which thus fell into their hands.*

THE STAR OF THE WEST FIRED UPON

Two weeks had passed in these "movements for position" and then it became evident to Major Anderson that the State had effectually cut off the munitions of war available from the home stores, although as late as December 31st he had announced to the secretary of war that the "government might reinforce (him) at its leisure," and that he regarded himself as "safe" in his "present position." The president, with the acquiescence of General Scott, determined to send Anderson 200 "instructed recruits" for the purpose of strengthening the garrison in Sumter. Accordingly the Star of the West, a large merchant steamer, left New York on January 5th with 200 men aboard, commanded by Lieut. Charles R. Wood, who was instructed to reenforce and provision Fort Sumter. The Star of the West arrived off the bar of Charleston harbor late in the night of the 8th, and crossed the bar early on the morning of January 9, 1861. It steamed up Ship Channel

* Lieut. R. K. Meade, who was thus forced to relinquish Castle Pinckney to the State, was a Virginian and died seven months later in the Confederate service. He was the only one of Anderson's officers who fought for the South. Major Anderson and Lieutenant Talbot were Kentuckians; the other officers were from Northern states.

and along Morris Island, until it was under the 24-pound battery commanded by Major Stevens and manned by the Citadel Cadets. The battery was supported by the Zouave Cadets, German Riflemen and the Vigilant Rifles. When well within range, the battery fired a shot across the bow of the *Star of the West*. The Federal boat paid no heed to the challenge, whereupon the 24-pounders opened upon it directly. Fort Moultrie also added a few shots, and the *Star of the West* rapidly turned about and steamed out of range of the guns. The boat suffered no material damage, but the portentous fact remained that both North and South had committed open acts of war.

Governor Pickens and South Carolinians claimed that, in violation of plighted faith, the removal of Major Anderson and his garrison from Moultrie to Sumter constituted the first overt act. The North claimed that Major Stevens's little battery and the boy cadets of the South Carolina Military Academy had opened the war. "It was afterward believed that this was a stratagem to 'fire the Northern heart by the affront to the flag,' says Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel. "It certainly fired the Southern; it was the beginning of coercion. More states seceded and a government was formed at Montgomery, Alabama."

Had Major Anderson opened fire from Fort Sumter upon the State batteries on Morris Island, the war would have been on, beyond peradventure, at that moment, but he forbore to do so, still hoping that hostilities might be averted. He wrote to Governor Pickens, expressing the hope that the attack upon the *Star of the West* would be disavowed by the State of South Carolina; but, unless it was promptly disclaimed, he would regard it as an act of war and fire upon all vessels coming within range of his guns. Governor Pickens justified the action of the batteries. He said that Major Anderson's statements plainly showed that he did not understand the "precise relations which now exist between it (the government of the United States) and the State of South Carolina." * * * That the State of South Carolina had resumed all the power it had delegated to the United States under the compact known as the Constitution of the United States. The governor claimed that the moving of the Federal troops to Fort Sumter and their attempted relief by the *Star of the West* were meant to be acts of coercion to force South Carolina to remain in the Union. To defend her independence, and to resent and resist any and every act of coercion on the part of the General Government, are, concluded the governor, 'too plainly a duty to allow it to be discussed.'

TRUCE BETWEEN THE STATE AND UNITED STATES

Major Anderson replied that he would refer the whole matter to Washington and defer his purpose to fire upon vessels in the harbor until he had received direct instructions from his government. Thus a truce was secured, but the major continued to place Fort Sumter in a better state of defense and Governor Pickens to organize and post the State troops on the islands surrounding it.

THE STATE'S MILITARY FORCES

On the very day of calling the Secession convention, December 17th, the Legislature had passed an act for the organization of ten regiments for the defense of the State, and that body had also ordered the formation of a regiment for six months' service to be at once organized. This act provided that whenever it shall appear that an

armed force is about to be employed against the State or in opposition to its authority, the governor be authorized to repel the same, and for that purpose to call into the service of the State such portions of the militia as he shall deem proper, and to organize the same on the plan therein indicated. This organization, known as Gregg's First Regiment, was formed in January, 1861, and was in the service by the first of the following February, stationed on Sullivan's and Morris islands. Maxcy Gregg, of Columbia, was appointed colonel, and A. H. Gladden, who had been an officer of the Palmetto Regiment in the Mexican war, lieutenant-colonel. D. H. Hamilton, formerly marshal of the United States Court in South Carolina, was the major of the regiment.

STATE FLAG OF SOUTH CAROLINA

The ten regiments authorized by the legislative act of December 17, 1860, constituted a division commanded by Gen. M. L. Bonham, and by March 6, 1861, it had been received into the service of the State as 104 companies aggregating 8,836 men and officers. The colonels named to command the regiments were Johnson Hagood, J. B. Kershaw, J. H. Williams, J. B. E. Sloan, Micah Jenkins, J. H. Rion, T. G. Bacon, E. B. C. Cash, J. D. Blanding and A. M. Manigault. The division was divided into four brigades, the new brigadier generals appointed by the governor, under the act referred to, were R. G. M. Dunovant and P. H. Nelson.

THE STATE FLAG ADOPTED

On December 21st, the day after the adoption of the Ordinance of Secession, the House of Representatives of South Carolina sent a mes-

sage to the Senate asking that a joint committee be appointed to devise some distinguishing ensign or flag as the symbol of their sovereignty or independence. This was done and, after several suggestions as to devises, on January 28, 1861, the flag was adopted which originated with General Moultrie—minus the upright palmetto—and which has descended to the present, through the periods when South Carolina was one of the Confederate States and a reinstated member of the Union. With its background of blue, its white crescent in the dexter corner and the palmetto tree in the center, the Palmetto Flag, is one of the simplest, yet most effective emblems of State Sovereignty which has ever been devised.

By legislative act of January 28, 1861, the governor was authorized to raise a battalion of artillery and a regiment of infantry, both to be formed and enlisted in the service of the State as regulars, and to form the basis of the regular army of South Carolina. Under that act, R. S. Ripley of the Old Army, the historian of the Mexican war, was appointed lieutenant-colonel, in command of the artillery battalion, and Richard H. Anderson, colonel of the infantry regiment. The battalion was afterward increased to a regiment of artillery, and the regiment of infantry transformed into the artillery branch of the service. Both regiments served in the forts and batteries of the harbor throughout the war, with the greatest distinction. With the Fourth Brigade, they were under the orders of the government and were the principal forces investing Fort Sumter.

CONFEDERATE STATES ORGANIZED

*The states of Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia and Louisiana left the union during the month of January, and the Confederate Provisional Government was organized early in February at Montgomery. President Davis offered the most important portfolio in his gift, secretary of state, to Robert W. Barnwell, but that great and good man, with singular distrust of his own abilities, declined. C. G. Memminger, who had much to do with the formation of the provisional government, being chairman of the committee whose plan was accepted, accepted the appointment of secretary of the treasury in Mr. Davis's first cabinet. President Davis, on the 1st of March, ordered Brigadier General Beauregard to Charleston to report for duty to Governor Pickens. Thenceforward, this distinguished soldier became the presiding genius of military operations in and around Charleston.

On the 4th of March, just one month after the assembling of the six Confederate States at Montgomery, Lincoln was inaugurated as president of the United States. The peace conference, held in Washington during February and representing twenty states—five Southern—had failed of its purpose.

FUTILE OVERTURES FOR PEACE.

The Confederate Provisional Congress had passed a resolution expressing its wish that a commission of three persons be appointed by the president-elect and sent to Washington "for the purpose of negotiating friendly relations" between the two governments and for the right and equitable settlement of all questions of disagreement between

* Texas did not secede until February 14th, but, her delegates were authorized by a special vote of the Confederate Congress to sign the Constitution on March 2d.

them "upon principles of right, justice, equity and good faith." President Davis appointed the following "able, discreet and distinguished citizens:" Martin J. Crawford, John Forsyth and A. B. Roman. The commissioners on the 12th of March, at Washington, officially addressed Secretary of State Seward, but received no formal reply until April 8th. He had declined to receive the commissioners officially or personally but had held semi-official intercourse through Secretary Hunter of Virginia and Judge Campbell of the Supreme Court. The details cannot be given here but there can be little doubt that the historians of the future that "the annals of diplomacy contain no chapter so full of duplicity, insincerity and deception as that which record the conduct and utterances of William H. Seward." *

LINCOLN'S "DOCTORS DISAGREE"

As late as April 8th Mr. Seward had written to Justice Campbell: "Faith as to Sumter fully kept; wait and see;" but, the State authorities at Charleston were meantime "wholly aroused to the situation," which was becoming more complicated every hour. Governor Pickens telegraphed to the commissioners at Washington inquiring if it had been determined to reenforce Fort Sumter; they replied "that they were assured that he would not be disturbed without notice, and that they thought that Fort Sumter would be evacuated and Fort Pickens provisioned."

Obviously, as no act of war had been committed against the General Government in any State except South Carolina, the relations of the seceding States to the government at Washington depended, primarily, on the course which President Lincoln should pursue in regard to the evacuation or continued occupation of Fort Sumter. On that point there was a decided difference of opinion, even among the northern leaders. General Scott, commander-in-chief of the army, and General Totten, chief of engineers, favored its evacuation, as did all the officers within the fort. Secretary of State Seward claimed that he did not favor the attempt to relieve Fort Sumter, and Stephen A. Douglas has introduced into the Senate a resolution, which he earnestly supported, advising the withdrawal of all Federal troops from the forts within the limits of the Southern Confederacy.

CAMERON AGAINST RELIEF OF SUMTER

President Lincoln was naturally doubtful as to the course which the Government should pursue, as even the military and political leaders of his administration disagreed among themselves. In his dilemma he appealed to his secretary of war, Simon Cameron, through the following note:

Executive Mansion, March 15, 1861.

To the Honorable Secretary of War.

Dear Sir:—Assuming it to be possible to now provision Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances is it wise to attempt it? Please give me your opinion in writing on this question.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

Secretary Cameron replied that he had been most reluctantly forced to the conclusion that it would be unwise to make the attempt. His

* L. M. Curry, "Civil History of the Government of the Confederate States."

opinion was based on the conclusions of the army officers who had expressed themselves on the subject, including the general-in-chief of the army, the chief of engineers and the officers at Fort Sumter, whose written opinions the secretary embodied in his answer. The plan proposed by Capt. G. V. Fox, late of the navy, would, he said, be entitled to his favorable consideration if he did not believe "that the attempt to carry it into effect would initiate a bloody and protracted conflict. No practical benefit would result to the country or the government by accepting the proposal alluded to, and I am therefore of the opinion that the cause of humanity and the highest obligation to the public interest would be best promoted by adopting the counsels of those brainy and experienced men whose suggestions I have laid before you."

RELIEF PLAN FINALLY PREVAILS

Despite this formally expressed decision of Lincoln's secretary of war, reenforced by the views of well-informed and experienced military officers, Captain Fox's conclusion that Fort Sumter could be provisioned to advantage finally prevailed. As one of the confidential agents of the Government, he had visited Major Anderson and examined Fort Sumter, and the preparations being made to invest it. In the opinion of the commandant, who had occupied the fort with a stock of three months' provisions and a force of six commissioned officers, seventy-three enlisted men, three engineers and forty mechanics, it was too late to send him reinforcements. The visits made by Captain Fox and Colonel Lamon were supposed to be in furtherance of the plan, which then seemed uppermost, of evacuating Sumter. Surprise, therefore, may have been a mild word to express Major Anderson's sensation when he received a letter on the 4th of April communicating the decision of the Government to reenforce and re-victual Fort Sumter.

SOUTH CAROLINA FORMALLY NOTIFIED

On the 8th of April, 1861, Lieutenant Talbot and Mr. Chew, confidential agents of the War and State departments at Washington, arrived in Charleston instructed to procure an interview with Governor Pickens and to read to him a notice that an attempt would be made to provision Fort Sumter. The notice also declared "that if such attempt (to supply 'provisions only') be not resisted, no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition will be made, without further notice, or in case of attack upon the fort. Lieutenant Talbot was not allowed to return to his duty at the fort or to communicate with Anderson, and with the consent and approval of General Beauregard, now commanding the Confederate forces, as both Lieutenant Talbot and Mr. Chew representing the Department of State were significantly advised that their immediate departure northward would be prudent. On the 10th, L. P. Walker, the Confederate secretary of war, instructed General Beauregard to the effect that if he felt confident that Mr. Chew had been properly authorized to announce the purpose of the United States Government to provision Fort Sumter he should at once demand the surrender of the fortress, and, if refused, proceed to reduce it. In the meantime the naval expedition which had been fitted out in New York had gone to sea and was steaming for Charleston harbor.

BEAUREGARD DEMANDS SURRENDER OF THE FORT

On the afternoon of April 11th, the commander-in-chief of the Confederate forces in Charleston harbor sent to Major Anderson, by two of his aides-de-camp, Capt. Stephen D. Lee and ex-Sen. James Chestnut, the following demand for the surrender of the fort:

"Headquarters Provisional Army, C. S. A.

"Charleston, April 11, 1861.

"Sir:—The government of the Confederate States has hitherto foreborne from any hostile demonstrations against Fort Sumter, in hope that the government of the United States, with a view to the amicable adjustment of all questions between the two governments and to avert the calamities of war, would voluntarily evacuate it. There was reason at one time to believe that such would be the course pursued by the government of the United States, and under that impression my government has refrained from making any demand for the surrender of the fort. But the Confederate States can no longer delay assuming the actual possession of a fortification commanding the entrance of one of their harbors and necessary to its defense and security.

"I am ordered by the government of the Confederate States to demand the evacuation of Fort Sumter. My aides, Colonel Chestnut and Captain Lee, are authorized to make such demand of you. All proper facilities will be afforded for the removal of yourself and command, together with company arms and property, and all private property, to any post in the United States which you may select. The flag which you have upheld so long and with such fortitude, under the most trying circumstances, may be saluted by you on taking it down. Colonel Chestnut and Captain Lee will, for a reasonable time, await your answer.

"I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"G. T. BEAUREGARD, Brigadier General Commanding."

MAJOR ANDERSON'S OFFICIAL AND VERBAL REPLIES

Major Anderson replied as follows:

"Fort Sumter, S. C., April 11, 1861.

"General: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication demanding the evacuation of this fort, and to say, in reply thereto, that it is a demand with which I regret that my sense of honor and my obligation to my government, prevent my compliance. Thanking you for the fair, manly and courteous terms proposed, and for the high compliment paid me,

"I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"ROBERT ANDERSON,

"Major, First Artillery, Commanding."

While thus formally declining to surrender Fort Sumter, in conversation with General Beauregard's messenger Major Anderson is said to have remarked: "I will await the first shot and, if you do not batter us to pieces, we will be starved out in a few days." The fact was telegraphed to the Confederate secretary of war, who instructed General Beauregard to address the major a second letter proposing that he name a reasonable time for the evacuation, both sides agreeing not to commit any acts of hostility. To this second letter Major Anderson replied that he would designate noon of the 15th as the date, provided he did not receive contrary instructions or additional supplies from his

government. He would not, in the meantime, use his guns against the Confederates, unless compelled to do so by some hostile act against "this fort or the flag of my government by the Confederate forces, or any part of them; or by the commission of some act manifesting a hostile purpose against the fort or the flag."

THE BOMBARDMENT OPENED

The reply was tantamount to a refusal of General Beauregard's demand, as even then the Federal fleet was collecting outside the harbor. Colonel Chestnut, the bearer of the message, therefore informed Major Anderson at 3:20 A. M., Friday, April 12, 1861, that in one hour from that time fire would be opened on Fort Sumter, unless it was surrendered.

* At ten minutes beyond the hour, or 4:30 A. M., Capt. George S. James, in command of the three mortars in battery at Fort Johnson and on an order from Capt. Stephen D. Lee, of General Beauregard's staff, gave the fateful order to Lieut. Henry S. Farley, who fired the first shell against organized Federal forces in the War of Secession—the shots sent against the Star of the West not having so great historical significance. The attack on Fort Sumter, formally ordered by the commander-in-chief and with the authority of the Confederate States behind him, was heralded then and has gone into American history as the initial shot of the great struggle.

The beleaguered fortress now encircled by a line of batteries planted on a dozen commanding positions was assaulted for thirty-four hours with an unceasing bombardment. Nearest to the fort, at a distance of about 1,300 yards, was an array of heavy armament upon Cummings Point; Fort Moultrie opened with its heaviest guns (including some of those that had been spiked by Anderson). The batteries upon Sullivan's Island were commanded by the eminent artilleryman Lieut. Col. R. S. Ripley. Of these batteries, three 8-inch columbiads; two 32-pounders and six 24-pounders in Fort Moultrie; two 24-pounders and two 32-pounders in the enfilade battery; one 9-inch Dahlgren gun; two 32-pounders, two 42-pounders at Point, and on board the floating battery, and the six 10-inch mortars—bore upon Fort Sumter.

The entire armament of Fort Sumter consisted of 48 available guns in casement and barbette, with five 8-inch and 10-inch columbiads on the parade, and so mounted as to bear upon the city, Fort Moultrie, and the batteries at Cummings Point,† varying in distance from 1,300 to 2,450 yards and mounting thirty guns and seventeen mortars. Opposed to this artillery force, but planted within the confined limits of the still unfinished fort, were fifty-three guns of from twenty-four pounds to ten-inch columbiads. Some of the columbiads were to be used as mortars to throw shells into Charleston and Cummings Point.

The ten commissioned officers of the garrison were Maj. Robert Anderson, commander, Capt. Abner Doubleday, Capt. Truman Seymour, First Lieut. Jefferson C. Davis, Second Lieut. Norman I. Hall, all of the First Regiment of Artillery, and Capt. J. G. Foster, of the United States Engineers. There were also Lieuts. G. W. Snyder and

* Dr. Robert Leiby: "The First Shot on Fort Sumter." *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, July, 1911.

Dr. Leiby says (1893): "The East, or beach battery (whence Farley fired) has been washed away by the sea, but I have saved the timber that was used in the construction of the magazine."

† Crawford: "History of Fort Sumter."

R. K. Meade, of the Engineers, Lieut. Theodore Talbot, and Assistant Surgeon S. W. Crawford, U. S. Army. Officers, engineers, soldiers and mechanics, numbered altogether 122 men.

The batteries encircling Fort Sumter were manned mainly by the First South Carolina Regular Artillery and detachments of the First Regular Infantry and Volunteer Artillery companies. Col. Maxcy Gregg's regiment (First South Carolina Volunteers) was on Morris Island and had charge of the channel batteries. Colonel Pettigrew's Rifle Regiment and the Charleston Light Dragoons guarded the eastern part of Sullivan's Island. Gen. James Simons commanded on Morris Island, the batteries there being under the immediate command of Lieutenant-Colonel DeSaussure. Gen. R. G. M. Dunovant commanded on Sullivan's Island, the batteries there being under the immediate command of Lieut.-Col. R. S. Ripley, Capt. Ransom Calhoun commanding Fort Moultrie. Captain Hallonquist commanded the masked battery near the west end of Sullivan's Island. Captain Hamilton commanded the floating battery designed by himself and Lieut. J. A. Yates, and a Dahlgren gun nearby. Captain Martin commanded the mortar battery near Mount Pleasant, and Capt. George S. Thomas that at Fort Johnson.

STEVENS'S FAMOUS IRON BATTERY

* On Cummings Point, six 10-inch mortars and six guns were placed. To the command and direction of these guns, Maj. P. F. Stevens was specially assigned. One of the batteries on the point was of unique structure, hitherto unknown in war. Three 8-inch columbiads were put in battery under a roofing of heavy timbers laid at an angle of forty degrees and covered with railroad T iron. Port holes were cut and these protected by heavy iron shutters, raised and lowered from the inside of the battery.

This battery was devised and built by Col. Clement H. Stevens, of Charleston, afterward a brigadier general and mortally wounded before Atlanta, July 20, 1864, while leading his brigade. Stevens's Iron Battery, as it was called, was the "first iron-clad fortification ever erected," and initiated the present system of armor-plated vessels.

A valuable addition to the armament on Morris Island was a Blakely gun arrived from England on the 9th; the gift of Charles K. Prioleau, and the first ever used in the United States.

OLD MEN TOILING IN THE RANKS

In his "Siege of Charleston" Gen. Samuel Jones says of the personnel of the State troops now under the Confederate flag: "Probably no more novel military force ever before assembled under arms for actual service than that assembled for the defense of Charleston at that time. The Ordinance of Secession which had been passed by a unanimous vote of the representatives of the people in convention assembled was sustained with great unanimity by the mass of the people in person, and by a lavish expenditure of private means. Gentlemen of wealth contributed liberally to arm and equip the volunteers who were called into the service. Some of them placed companies and battalions in the field. A gentleman long past the period of life when military service may be exacted of the citizen, was seen walking post, as a sentinel on Morris Island. He had at his own cost

* Capers: "Confederate Military History."

armed and equipped a company and then given the command of it to a younger brother, serving himself as a private in the ranks. Gentlemen, the owners of large landed estates, served with their sons and nephews as privates in the ranks, toiled with the pick and shovel side by side with their own negro slaves in the construction of earthwork and in the various other laborious work incident to life in camp in active service."

THE ANSWER OF SUMTER'S BRAVE DEFENDERS

Within half an hour from the time the first shot was fired from Fort Johnson, the entire circle of batteries was ablaze, but for nearly two hours the majestic fort which was the center of the terrific assault was silent. About 7 o'clock, Fort Sumter opened fire, as the effects of the fire were so serious that its brave defenders (ten officers and sixty-five enlisted men) saw that they could no longer continue to husband their ammunition. The vertical fire from the land mortars had forced them from their heavier guns, several of which had also been dismounted by the long-range guns; so that the fire from the fort was confined to the casement guns. Until nightfall, Major Anderson's fire was mainly directed against Cummings Point, Fort Moultrie and the batteries near and to the west of it. The fire from Fort Sumter then ceased, as its ammunition was nearly exhausted. The Confederate fire also slackened, but, during the night of the 12th, shells were dropped upon the fort at intervals of about fifteen minutes.

SIGHT OF RELIEF FLEET INTENSIFIES BOMBARDMENT

In the meantime, a heavy storm of wind and rain had set in, thus delaying the arrival of the succoring fleet which had sailed from New York on the 9th and 10th. Only four of the seven made the port of Charleston before the capitulation of Fort Sumter, and, as one of the three which did not report was mainly relied upon as a fighter, no attempt was made to relieve the Federal garrison. The general consensus of opinion was and is, that any such attempt would have been disastrous in the extreme.

FORT SUMTER IN FLAMES

As the presence of the gathering fleet had been noted by both the Confederates and the defenders of Fort Sumter early in the afternoon of the 12th, when firing was resumed early on the following morning, which also witnessed the arrival of another war vessel, the action on both sides became more intense. The Confederate fire of hot shot from Fort Moultrie was especially rapid and accurate, and the flames in the officers' quarters in Fort Sumter, which had broken out the day before, were increased in volume and spread toward the main magazine. They advanced so rapidly that the garrison was only able to save fifty barrels of powder before closing the doors of the magazine and packing earth against them to prevent an explosion. The high wind carried the fire to the roofs of the barracks and the smoke and hot cinders were driven into the casements, blinding the men. The precious ammunition which had been rescued from the magazine was in peril, and rather than endanger more precious lives, was therefore tumbled into the bay.

Next the fire swept along to the grenades stored in the stairs,

towers and implement rooms, and their explosion resulted in wrecking one of the towers and badly injuring another.

CONFEDERATES CHEER BRAVE DEFENSE

But amid all the storm of fire from without and within, the defenders of Fort Sumter served every available gun with good will, braving death from enemy shells and explosions from their own ammunition, and so conducted themselves as to call forth loud cheers from those who were obliged to act as their enemies. As their own guns were served, many Confederates sprang to the parapets, and at every shot from the fort waved their hats and acclaimed its indomitable defenders.

"While the barracks in Fort Sumter were in a blaze," wrote General Beauregard to the secretary of war at Montgomery, "and the interior of the work appeared untenable from the heat and from the fire of our batteries (at about which period I sent three of my aides to offer assistance), whenever the guns of Fort Sumter would fire upon Moultrie, the men occupying the Cummings Point batteries (Palmetto Guard, Captain Cuthbert) at each shot would cheer Anderson for his gallantry, although themselves still firing upon him; and when on the 15th he left the harbor on the steamer Isabel, the soldiers of the batteries lined the beach silent and uncovered, while Anderson and his command passed before them."

SURRENDER OF FORT SUMTER

* About 1 o'clock, the flagstaff of the fort, which had been repeatedly struck, fell. It was secured by Lieutenant Hall and hoisted on a temporary staff by Lieutenant Snyder and two laborers, Hart and Dosie, of the engineers. In the interval between the fall and hoisting of the flag, General Beauregard dispatched three of his aides to the fort with an offer of assistance to extinguish the fire, which offer, however, was respectfully declined.

Seeing the flag down and believing the garrison to be in imminent peril, ex-Senator Wigfall—one of General Beauregard's aides-de-camp who was with the troops on Morris Island—with the permission of General Simons pulled in a small boat, with Lieutenant Young, to Fort Sumter. Being permitted to enter, he urged a suspension of hostilities with a view to capitulation. He expressed to Major Anderson the high admiration his gallant defense had inspired in all who witnessed it, and assured him of the most honorable and liberal terms.

After Major Anderson had acceded to the proposal and named as his terms the same that had been offered him on the 11th, the white flag of surrender was hoisted. In the meantime, General Beauregard's three aides, Capt. S. D. Lee and Cols. Roger A. Pryor and W. Porcher Miles, who had been dispatched with the offer of assistance, had arrived and, ascertaining from them that the visit of Mr. Wigfall was not authorized by the general commanding, Major Anderson declared that he would immediately raise his flag again and renew the action, but consented to delay until General Beauregard could be communicated with. The brief negotiations resulted in the capitulation of the fort a little after dark.

* General Samuel Jones: "Siege of Charleston."

For thirty-four hours Fort Sumter had withstood an unceasing bombardment by the most powerful guns then known and, with its strongest artillery put out of commission, short of provisions and nearly drained of ammunition, flames sweeping through the fortress and dense smoke reaching every cranny of its battered walls; with succor in sight but not available, further defense could mean nothing but wholesale suicide. As the stanch defenders of Fort Sumter were intelligent, brave men, not reckless idiots, they surrendered with the grace which their character demanded.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE BATTERED FORT

There seems to be some difference of opinion as to the extent of the damages sustained by Fort Sumter as the result of the famous bombardment. S. W. Crawford, one of the officers present in the fortress as assistant surgeon of the United States Army, who, as General Crawford wrote the "History of Fort Sumter and Genesis of the Civil War," thus describes its condition: "It was a scene of ruin and destruction. The quarters and barracks were in ruins. The main gates and the planking of the windows on the gorge were gone; the magazines closed and surrounded by smouldering flames and burning ashes; the provisions exhausted; much of the engineering work destroyed; the cartridges gone; and with four barrels of powder only available—the command had yielded to the inevitable.

"The effect of the direct shot had been to indent the walls, where the marks could be counted by hundreds, while the shells, well directed, had crushed in the quarters and, in connection with the hot shell, setting them on fire, had destroyed the barracks and quarters down to the gun casements, while the enfilading fire had prevented the service of the barbette guns, some of them comprising the most powerful battery in the work. The breaching fire from the columbiads and the rifled gun at Cummings Point upon the right gorge angle, had progressed sensibly and must eventually have succeeded if kept up, but as yet no guns had been disabled or injured at that point. The effect of the fire upon the parapet was most pronounced. The gorge, the right face and flank, as well as the left face, were all taken in reverse and a destructive fire maintained until the end, while the gun-carriages on the barbette of the gorge were destroyed in the fire of the blazing quarters."

Gen. Samuel Jones declares that: "With the exception of burning the quarters of the officers and men, a disaster which would not have occurred if they had been made originally fire-proof, the fort had sustained but little damage. The distance of the nearest breaching battery was thirteen hundred yards, too great for effective work with the guns then in use. The main gates had been destroyed, but they could readily have been built up with stone and rubbish. The quarters were for comfort, not for defensive purposes, and were an element of weakness from the beginning. When they had been burned without exploding the magazine, with sufficient labor the fort could have been made more defensible than it was when the action commenced.

"The obstacles in the way of a longer defense were the lack of cartridges and men. The men could have subsisted many days on the salt pork in store and would cheerfully have done so. But with a fleet bearing reinforcements and supplies in full view for twenty-four hours without making an effort to reach the fort, there was no en-

couragement to the garrison to hold out in the hope of possible relief before the alternative of starvation would compel a capitulation."

GARRISON LEAVES WITH HIGHEST HONORS OF WAR

It was agreed between General Beauregard and Major Anderson that the Union garrison should evacuate Fort Sumter on the day following the surrender. The commandant was given the choice of transferring his men to any port in the United States which he might designate, or to one of the Federal vessels then in the harbor. Major Anderson preferred the latter arrangement. On Sunday, April 14th, at 4 o'clock P. M., the Union garrison therefore marched from the fort, with colors flying and the band playing Yankee Doodle. They embarked on the steamer Isabel and, as they passed over the bar and through the ship channel, the Confederate soldiers lining the beach "uncovered" in front of their batteries and manifested the respect due to their brave opponents, as noted by General Beauregard. In the other harbor the Union men were transferred to the steamer Baltic and sailed for New York.

CHAPTER XLV

FEDERALS CAPTURE PORT ROYAL

With the fall of Fort Sumter, three months later, the theater of war activities was transferred to Virginia soil, and the Confederate States had increased to eleven, with their capital at Richmond, only 116 miles from Washington, the seat of the United States Government. What more to the point than that one of the prime military ambitions of either side should be the capture of the enemy's capital? The Confederacy was especially anxious to achieve that end, both for its effect upon the Union morale and because of the material advantages which would be gained by possession of the wealthy and splendidly improved capital of the Union.

Immediately after the surrender of Sumter, Governor Pickens and General Beauregard entered actively into the work of repairing and arming the fort, strengthening the batteries, defending the harbor, and defending Charleston from an attack by Stono River and James Island. The commander-in-chief inspected the entire Carolina coast, and works of defense were begun on James Island and at Port Royal Harbor. He had named as the successor of Major Anderson at Fort Sumter, Lieut. Col. Roswell S. Ripley, commanding a battalion consisting of Captain Hollonquist's company of the First South Carolina Artillery and the Palmetto Guard, under Captain Cuthbert. The Confederate and Palmetto flags were hoisted side by side over the fort and, amid enthusiastic cheers, saluted by the batteries around the harbor.

ORGANIZATION OF CONFEDERATE STATES

The capture of Fort Sumter by South Carolina and the States that had then seceded brought other Southern States into the new union. The ordinances of secession, or separation, were passed; South Carolina, December 20, 1860; Mississippi, January 9, 1861; Florida, January 10th; Alabama, January 11th; Georgia, January 19th; Louisiana, January 20th; Texas, February 1st; Virginia, April 17th; Arkansas, May 6th; North Carolina, May 20th, and Tennessee on June 8th. These eleven States stood shoulder to shoulder against the North until they were compelled to yield to overwhelming arms and resources in April, 1865. Kentucky and Missouri did not formally secede, but the sympathizers with the South were numerous, loyal and enthusiastic. Representatives were admitted from these States into the Congress, and the troops, organized and individual, did valuable service. "The Maryland Line," under such leaders as Bradley T. Johnston, George H. Stuart and Harry Gilmer, made as fine a record in the '60s, as had their ancestors, rebels against King George, in the first revolution.

Richmond, Virginia, was chosen as the Confederate capital. The first Congress of the new Confederacy authorized the raising of \$50,000,000 to prosecute the war. As an offset to Lincoln's call for 75,000 men, Davis asked for 100,000. The Union had declared a blockade of all southern ports, and South Carolina soon began requisitioning steamers, sloops, schooners and pilot boats.

THE CELEBRATED CASE OF "THE SAVANNAH"

As early as April 17th President Davis had invited "all those who may desire, by service in private armed vessels to aid this government," etc., to apply to him for "commissions or letters of marque and reprisal to be issued under seal of these Confederate States."

In accordance with this proclamation a commission, signed by the president, was issued to Capt. T. H. Baker, of the Schooner Savannah, on May 18, 1861. Captain Baker accompanied by Lieutenant Harleston, an artillerist, Lieutenant Passailaigue of the Confederate navy and others, set sail from Charleston and with their one piece of artillery soon captured a United States merchantman, brought her to Charleston, condemned and sold her and divided the prize money. On the second expedition the Savannah encountered a United States man-of-war and was promptly captured. Her officers and crew were put in chains, carried to New York, and placed on trial as "Pirates." Information of this extraordinary proceeding reaching President Davis, he forwarded a letter to President Lincoln on July 6th remonstrating against such proceedings, offering to exchange prisoners in the hands of the Confederates for the officers and crew of the Savannah, and concluding with a statement which promptly brought President Lincoln and his advisers to their senses.

DAVIS THREATENS RETALIATION; LINCOLN YIELDS

Mr. Davis said: "A just regard to humanity and to the honor of this government requires me to state explicitly that painful as will be the necessity, this government will deal out to the prisoners held by it the same treatment and the same fate as shall be experienced by those captured on the Savannah, and if driven to the terrible necessity of retaliation by your execution of any of the officers or the crew of the Savannah, that retaliation will be extended so far as shall be requisite to secure the abandonment of a practice unknown to the warfare of civilized man, and so barbarous as to disgrace the Nation which shall be guilty of inaugurating it."

Baker, Harleston and Passailaigue were duly exchanged as prisoners of war, and the Federal Government and editors and consuls frequently thereafter applied the terms "pirate" and "corsair" to Semmes, Maffitt, Waddell and other Confederate naval officers; but, there were no executions for "piracy"!

South Carolina sent to the first Confederate Senate, Robert W. Barnwell, to whom President Davis had offered the portfolio of secretary of state, and James L. Orr, sometime speaker of the United States House of Representatives.

CONFEDERATES THREATEN WASHINGTON

Even before the Confederate Congress had assembled in Richmond, Brig.-Gen. M. L. Bonham had been called to Virginia, with the First, Second, Seventh, Eighth, Fifth and Fourth South Carolina Volunteers, to command the line fronting Washington and Alexandria. The regiments named were in command, respectively, of Colonels Gregg, Kershaw, Bacon, Cash, Jenkins and Sloan. Soon after she had formally seceded from the Union, Virginia had also called Robert E. Lee, J. E. Johnston and T. J. Jackson to her service as defenders of her soil. But early in May, General Beauregard, whose services at Charleston had marked him as a master soldier, was re-

lieved of his duties there and ordered to the command of the Alexandria line, with headquarters at Manassas Junction. During the month of July, the South Carolina regiments mentioned were reinforced by the Third, Colonel Williams, the Sixth, Colonel Rion, and the Ninth, Colonel Blanding. The infantry of the Hampton Legion, under Col. Wade Hampton, reached the battlefield of Manassas, near the stream of Bull Run, on the morning of July 21st, in time to take a full share in the historic engagement.

STEPS LEADING TO BATTLE OF FIRST MANASSAS

During the preliminary steps leading to the main engagement, the Confederate forces were considerably outnumbered by the Union army under General McDowell. The first aggressive movement made by the latter was against Bonham's brigade, stationed at Fairfax, which was attacked early in the morning of the 17th of July. Under orders, the South Carolina commander retired and took position behind Mitchell's ford, on Bull Run. The main body of the Confederate army was in position behind Bull Run, extending a distance of five miles, from Union Mills ford on the right to the stone bridge on the left. At noon on the 18th, both Bonham, at Mitchell's ford, and Longstreet, at Blackburn's ford, repulsed attacks by McDowell delivered with infantry and artillery, and during the following two days the Union army was engaged in reconnoitering the Confederate position. The delay enabled Beauregard to receive the reinforcements which he sorely needed. General Holmes came up from the lower Potomac with over 1,200 infantry, six guns and a fine company of cavalry; Colonel Hampton with the infantry of his Legion, 600 strong, and the Thirteenth Mississippi; and Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, from the Shenandoah, with Jackson's, Bee's and Bartow's brigades, 300 of Stuart's cavalry and two batteries, Imboden's and Pendleton's.

BEAUREGARD ORGANIZES BATTLE LINE

On the 20th of June, General Beauregard, commanding what was then generally known as the "Army of the Potomac," organized his forces into six brigades—from right to left as follows: Ewell, D. R. Jones, Longstreet, Bonham, Cocke and Evans. Early was in reserve, in rear of the right, and the reinforcements mentioned were placed in line in the rear of the troops already in position. Thus strengthened, the army of General Beauregard numbered about 30,000 effectives, with fifty-five guns.

The First Brigade, commanded by Bonham, comprised the regiments of Gregg, Kershaw, Bacon and Cash. Sloan's regiment was regularly assigned to the Sixth brigade, Early's, and Jenkin's regiment to the Third, D. R. Jones. Col. N. G. Evans, an officer of the old army, having arrived at Manassas, was assigned to the command of a temporary brigade, comprising Sloan's Fourth South Carolina, Wheat's Louisiana battalion, two companies of Virginia cavalry and four six-pounders.

THE GREAT BATTLE OPENS

General Beauregard had planned an attack on McDowell's left for the 21st, but before he could commence the movement McDowell had crossed two of his divisions at Sudley's ford, two miles to the left of Evans (who was posted at the stone bridge) and was threatening

Beauregard's left wing. Evans left four companies of the Fourth South Carolina Regiment to defend the bridge, and, with the remainder of that command, a Louisiana battalion and two guns, moved rapidly to his rear and formed his little brigade at right angles to the Bull Run line of battle. While stubbornly holding his ground at that critical position, he was reinforced by Bee, with his three regiments, and Bartow with his two battalions and two batteries of artillery. The position was held against the enemy assaults for another hour before the Confederate forces fell back, and it became evident that the main battle was not to be fought in front of Bull Run, but behind it and in the rear of Beauregard's extreme left. Fifteen thousand finely equipped Union troops, with numerous batteries, were now forcing back the comparatively weak forces of Evans, Bee and Bartow, when Generals Beauregard and Johnston, whose headquarters had been at the Lewis house, three miles away, hurried to the critical point of attack and, with Hampton's Legion, which had arrived at headquarters early in the morning, and Jackson's brigade which joined the defenders later, were the main elements which finally stabilized the battle line and gave the eventual victory to Beauregard.

The troops ordered by the commanding generals to prolong the line of battle, formed at 11 o'clock, took position on the right and left as they successively arrived, those on the left assaulting at once and vigorously, the exposed right flank of the enemy, and at each assault checking, or repulsing, his advance.

THE RE-ESTABLISHED BATTLE-LINE

The line of battle as now re-established south of the Warrenton turnpike, ran at right angles with the Bull Run line, and was composed of the shattered commands of Bee, Bartow and Evans on the right, with the Hampton Legion infantry; Jackson in the center, and the regiments commanded by Colonels Gartrell, Smith, Faulkner and Fisher, with two companies of Stuart's cavalry, on the left. The artillery was massed near the Henry house. Against that line was flung 18,000 disciplined Union troops under able commanders, for a trying period of three hours. Then, at about 2 o'clock, the well tried Confederate line was reinforced by Kershaw's Second and Cash's Eighth South Carolina, Holmes' and Early's brigades and two batteries, which were placed with the endangered left of the Confederate army.

THE FIGHTS FOR THE PLATEAU

The Union troops now held the great plateau from which they had driven the Confederates, but were being vigorously assailed on the left by Kershaw and Cash, Early and Stuart. General Beauregard ordered the advance of his center (Jackson) and right (mostly South Carolina regiments).

This brilliant charge swept the plateau of McDowell's men. Wade Hampton fell wounded, and Capt. James Conner assumed command of the legion. Gen. Barnard E. Bee, the heroic and accomplished South Carolinian, fell at the head of his troops. His all too brief service and heroic death may be forgotten, but he will always be remembered for having given the sobriquet "Stonewall" to Thomas Jonathan Jackson. Col. C. H. Stevens, a volunteer on his staff, and the originator of the Iron Battery at Sumter, was severely wounded. Gen. S. R. Gist, adjutant general of South Carolina, was also wounded while leading the Fourth Alabama. Lieut.-Col. B. J. Johnson, who fell

in the first position taken by the Hampton legion, was a distinguished son of the Palmetto State, and Lieut. O. R. Horton, of the Fourth Regiment, who was killed in front of his company, had been prominent in the battle of the early morning.

CONFEDERATE VICTORY COMPLETE

Reinforced, the Federal troops made a final effort to repossess themselves of the plateau, but Kirby Smith's arrival on the extreme left and his prompt attack with Kershaw's command and Stuart's cavalry, defeated the right of McDowell's advance and threw it into confusion. The charge of Beauregard's center and right completed the victory of Manassas.

GENERAL WADE HAMPTON *

SOUTH CAROLINA TROOPS AT MANASSAS

The South Carolina troops most actively and prominently engaged at Manassas were the Second Regiment, Col. J. B. Kershaw; the Fourth, Col. J. B. E. Sloan; the Eighth, Col. E. B. C. Cash; the Legion (Infantry), Col. Wade Hampton, and the Fifth, Col. Micah Jenkins. The last named regiment was not engaged in the great battle, but, under orders, crossed Bull Run and attacked a strong force in front of McLean's ford. The command was wholly unsupported and was forced to withdraw, Colonel Jenkins rightly deeming an assault, under the circumstances, needless and fruitless.

From the official War Records, it is stated that the casualties of these commands aggregated 43 killed and 270 wounded, divided as follows: Kershaw's regiment, 5 killed, 43 wounded; Sloan's regiment, 11 killed, 79 wounded; Jenkins' regiment, 3 killed, 23 wounded; Cash's regiment, 5 killed, 23 wounded; Hampton Legion, 19 killed, 102

* See Chapter XXII for illustration of Hampton Memorial, Columbia.

wounded. If the palm is to go to any of the South Carolina soldiers for unusual dash and effectiveness at Manassas, it would be placed with those of the Legion; in fact, General Johnston afterwards said that the day was saved by Wade Hampton of South Carolina.

After the battle of First Manassas, or First Bull Run, the South Carolina troops with General Beauregard's army were placed into two brigades. The Second, Third, Seventh and Eighth regiments constituted General Bonham's First Brigade, and the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Ninth, Gen. D. R. Jones's Third Brigade. Gregg's First Regiment was at Norfolk and the Hampton Legion was not brigaded. No important event occurred in Virginia, in which the South Carolina troops participated, during the remainder of the summer of 1861.

FEDERAL EXPEDITION AGAINST PORT ROYAL

The temporary abandonment of Fort Sumter by the Federal authorities afforded a breathing spell to prepare another expedition on a more ambitious scale for the occupation of a site on the southern Atlantic coast, preferably that of South Carolina, which should serve as a base for the combined operations of Union forces by land and sea. There was no other locality which promised so well for the carrying out of this military plan as the roadstead at Port Royal. The port was also much more difficult of defense by land batteries, as the headlands in Hilton Head and Bay Point were nearly three miles apart and the harbor ample and deep. The largest war vessels of that period could enter, with little danger of being damaged by any shell which could then be thrown from a land battery.

But General Beauregard, before leaving South Carolina for his command in Virginia, had examined the Carolina coasts and designated certain points at which defensive works should be constructed. To Governor Pickens's urgent representations that Port Royal should be especially put in a state of defense he held forth little encouragement, but rather urged the installation of such heavy guns on the water front as to enable them to act on the offensive against any attacking fleet.

FORTS WALKER AND BEAUREGARD

Under the direction of Maj. James H. Trapier, of the Engineers, and subsequently under the administration of Brig.-Gen. Roswell S. Ripley, who was assigned to the command of the Military Department of South Carolina of the 21st of August, the works at the designated points were commenced and the construction was pressed rapidly forward with all the means available. Maj. Francis D. Lee, of the Carolina Engineers, was charged with the work on Hilton Head Island, called Fort Walker, and Captain Gregory, of one on Bay Point, called Fort Beauregard.*

In planning the Port Royal works, General Beauregard designed that batteries of 10-inch columbiads and rifled guns should be placed on the water fronts of both forts, and so directed; but the guns were not to be obtained, and Major Lee and Captain Gregory were obliged to mount the batteries with such guns as the Confederate Government and the governor of South Carolina could command. The forts themselves were admirably planned and constructed, the planters of the

* Gen. Samuel Jones's "Siege of Charleston."

neighborhood supplying all the labor necessary, so that by September 1, 1861, they were ready for the guns.

Fort Walker mounted twenty guns and Fort Beauregard, nineteen, but of this armament Walker could use but thirteen and Beauregard but seven, against a fleet attack from the front.* The remainder of the guns were placed for defense against attack by land, or were too light to be of any use. The twenty guns of Walker and Beauregard that were used in the battle with the fleet were wholly insufficient, both in weight of metal and number. The heaviest of the guns in Walker were two columbiads, 10-inch and 8-inch, and a 9-inch rifled Dahlgren. The others were 42, 32 and 24 pounders. Of the seven guns in Beauregard, one was a 10-inch Columbiad, and one a 24-pounder, rifled. The remainder were 42 and 32 pounders.

AVAILABLE POWDER AND EFFECTIVE TROOPS

In the fall of 1861, when Governor Pickens was expecting a combined naval and land demonstration at some point on the Carolina coast south of Charleston, the supply of powder which he had purchased from Connecticut mills during December, 1860, and January, 1861, had been materially reduced. Besides consuming largely of the stock in the reduction of Fort Sumter, he had made generous loans to North Carolina and Tennessee and had supplied Florida with smaller quantities. Of the remaining stock, the governor estimated that he needed 40,000 pounds to supply "about 100 guns on the coast below Charleston."

As to the effective troops at his disposal, Governor Pickens estimated them at about 9,500—in the forts and in the islands around Charleston, 1,800, with a reserve force of 3,000 men in the city. These forces, with Manigault's, Heyward's, Dunovant's and Orr's regiments, comprised the Confederate effectives in South Carolina in the fall of 1861. On the 1st of October, General Ripley, who had been promoted to a brigadier-generalship in command of the "Department of South Carolina and the coast defenses of that state," reported the following commands, with their stations (not including the battalion of regular artillery and the regiment of regular infantry): Orr's First Rifles, Sullivan's Island, 1,521; Hagood's First, Cole's Island and stone forts, 1,115; Dunovant's Twelfth, North and South Edisto, 367; Manigault's Tenth, Georgetown and defenses, 538; Jones's Fourteenth, Camp near Aiken, 739; Heyward's Eleventh, Beaufort and defenses, 758; cavalry, camp near Columbia, 173; cavalry, camp near Aiken, 62; Charleston artillery, Arsenal, 68; Edwards's Thirteenth, DeSaussure's Fifteenth, and remainder of Dunovant's Twelfth, 2,372. Total, 7,713.

MASON AND SLIDELL CAPTURED

The substantial opposition developed by the South, which culminated in the Confederate victory at Manassas, had called the attention of Great Britain and France to the question of recognizing the Confederacy as an independent State. The South hoped that England would break the blockade to secure cotton, so as to give work to her idle factories and her hundreds of thousands of starving operatives. The South did not think that England would take sides against her because of slavery and pointed out that the North had been "vociferating

* Ellison Capers's "Confederate Military History" (South Carolina).

for more than a year that it was not warring upon slavery"; but only to save the Union. At this crisis, with the capture of Fort Sumter and the battle of First Manassas to her credit, the Confederacy, through President Davis, appointed James Mason, of Virginia, and John Slidell, of Louisiana, to represent the States at London and Paris. They left Charleston on the night of October 12, 1861, in a blockade runner, bound for Havana. There they took passage on the British steamer Trent for Europe, on November 7th, but on the following day the boat was stopped by an American sloop, commanded by Captain Wilkes, and the two commissioners were taken prisoners to Boston. They were not released until the following January, and President Lincoln only averted war with Great Britain by disavowing Captain Wilkes' act of violating international law grossly on the high seas.

EXPEDITIONARY FORCE ORGANIZED AND DISPATCHED

Early in the very morning of the day (November 7th) which witnessed the departure of the Trent from the Harbor of Havana, the greatest fleet of war ships that had ever assembled in American waters appeared off the bars of Port Royal Harbor of Carolina. The fleet had weathered fierce storms, but now easily rode the bright calm waters of the offing, four miles from Forts Walker and Beauregard, and, like Dewey at Manila, beyond the range of their most powerful guns.* The fifty vessels of the Union Armada brought more than 12,000 sailors and soldiers, known by the Federal authorities as the Expeditionary Corps. Admiral S. F. DuPont was in command of the naval, and Gen. T. W. Sherman (not to be confounded with William Tecumseh), of the land forces.

The first steps in the organization of the expedition had been taken early in August, shortly after the battle of Manassas, and the troops had been raised in Pennsylvania and New York, and all of the New England states except Vermont. The thirteen infantry regiments had been formed into three brigades, besides which were various engineering and artillery units not brigaded. Foul weather prevented the departure of the fleet from Hampton Roads for a week after it had assembled there, but although its destination was supposed to be a profound secret and it sailed under sealed orders on October 29th, Governor Pickens received the following dispatch from the acting Confederate secretary of war, on the 1st of November: "I have just received information which I consider entirely reliable that the enemy's expedition is intended for Port Royal."

Governor Pickens answered: "Please telegraph General Anderson at Wilmington, and General Lawton at Savannah, to send what forces they can spare, as the difficulty with us is as to arms."

Ripley replied: "Will act at once. A fine, strong, southeast gale blowing, which will keep him off for a day or so."

GALE SCATTERS THE ARMADA

As it proved, the "fine, strong southeast gale" kept the investing fleet from attacking longer than was expected. On November 1st it thoroughly scattered the Union ships, wrecked several of the transport steamers and made it necessary to throw overboard artillery, horses and other impedimenta. One of the troop ships, having aboard

* Dewey, however, was menaced by Spanish mines and torpedoes; DuPont was not.

six hundred marines, went down, but all were saved except a corporal and six privates. On the morning of November 4th, the flagship of the fleet, the Wabash, and nearly all the vessels were off the bars of Port Royal, some of them reconnoitering and all waiting for the storm to subside. During these preliminaries a few ineffective shots were exchanged.

CONFEDERATE FORCES AT PORT ROYAL

Brig.-Gen. Thomas F. Drayton, with headquarters at Beaufort, commanded the defenses of Port Royal, and on the 5th moved to Hilton Head, the site of Fort Walker, which promised to become the main center of the engagements.* The remote position of Fort Beauregard and the interposition of the fleet, lying just out of range, made it impossible to reinforce that point. On the other hand, Fort Walker, just before the engagement opened, received a reinforcement of the Fifteenth Volunteers (Colonel DeSaussure), 650 strong; Georgia infantry, 450, Capt. T. J. Berry, and Captain Read's battery of two twelve-pounder howitzers.

When the Union fleet was therefore drawn up for action before Port Royal, on the morning of November 1, 1861, the following was the disposition of the 1,300 men, with their commanders, opposed to this portentous expedition: Col. William C. Heyward, of the Eleventh South Carolina Volunteers, was in command at Fort Walker. Its guns were manned by Companies A and B of the German Flying Artillery, Capt. D. Werner and H. Harms; Company C, Eleventh Volunteers, Capt. Josiah Bedon, and detachments from the Eleventh under Capt. D. S. Canaday. Maj. Arthur M. Huger, of the Charleston Artillery Battalion, was in command of the front batteries, and of the whole fort after Col. John A. Wagener was disabled. The infantry support at Walker was composed of three companies of the Eleventh and four companies of the Twelfth, and a company of mounted men under Capt. J. H. Screven. The fighting force of Fort Walker, then, on the morning of the 7th of November, preparing to cope with the majestic fleet about to attack, was represented by thirteen guns manned and supported by 622 men.

There were therefore on Hilton Head Island, all told, on the 7th, about 1,450 men.

The guns in Fort Beauregard were manned by the Beaufort Artillery; Company A, Eleventh Volunteers, Capt. Stephen Elliott, Jr., and Company D, Eleventh Volunteers, Capt. J. J. Harrison—Captain Elliott, afterward the heroic defender of Fort Sumter, directing the firing. The infantry support was composed of six companies of the Twelfth. The entire force at Fort Beauregard, commanded by Col. R. G. M. Dunovant, amounted to 640 men and seven guns.

In other words, at Forts Walker and Beauregard and opposed to the great Union fleet armed with the most powerful guns of the day, was a force of 1,450 men, serving and supporting twenty guns, most of them of small caliber and short range. They were there to defend Port Royal against this magnificent armada of nearly fifty vessels, carrying 150 guns, manned by full complements of men, a battalion

* Capt. Percival Drayton commanded the U. S. S. Pocahontas. General and Captain Drayton, under two flags, were half-brothers; sons of Col. Wm. Drayton of Anti-Nullification fame. At the time of the capture of Port Royal the mother of Captain Drayton lay dying in Philadelphia. Among her last words were: "Percy fired at Tom; Tom fired at Percy"; and again, "Percy fired at Tom; Tom fired at Percy"!

of 600 marines and General Sherman's Expeditionary Corps of 12,653 soldiers.

BOMBARDMENT AND FALL OF PORT ROYAL

General Drayton, writing of that beautiful clear morning of the 7th, which broke over the harbor at Port Royal, says: "Not a ripple upon the broad expanse of water to disturb the accuracy of fire from the broad decks of that magnificent armada, about advancing in battle array." The attack came about 9 o'clock, nineteen of the battleships moving up and following each other in close order, firing upon Fort Beauregard as they passed, then turning to the left and south, passing in range of Walker and pouring broadside after broadside into that fort. Captain Elliott reports: "This circuit was performed three times, after which they remained out of range of any except our heaviest guns." From this position the heavy metal and long range guns of nineteen batteries poured forth a ceaseless bombardment of both Beauregard and Walker, but paying most attention to the latter.

* Both forts replied with determination, the gunners standing faithfully to their guns, but the vastly superior weight of metal and the number of the Federal batteries, and the distance of their positions from the forts (never less than 2,500 yards from Beauregard and 2,000 from Walker) made the contest hopeless for the Confederates almost from the first shot. Shortly after the engagement began, several of the largest vessels took flanking positions out of reach of the thirty-two pounder guns in Walker, and raked the parapet of the fort. "So soon as these positions had been established," reported Major Huger, "the fort was simply fought as a point of honor, for from that time we were defeated." This flank fire, with the incessant discharge of the fleet's heavy batteries, dismounted or disabled most of Fort Walker's guns.

Between 12 and 1 o'clock Colonel Wagener, in active command of the fort, was disabled by a fragment of a shell and was succeeded by Major Huger. Soon after 1 o'clock but three guns were in serviceable condition on the water-front and the ammunition was nearly exhausted. The order was given to cease firing and abandon the fort. Then Captain Harmes, with three gun detachments, was left to maintain a show of resistance by a slow fire from serviceable guns, while the wounded were carried to the rear. The garrison then abandoned the fort, gained their supports, and the whole, including Col. W. H. Stiles's Georgia Regiment, which had just arrived, retreated hastily from the island.

The flight of the Fort Walker garrison was witnessed from the naval outlooks of the Union vessels and the flag-officer dispatched Commander John Rodgers ashore with a flag of truce. Finding the fort abandoned, he hoisted the Union flag over it, and a little later a detachment of seamen and marines was sent ashore to take possession of the work.

At Fort Beauregard, the fight went more fortunately for the Confederates. A caisson was exploded by the fire of the fleet and the rifled twenty-four-pounder burst, several men and officers being wounded by these events, but none of the guns were dismounted and Captain Elliott only ceased fire when Walker was abandoned. In his report he says: "Our fire was directed almost exclusively at the larger vessels. They were seen to be struck repeatedly, but the dis-

* Ellison Capers' "Confederate Military History" (South Carolina).

tance, never less than 2,500 yards, prevented our ascertaining the extent of injury." General Drayton successfully conducted his retreat from Hilton Head, and Colonel Dunovant from Bay Point, all the troops being safely concentrated on the mainland behind Beaufort.

No attempt was made to pursue the retreating Confederates, who did not evacuate the island until the next morning.

TATNALL'S MOSQUITO FLEET

The fleet of river steamboats under Commodore Tatnall, after assisting in ferrying the troops across Skull Creek, proceeded to Savannah by the inland passage. Commodore Tatnall's little "mosquito fleet" comprised the river steamer Savannah (flagship!) improvised into a man-of-war, Lieut. J. N. Maffitt commanding; and the armored tugs Resolute, Lieut. J. Pembroke Jones; Sampson, Lieut. J. Kennard; and Lady Davis, Lieut. J. Rutledge. That distinguished commodore needs no explanation of why he failed to accomplish anything against the Leviathans under DuPont. Suffice it to quote Rear Admiral Ammen, U. S. N., who said: "The vessels composing Tatnall's squadron were poorly adapted for successfully opposing those advancing and now within fair range of the earthworks. Tatnall's were what were known as 'river steamers,' extremely vulnerable, boilers and machinery fully exposed, and the guns * * * of inferior calibre."

When Fort Walker was evacuated, Colonel Donovan ordered Captain Elliott to abandon Fort Beauregard. In the afternoon and night, therefore, the men retreated to Beaufort across Edding's Island, by a narrow, marshy and difficult trail. Their escape was effected without the knowledge of the Union forces.

FATALITIES ON BOTH SIDES

The Confederate loss on Hilton Head was 11 killed and 35 seriously wounded, and in Fort Beauregard Captain Elliott and 12 men were badly wounded. In the fleet, 8 were killed and 23 wounded.

STARTLING EFFECT OF UNION VICTORY

On the day following the reduction of the two forts and the fall of Port Royal before such overwhelming odds, General Sherman, the commander of the expeditionary land forces, disembarked most of his men on Hilton Head Island, to commence the construction of an intrenched camp and the establishment of a Federal base of operations for interior campaigning. The intricate system of waterways penetrating and netting the sea region of cotton and rice plantations—the richest stretch of cultivated land in the South—also gave access to Union gunboats of considerable draft; and the entire situation was calculated to throw the country into a panic. The handsome residences and luxurious estates of the planters were unusually exposed to marauders, white and black, as most of the proprietors, young and old, had already joined the army and were absent in the military service of the Confederacy.

The day after landing at Hilton Head, General Sherman reports to the adjutant general: "The effect of this victory is startling. Every white inhabitant has left the island. The wealthy islands of Saint Helena, Ladies and most of Port Royal are abandoned by the whites, and the beautiful estates of the planters, with all their immense property, left to the pillage of hordes of apparently disaffected blacks, and the indications are that the panic has extended to the fort

on the north end of Reynolds's Island commanding the anchorage of Saint Helena Sound."

ROBERT E. LEE, DEPARTMENT COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

On the 8th of November, 1861, the same day that General Sherman made this distressful report, the president of the Confederacy ordered Gen. Robert E. Lee to take command of the department of South Carolina and Georgia. A policy was at once inaugurated which called for immense sacrifices on the part of the planters, their families and the citizens generally of the coastal region, but which also promised to injure the enemy by cutting off many of the supplies, including his very subsistence, upon which he was depending.

EXODUS OF SOLDIERS AND PLANTERS TO INTERIOR

It was evident to General Lee, also, that the mouths of the Carolina rivers and the sea islands, except those immediately surrounding Charleston, could not be defended with the guns and troops at his command. Disappointing and distressing as this decision was to Governor Pickens and the planters, whose estates and homes must be abandoned and ruined, General Lee prepared for the inevitable. He wrote to General Ripley, whom he had succeeded as general commander and whom he had appointed as head of one of the military districts into which he had divided his department, to this effect: "I am in favor of abandoning all exposed points as far as possible within reach of the enemy's fleet of gunboats and of taking interior positions, where all can meet on more equal terms. All our resources should be applied to those positions." Subsequently, the government at Richmond ordered General Lee, by telegraph, to withdraw all his forces from the islands to the mainland, and it was in the prompt fulfillment of that order, and his own suggestion that the exposed positions on the coast be abandoned, that the richest and most opulent belt in South Carolina was virtually swept clear of its home people and all that gave it charm and stability.

LEE'S MILITARY DISTRICTS

When General Lee assumed command of the Confederate military department of South Carolina and Georgia, he established his headquarters at Coosawhatchie, and divided the line of defense into five military districts. From east to west, they were defined and commanded as follows: The First, from the North Carolina line to the South Santee, under Col. A. M. Manigault, Tenth Volunteers, with headquarters at Georgetown; the Second, from the South Santee to the Stono, embracing Charleston and its harbor, under Gen. R. S. Ripley, with headquarters at Charleston; the Third, from the Stono to the Ashepoo, under Gen. N. G. Evans, with headquarters at Adams Run; the Fourth, from Ashepoo to Port Royal entrance, under Gen. J. C. Pemberton, with headquarters at Coosawhatchie; the Fifth, the country between the last named boundary to the Savannah River, under Gen. T. F. Drayton, with headquarters at Hardeeville.

CHAPTER XLVI

CLOSING AROUND CHARLESTON AND SAVANNAH

When it became known in Richmond that the fleet and expeditionary corps had arrived at Port Royal, the War Department of the Confederate government formed the coast of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida into a military department, assigning Gen. Robert E. Lee to its command. As always, he promptly responded to this assignment, and reporting at Coosawhatchie, the nearest point on the Charleston & Savannah Railroad to Port Royal Ferry, started for the scene of the threatened engagement. On the afternoon of November 7th, while riding to Hilton Head, he met General Ripley and learned from him of the fall of Forts Walker and Beauregard and the retreat of the Confederates from perhaps the finest harbor on the coast. It was plain to the far-seeing Confederate general that the possession of Port Royal gave the Federal forces control of the inland waters of South Carolina, by which they might cut around Charleston, which proved to be the plan adopted by the enemy.

On the day after the fall of Port Royal, while the land forces of General Sherman were reconnoitering Hilton Head and the neighboring islands and making their camp as secure and comfortable as possible, three gunboats of the fleet steamed up the Beaufort River, the largest arm of the Sound, and, as the Confederates had been unable to erect batteries on the banks of that stream, were not molested in their course of fifteen miles to the beautiful and wealthy town of Beaufort. When the gunboats came in sight of the town, it was found that all the opulent planters and other well-to-do residents of the place had deserted their luxurious homes and left them to the mercy of the blacks. It is said that there was only one white person at Beaufort, and he a native of New England, when the Union forces arrived, a few horsemen being seen to ride away at their approach.

This was the beginning of a trying problem which confronted the Union troops of occupation. The negroes left without masters or guidance could not be left to starve; neither would they voluntarily work and become self-supporting.* To relieve the Federal Government of such a burden and make the negroes self-sustaining, General Sherman divided the Port Royal country into districts, over each of which he proposed to appoint an agent or overseer to organize the slaves and direct them in working the plantations. All of the horses and mules having been carried off and most of them appropriated to the use of the United States Government, it was necessary to procure others, and the secretary of the treasury, having regard to the interests of the Government in the cultivation of cotton, called on the secretary of war to furnish the necessary teams. Later treasury agents were sent to South Carolina to gather up any property they could find and sell it for the benefit of the Federal Government. Their pernicious activities often clashed with the orderly conduct of military

* General Samuel Jones: "Siege of Charleston."

matters, and not a few of the Federal officers sent stern protests to Washington.

"Early in March," says Hazard Stevens, in the *Life of Gen. I. I. Stevens*, "there descended on the Department of the South at Hilton Head, like the locusts in Egypt, a swarm of treasury agents and humanitarians, male and female, all zealously bent on educating the 'freedmen,' as they immediately dubbed the blacks. * * * They met with a cold and ungracious reception from General Sherman, who declared that their coming was uncalled for and entirely premature, and incontinently packed them off to Beaufort to the care of General Stevens, thus washing his hands of them."

CONSIDERATE CONDUCT OF GEN. I. I. STEVENS

No Union officer who participated in the operations against Port Royal and remained with the army of occupation earned greater respect for his impartial treatment of Confederate residents than Gen. Isaac I. Stevens, one of the three brigadier generals of the expeditionary corps who had come to the South "not to free the slaves, but to preserve the Union." Some of the reasons for this friendly attitude toward him on the part of those who were enemies of war are thus told by his son, Hazard Stevens. His statements have an immediate bearing on the foregoing comments on the clashes of authority between the civil and military agents of the Government in the Port Royal district.

"After the action of Port Royal Ferry," says the author, "General Stevens continued to hold Beaufort and the neighboring islands for five months without the occurrence of any military event of importance, chiefly occupied in thoroughly drilling and disciplining his troops. * * * His attention, moreover, was largely taken up with other matters, not military, but growing out of the peculiar conditions there. He caused the public library, with several fine private libraries added to it, to be put in order, restored to the shelves and catalogued, and thrown open for the use of the troops.

"Corporal Joseph Matthews, Joseph Hall and George Lispenard, of Company E of the Highlanders, were busy at work for several months. He intended that the library, thus preserved, should be cared for and kept in the town where it belonged, and restored to the inhabitants when they resumed their allegiance and returned to their homes.* But one day the treasury agent, Col. William H. Reynolds, presented himself and demanded the books, as captured rebel property, to be sold for the benefit of the Government—a demand which General Stevens indignantly and peremptorily rejected. A month later, the

* The noble stand of General Stevens against the wholesale plunder of private property is remembered to his honor by the people of Beaufort and South Carolina. The libraries, public and private, were carried to Washington and there lost or destroyed. Congress, in recent years, has made restitution to many southern churches and colleges for property seriously damaged or destroyed, but strange to say, the people of Beaufort have appealed in vain for their lost library—or its money value. The community was probably unique in South Carolina because of the general culture of the people. Mr. George Elliott had written as follows, in 1857: "There are distributed from the Beaufort postoffice annually 33,124 newspapers, 3,460 magazines and other periodicals, and we have not been able to find a single (white) man or woman, a native of the parish that cannot read and write. The public schools have been always of the first character and the evidence of this is, that our young men, at various times, have carried off the first honors at Cambridge, at Yale, at Princeton, at Columbia (S. C.) and at Charleston College, and this in a parish that has not above 1,200 white inhabitants."

agent again appeared with a formal demand from the secretary of the treasury for the library, indorsed by General Sherman, with an order to give it up. Even then, General Stevens suspended the order and wrote a strong protest to General Sherman, setting forth the vandal character of the proposed action, and urging him to represent the matter in its true light to the Government, and secure the revocation of the order. But General Sherman was unwilling to take such a responsibility and there was no alternative but to give up the books.

"General Stevens disapproved the action of the Government in sending such treasury agents into the field with independent authority to gather up cotton and other property, as meddling with military operations, encroaching on the authority of military commanders and opening the door for dishonest or over-zealous agents to plunder private property. Such work, he declared, should be done by the army through the quartermaster's department."

STONE FLEET SCUTTLED OFF CHARLESTON

In December, 1861, the Federal Government, disgusted with the failure of the ships of war to stop blockade-running, determined upon what they deemed the brilliant scheme of sealing up Charleston, Savannah and other southern ports by sinking in their channels hulks loaded with stone. The ultimate failure was ludicrous, indeed the effect in the end was to scour the channels deeper, but the effort created world-wide comment and general condemnation at the time. England and France, in parliament at home, and through their ministers at Washington, formally protested at what was considered a barbarous mode of warfare; that is, the attempt to close forever the avenues through which commerce must seek ingress to and egress from a seaport. The London Times said: "The Federal Government has itself emphatically admitted the failure of their naval blockade by an act of barbarity which is unparalleled in the history of national wars." The New England whalers had plenty of worn-out ships from which they reaped a golden harvest from the Government.

Fifty or sixty such craft were purchased, twenty-five of which, carrying over 6,000 tons of stone, were brought to Charleston, December 20, 1861, and scuttled in the channels. Five of the hulks came from New London, eleven from New Bedford, and the others from neighboring ports. Dr. J. T. Scharf, in his "History of the Confederate Navy" says: "The sapient landsmen who invented it had never counted upon the power of the tidal currents of the harbor by which some of the hulks were broken up and their fragments washed away; others settled below the ever shifting sands, and such as remained in place helped, by concentrating the currents, jetty-fashion, to scour the channels deeper!"

COMMANDER PERCIVAL DRAYTON AND HIS WORK

By the last of December, 1861, all the inland waters which could have a military bearing upon the situation in South Carolina had been reconnoitered or examined by the lighter draft gunboats of the Union navy up and down the coast. This work of exploration was under the general supervision of Com. Percival Drayton, brother of the Confederate commander of the Beaufort District, who was a native of the Hilton Head region and thoroughly conversant with the coastal

country. With him was Captain Boutelle, who had been engaged in coast survey duty for the Federal Government and had an accurate knowledge of all the water courses of the Carolina coast as well as of the residences of the planters at which he had often visited.

On Otter Island,* at the entrance to St. Helena Sound, the expedition of three steamers under these capable and well posted Union officers found a deserted field work, which they occupied, and on the Coosaw and Ashepoo rivers they discovered others. These they also occupied, controlling, as they did, much of the inland navigation tributary to Charleston. Then Commander Drayton extended his explorations to the Edisto region, and took possession of abandoned earthworks, where he found the first signs of the enemy in Col. John L. Branch's Rifle Regiment of nearly 300 men, who, however, abandoned the camp on Wadmalaw Island, a few miles from Edisto.

Com. C. R. P. Rodgers, also with three gunboats, was sent to explore the Georgia coast and inland waters from the mouth of the Savannah southward for twenty miles or so. Several abandoned works were found, and one on Green Island which commanded the approaches to the Great Ogeechee River, threw a couple of shells at the gunboats as they approached, the first signs of opposition the Federal forces had met since the engagements at Forts Walker and Beauregard.

The appearance of the Union gunboats in the vicinity of a plantation was generally a signal to the master, or his agent, to set fire to the cotton houses to prevent the crop from falling into the hands of the enemy. The reconnoissances were made chiefly from late November to late December. If they had been made earlier, the armaments of some of the abandoned Confederate works would have fallen into Union hands.

INTERIOR CONFEDERATE FORCES

To oppose the land and naval forces of the Union Expedition, South Carolina had, at first, about 4,000 men outside of Charleston and occupying the country to the Savannah River. On retreating from Hilton Head, Gen. Thomas F. Drayton had halted his command of less than 1,000 men at Bluffton, about eleven miles from Fort Walker, the Georgia troops continuing their march to Savannah. Colonel Dunovant, in active command of Fort Beauregard, was halted on the road to Pocotaligo. Both commands were almost destitute of equipment. There was also a regiment of North Carolina volunteers, and half a dozen companies of South Carolina infantry and cavalry, unsupported by field artillery in the Coosawhatchie neighborhood. And that was all.

The most important military district in South Carolina was that assigned to General Ripley, stretching from the Santee to the Stono rivers with headquarters at Charleston, and to him fell the vital duty of guarding the railroad bridges, upon which depended the interior land access to Charleston and Savannah, and so disposing of the inadequate forces at his command as to be able to concentrate them when the Unionists should attack any definite point. General Drayton, with a part of Martin's regiment of cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Colcock and Heyward's and DeSaussure's regiments, was watching Bluffton and the roads to Hendersonville. The landings on the Broad River, in front of Grahamville, were guarded by two North Carolina

* General Samuel Jones: "Siege of Charleston."

regiments, with artillery under Col. A. J. Gonzales, Captain Trezevant's company of cavalry, the Charleston Light Dragoons and the Rutledge Mounted Riflemen. Colonel Edwards's regiment and Moore's light battery were at Coosawhatchie, Colonel Dunovant's at Pocotaligo, and Colonel Jones's, with Fripp's company of cavalry, in front of the important landing at Port Royal Ferry. At the landings on the Combahee, Ashepoo and Edisto rivers, was also a part of Martin's cavalry engaged in observation or scouting.

On General Ripley therefore rested the grave responsibility of actively defending Charleston and on Brig.-Gen. A. R. Lawton and Brig.-Gen. James H. Trapier (the former in command of Georgia as a whole and the latter especially of middle and east Georgia) the defense of Savannah.

PICKENS AND LEE ESTIMATE STATE FORCES

On November 19th, nearly two weeks after the investment and fall of Port Royal, Governor Pickens reported to General Lee that there were 13,000 South Carolina troops in the State—that is, on paper—distributed from Georgetown to Hardeeville, a distance of some 175 miles, over half of which there was no railroad communication whatever. A large portion of this force was held in Charleston's defensive works. In Georgia, within twenty miles of Savannah, there were about 5,500 troops.

As late as December 24th, when the Union Expeditionary Corps had made many explorations of the Carolina coast and country well into the interior, as well as the important military points along the Georgia coast, General Lee wrote to Judge Magrath, president of the State Convention about to assemble, in regard to the preparations which had been made for the defense of South Carolina: "I have not been able to get an accurate report of the troops under my command in the State. I hope it may be as large as you state, but I am sure those for duty fall far short of it. For instance, DeSaussure's brigade is put down at 3,420 men. When last in Charleston (the day I inquired) I was informed that in one regiment there were 110 men for duty in camp on the race course, and in the other about 200. Colonel Branch, I am told, had only about 200 men with him at Rockville, though I have had no official report of his retreat from there. The companies of mounted men in the service are very much reduced. The Charleston Light Dragoons and Rutledge Mounted Rifles have about 45 men each. The companies of Colonel Martin's regiment are very small. One of them, Captain Fripp's, reports 4 commissioned officers and 19 privates. It is very expensive to retain in service companies of such strength, and I think all had better be reorganized.

"I have only on this line (the letter was written at his headquarters at Coosawhatchie) for field operations, Heyward's, DeSaussure's, Dunovant's, Jones's and Edwards's regiments from South Carolina, and Martin's cavalry. General Ripley writes that Elford's and Means's regiments are poorly armed and equipped and at present ineffective, and that the organization of the troops thrown forward on James Island is so brittle that he fears it will break. The garrisons at Moultrie, Sumter, Johnson and the fixed batteries—the best and most stable of our forces—cannot be removed from them; neither can those at Georgetown, and should not be counted among those for operations in the field.

"You must not understand that this is written in a complaining

spirit. I know the difficulties in the way, and wish you to understand them, explain them to the governor and, if possible, remove them. Our enemy increases in strength faster than we do. Where he will strike I do not know, but the blow, when it falls, will be hard."

To General Ripley he writes: "Unless more field artillery can be obtained, it will be almost impossible to make head against the enemy should he land in any force."

On the 27th of December, 1861, General Lee wrote to Governor Pickens that his movable forces for the defense of the State, not including the garrisons of the forts at Georgetown, Forts Moultrie, Sumter and Johnson, and Castle Pinckney, at Charleston, and the works for the defense of the approaches through Stono, Wappoo, etc., which could not be moved from their posts, amounted to 10,036 Confederate troops—the Fourth Brigade, South Carolina militia, 1,531 strong; Colonel Martin's mounted regiment, 567 strong; Clingman's and Radcliffe's North Carolina regiments; the Eighth and Sixteenth Tennessee, and Colonel Starke's Virginia regiment, the Tennessee and Virginia troops being brigaded under General Donelson.

FEDERALS DECIDE TO INVEST FORT PULASKI

Although at this day, the historian knows how small and weak was the Confederate opposition to the Union army and navy of occupation, the Federal commanders had formed an exaggerated idea of its strength and were undecided as to what should be their general plan of campaign. While the discussion was progressing between Admiral DuPont and General Sherman, in long-distance correspondence with General McClellan, the commander-in-chief of the Union army, the Confederates were strengthening and disposing of their forces and making the capture of Savannah and Charleston more and more difficult. Finally McClellan discouraged the siege of Savannah altogether, which had been favored by Sherman, but advised the capture of Fort Pulaski, at the head of Tybee Roads, fourteen miles from the city, but effectually commanding both channels of the Savannah River. The investment of Charleston, as a far more difficult task, was left to a later period.

Everything remained quiet in the Port Royal region, with the exception of the capture of a deserted earthwork, by a brigade under Gen. Isaac I. Stevens, situated at the head of a causeway leading to the ferry. The Confederates lost altogether, eight killed and twenty-four wounded in the engagement and the Unionists two men killed, twelve wounded and one captured. During the winter and early spring, the fleet continued the exploration of rivers, sounding of channels and landing of reconnoitering parties on the various islands.

Edisto Island was garrisoned early in February and the commander, Col. Henry Moore, of the Forty-seventh New York, wrote to the adjutant general in Washington, on the 15th of that month, that he was within twenty-five miles of Charleston; that he considered Edisto Island "the great key" to that city, and with a reinforcement of 10,000 men could, "in less than three days, be in Charleston."

On March 2, 1862, President Davis called General Lee from the southern field to Richmond, where he at once assumed his greater responsibilities and continued the career which was to give him a commanding place in military history. Maj.-Gen. John C. Pemberton succeeded him in command of the Confederate Department of the South.

BEAUREGARD IN CHARLESTON AGAIN

The late Gen. A. L. Long, one of Lee's biographers, has recklessly claimed that the great Confederate chieftain conceived and built the "impenetrable barrier" which defeated the plans of "the combined Federal forces operating on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia. General Lee's place as the greatest soldier, with the possible exception of Jackson, on either side in the War of Secession is now generally conceded at the North and universally in Europe, and so he needs no borrowed laurels." "The real barrier" that stopped Dahlgren and Gillmore, and "through which they never could break consisted in the magnificent works on James, Sullivan's, and Morris Islands, and in different parts of Charleston Harbor, and in the city proper—all due to the engineering capacity of General Beauregard, who conceived and executed them. Major-General Pemberton, Lee's successor, proclaimed martial law in Charleston, without authority or reason it was claimed, and contrary to the wishes of Governor Pickens. He had also advised the abandonment of the whole coast-line of defenses. This so exasperated South Carolinians that Governor Pickens had written to Richmond demanding the immediate removal of General Pemberton, and to the great joy of the people Beauregard was sent to the city where he mainly established his fame. Not unfitly did Beauregard in his last will bequeath his sword to the city of Charleston, and there it will be treasured for all time.

GENERALS HUNTER AND BENHAM, U. S. A.

On the 15th of March, 1862, the War Department of the Federal Government created a military department comprising South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. It was called the Department of the South, and Maj.-Gen. David Hunter, the amateur emancipator, was assigned to its command, thus superseding Brig.-Gen. T. W. Sherman. The notoriously incompetent Brig.-Gen. H. W. Benham was appointed commander of the Expeditionary Corps, designated as the northern division of the Department of the South. General Hunter assumed command on March 31st, and was on Tybee Island in time to demand the surrender of Fort Pulaski and report its reduction to his government.

At the time he assumed command of the Union Department of the South, on the last of March, General Hunter reported to his government "about 17,000 troops scattered along the coast from St. Augustine, Florida, to North Edisto inlet." Of these troops, 12,230 were on the South Carolina coast—4,500 on Hilton Head Island, 3,600 at Beaufort, 1,400 on Edisto, and the remainder at other points. The force on Edisto was advanced to the northern part of the island, with a strong guard on Little Edisto, which touches the mainland and is cut off from the large island by Watts' cut and a creek running across its northern neck. Communication with the large island from Little Edisto was by a bridge and causeway, about the middle of the creek's course.

As the Union forces had already partially occupied the Little Edisto district by the later part of March, Gen. N. G. Evans, then in command of the Third military district, as organized by General Lee, with headquarters at Adams Run, determined to capture the Federal guard on Little Edisto, and make an armed reconnoissance on the adjacent main island. The project was entrusted to Col. P. F. Stevens, commanding the Holcombe legion. On the morning of March 29th,

with that command, Nelson's battalion and a company of cavalry, he dispersed the picket at Watts cut and crossed to the main island.

Colonel Stevens sent Maj. F. G. Palmer, with about 300 men, to capture the picket at the bridge and burn the structure, thus cutting off the Federal force on Little Edisto and thus to capture them. The instructions were successfully carried out, but on account of a heavy fog Major Palmer only captured a Union lieutenant, a few non-commissioned officers and twenty men. Several of the Federal soldiers were killed in this affair, the Confederates having two slightly wounded.

On assuming general command of the department, two days afterward, General Pemberton followed out General Lee's plan of moving the guns from Fort Palmetto on Cole's Island, at the mouth of the Stono, and from the works at the mouth of Georgetown Harbor. As stated, General Ripley's energy and ability were especially called into play to further the defense of Charleston, the fall of which, after all, Federals and Confederates alike were convinced would be the hardest blow which could then be struck against the South.

ATTACK AND FALL OF FORT PULASKI

The attack on Fort Pulaski which was to be preliminary to the renewed assault on Charleston is of great interest and importance, but the full story does not come within the scope of this work. Suffice it to say that as early as December, 1861, Capt. Q. A. Gillmore, chief engineer on Gen. T. W. Sherman's staff, after a careful examination of the Tybee Island region, reported in favor of reducing that fort and submitted a plan of operations. With slight modifications, Captain Gillmore's plan was carried out by the force sent against it and prosecuted under his own supervision. A battery of six guns was constructed at Venus Point on Jones Island, about five miles above the fort and between it and the city of Savannah. Shortly afterward, another battery was planted on Bird's Island opposite Venus Point. Commodore Tattnall's little fleet of river steamers, which had done what it could at Port Royal and escaped from the engagement there, engaged one of these batteries without success. Captain Gillmore constructed other works at other positions surrounding and commanding Fort Pulaski, and might have reduced it by the slow process of starvation, but preferred a military investment and assault. All the islands and other sites for the surrounding batteries were virtually deposits of mud, varying in degrees of stability, and the planting of the artillery as he found later at Morris Island was accompanied by great difficulties.

COMPARATIVE ARTILLERY STRENGTH

When at sunrise of April 10, 1862, Lieut. James H. Wilson of the Union Engineers was sent under a flag of truce to demand the surrender of Fort Pulaski, he had behind him as an inducement, eleven batteries mounting thirty-six guns. The breaching batteries were at an average distance of 1,700 yards from the fort; the 10-inch siege mortars, 1,650 yards, and the 13-inch mortars, from 2,400 to 3,400 yards.

Fort Pulaski was built of brick, with walls $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick and 25 feet above high water. It was surrounded by wet ditches, from 32 to 48 feet wide. At the time of the bombardment it mounted forty-six guns, varying from 12-pound howitzers to 10-inch columbiads. Twenty of its heaviest guns bore on the Tybee Island batteries. The fort was

garrisoned by five companies of the First Georgia Regiment, 385 men, under command of Col. Charles H. Olmstead.

When the summons to surrender was refused, fire was immediately opened, and for more than ten hours the guns, both of the fort and the investing batteries were in action without interruption. It then ceased on account of darkness, although two heavy mortars and a Parrott gun threw a shell against the fort every five minutes in order that the garrison might be prevented from making repairs.

At sunrise on the 11th, the bombardment was renewed and by noon two casements of the fort had been battered wide open. A third was rapidly crumbling under the accurate and rapid fire of the Union batteries, when, at 2 o'clock P. M. the Confederate garrison run up the white flag over Fort Pulaski. Its reduction had demonstrated not only General Gillmore's skill as an engineer and an officer, but the superiority of the rifled gun over the smooth bore.*

STATE'S MILITARY STRENGTH, APRIL, 1862

At the last of April, 1862, over three weeks after the fall of Fort Pulaski, Georgia, and nearly two months after General Lee had been called to Richmond and succeeded by General Pemberton, the Confederate troops available in the South Carolina military districts were officially reported as follows: First district, Col. R. F. Graham, 1,254; Second district, Brig.-Gen. R. S. Ripley, 8,672; Third district, Brig.-Gen. N. G. Evans, 5,400; Fourth district, Col. A. H. Colquitt, 1,582; Fifth district, Col. P. H. Colquitt, 2,222; Sixth district, Brig.-Gen. Thomas F. Drayton, 3,145. Total, 22,275.

The foregoing included infantry, artillery and cavalry available in the entire State. They were all South Carolina troops excepting Phillips's Georgia legion (infantry), Thornton's Virginia battery and a company of Georgia cavalry under Capt. T. H. Johnson. Manigault's Tenth Volunteers and Moragne's Nineteenth, with the two Tennessee regiments under Brigadier-General Donelson, had been sent to Corinth to reinforce the army of the West, and Dunovant's Twelfth, Edwards's Thirteenth, McGowan's Fourteenth (Col. James Jones having resigned) and Orr's Rifles, had gone to the aid of General Johnston in Virginia. Such was the military strength of the Palmetto State at the close of April, 1862.

* General Samuel Jones: "Siege of Charleston."

CHAPTER XLVII

SOUTH CAROLINA AT HOME AND IN VIRGINIA

The months of May and June, 1862, meant much to South Carolina both in the great battles fought and won by Johnston and Lee before Richmond, and in warding off the dangerous blow struck by the enemy in his attempt to attack Charleston by land from the direction of James Island. Both had most important bearings on the fortunes of the Confederate States and both were brilliant Confederate successes, although much differing in the comparative scale of the military operations involved.

In the Virginia campaigns of those months, in which McClellan was opposed by two of the ablest military leaders which the Confederacy ever developed, the South Carolina troops, under Micah Jenkins, J. B. Kershaw, Wade Hampton, John Bratton, and Richard H. Anderson, especially distinguished themselves.

Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, who first commanded the Confederate army in defense of Richmond, had his headquarters at Yorktown, when the Union forces under Gen. George B. McClellan, with headquarters at Fort Monroe, opened the Peninsula campaign for the capture of the Confederate capital. On the 4th of May, Johnston drew his army of 53,000 men from Williamsburg, in the lower part of Virginia, with the intention of falling slowly back on the defenses of Richmond, where he expected to receive such reinforcements as would bring his army nearer to McClellan's command, then estimated at 133,000. He did not wish to join battle with the finely equipped and trained Union Army of the Potomac until his own men could meet it on reasonably equal terms.

BATTLE OF WILLIAMSBURG OPENED

Johnston's army, at this time, was composed of the divisions of Magruder (commanded by D. R. Jones), Longstreet, D. H. Hill and G. W. Smith. (Magruder and Smith had passed beyond Williamsburg on the march to Richmond, and Hill, encumbered with the trains and baggage, was also moving beyond that point, on the afternoon of the 4th, when Longstreet's rear guard was attacked in front of Williamsburg by the Federal advance. The two brigades under Brigadier-General McLaws which checked this offensive included Kershaw's, consisting of the Second, Third, Seventh and Eighth South Carolina regiments.) It was evident to the Confederate commander-in-chief that a more decided opposition must be offered to McClellan's army in order to ensure the safety of his trains, and Longstreet's entire division was therefore sent to meet the Union advance, on the morning of the 5th. The bloody battle in front of Williamsburg was the result.

Two divisions of the Confederate army were finally engaged—the one known as Longstreet's being in command of Gen. Richard H. Anderson, of South Carolina. Anderson's own brigade was placed under Col. Micah Jenkins and was composed of the Palmetto sharpshooters, Lieut.-Col. Joseph Walker; Fourth battalion, Maj. C. S.

Mattison; Fifth, Col. John R. Giles, and Sixth, Col. John Bratton and Lieut.-Col. J. M. Steedman. Colonel Jenkins's brigade was stationed at Fort Magruder and to its right and left, which was the center of Longstreet's line and the key to the Confederate position, and at 6 o'clock on the morning of May 5th the Union forces opened the battle at that point. Opposed to the two Confederate divisions were thirty-three regiments of Union infantry, six batteries of artillery and three regiments of cavalry.

After a sharp picket engagement, Jenkins's advance guard retired to Fort Magruder, to receive, with the brigade as a whole, the heavy fire of the Federal artillery and small arms. Although the Confederate equipment in this regard was inferior to that of the enemy, the opposition at the fort was so staunch that the enemy did not assault the line at Fort Magruder, but by noon changed the point of attack to the Confederate left. In the meantime Longstreet had taken the offensive against the Federal left, and had been reinforced by Hill's division recalled from beyond Williamsburg. In the afternoon, General Hill brought his entire division on the field, reinforced the center commanded by Anderson, and led the left in person. A final advance was then made and the Federals were driven from the field. Johnston's men slept on the battle field that night—after fighting intermittently from early morning until dusk—and followed the main Confederate army, whose retreat toward Richmond they had protected, on the morning of the 6th of May.

PARTICIPATION OF SOUTH CAROLINA TROOPS

What special parts were played by the South Carolina troops in the battle which saved the Confederate army and protected Richmond; which upheld and heartened the Confederacy at this crisis in its affairs, are thus described in Ellison Capers's "Confederate Military History": "In the defense of the center and left, Anderson's brigade under Jenkins, bore a conspicuous part. In Fort Magruder, the Richmond howitzers and the Fayette artillery lost so many men by the fire of the enemy that details were made by Colonel Jenkins from the infantry to relieve the men at the guns. By concentrating the artillery fire on particular batteries in succession and by volley firing at the gunners, Jenkins compelled the assailants to shift their positions, while the regiments of Bratton, Giles, Walker and Mattison poured their well-directed fire into the threatening columns of Federal infantry.

"At an important period of the battle on the right, when the Federal left had been driven back and was exposed to the full fire of Fort Magruder, every gun was turned upon it. In the afternoon and just before D. H. Hill's attack on his right, the Federal commander had gained a position almost turning the Confederate left. At this critical juncture, the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth South Carolina regiments, with the Fourteenth Alabama, Major Royston, splendidly supported by Dearing's and Stribling's batteries and three guns under Lieutenant Fortier, met the movement with firmness and, aided by the fire from Fort Magruder, checked and repulsed the Federal right and held the Confederate left intact." *

* Capt. J. L. Coker tells of the remarkable experience of Corp. John Kelly of Company E, Sixth South Carolina Regiment, who was exchanging shots with the Federal sharpshooters. He was struck in the breast and fell, and his comrades thought him dead. But, in his jacket pocket the Bible, presented by his Sunday school teacher, saved him. "The ball entered the Bible, but like many a man, could not find its way through the whole volume."

R. H. ANDERSON TO THE FORE

Col. C. Irvine Walker in his "Life of Lieutenant General Richard Heron Anderson" says: "The battle of Williamsburg was the first occasion upon which General Anderson exercised an extensive command in battle. His leadership, for he led his forces, evidenced great personal gallantry, and his consummate skill rendered his leadership brilliantly successful." Longstreet says: "The attacking columns were well arranged and gallantry led by General Anderson and most ably seconded by the gallant brigadiers and other officers."

McClellan, with a great flourish of trumpets, claimed a victory; but, the Confederate loss 1,560, was only two-thirds that of the Federals, and Johnston marched only twelve miles on the 6th and was not pursued. Grant never would have won Richmond by any such "victory" as that of Williamsburg.

On the second day after the battle at Williamsburg, General Johnston's march toward Richmond was also threatened by Franklin's division, which was covering the disembarkation of several other divisions at Eltham's landing, near the head of the York River. This was within about three miles of the Confederate line of march and to protect his trains and artillery Johnston ordered one of his own divisions to drive back the Federal troops covering the disembarkation. The Hampton Legion participated in this movement which resulted in driving back Franklin's Union division to the river and freeing the Confederate line of march from its menace.

CONFEDERATE ARMY SOUTH OF CHICKAHOMINY

Arriving before the defenses of Richmond, Johnston encamped his army north and east of the city, and awaited McClellan's main advance from Williamsburg up the peninsula along the north banks of the Chickahominy. The Confederate army was south of that stream, all of the bridges crossing it having been destroyed, although the Federals afterward threw temporary structures across it. By the 30th of May, a portion of McClellan's army was on the south side of the Chickahominy, with its right resting on a swamp. There had been incessant rains and the entire country was under water and almost impassable for artillery. The main position of the Union army which had crossed the Chickahominy was at Seven Pines and Fair Oaks, about seven miles from Richmond, respectively located on a railroad and the Williamsburg road.

JOHNSTON ATTACKS MCCLELLAN BEFORE RICHMOND

Without going into minute details as to the Confederate plan of attack, it is only necessary to say that it aimed at a crushing assault on McClellan's army, which lay on the Richmond side of the Chickahominy, before reinforcements could arrive from the northern side of the river. Only one part of the plan was a complete success and that was the task assigned to the division of D. H. Hill, in which was the gallant South Carolina brigade commanded by Gen. R. H. Anderson. Four brigades of the division had driven Casey's Federal divisions back to the second line at Seven Pines (which had been thrown across the Williamsburg road running toward Fair Oaks), when General Hill called for another brigade to press the attack on the Union right and rear.

SOUTH CAROLINA AT SEVEN PINES

"In a few moments," reports that commander, "the magnificent brigade of R. H. Anderson came to my support." Being ordered by Hill to his extreme left, it immediately began its effective operations. Colonel Jenkins, with the Palmetto sharpshooters and the Sixth South Carolina, Colonel Bratton, marched through the woods beyond the extreme left of the Confederates, moved toward the Federal right flank at Seven Pines and struck at the rear of that position. The remainder of Anderson's brigade attacked on the left of Hill, between the captured first line of the Federals and the railroad, the entire operation, including Jenkins' movements, being directed by General Anderson. Jenkins, with his own and Bratton's regiments, and the Twenty-seventh Georgia from one of Hill's brigades, formed a line of attack in the woods facing northeast, and moved against a portion of General Couch's Union division posted there. The attack was successful, as was that of General Anderson, with the Fourth and Fifth South Carolina regiments, against General Naglee's troops. The forces of Jenkins and Anderson met at the railroad, and the former was directed by General Anderson to continue his advance.

Thereupon, the sharpshooters and the Sixth South Carolina, of Jenkins's brigade, fought their way ahead and penetrated the Federal line, cutting off a portion of the Union troops from Seven Pines. Changing front forward on his right, Colonel Jenkins with his two regiments, now facing southwest, attacked the right of the position at Seven Pines on Hill's extreme left. "At this point," he reports, "the enemy, heavily reinforced made a desperate stand and the fighting was within 75 yards." Pushing to his right, Jenkins reached the Williamsburg road, the Federal forces in his front falling back and taking position in the woods south of it, while the two South Carolina regiments formed in line in the road facing south. The little brigade was now in a most critical position, in advance of Hill's line, with the foe in front and troops coming up the Williamsburg road to attack his left.

Colonel Jenkins determined, as he says in his report, "to break the enemy in front before I could be reached by this new advance (coming up the Williamsburg road on his left) and then, by a change of front, to meet them." This was handsomely done and, sending two companies of the sharpshooters, Kilpatrick's and Martin's, under Maj. William Anderson, to check the Federal advance, the two regiments were formed across the road, while one of Jenkins's adjutants hurried back for reinforcements.

General Anderson, who had led the Fourth and Fifth forward on Hill's left in the general attack, sent the Fifth to Jenkins under Lieut.-Col. A. Jackson, the gallant Colonel Giles having been killed. The Twenty-seventh Georgia was also sent to assist him before Colonel Jenkins finally advanced to meet the enemy. The Sixth South Carolina, which now formed his left, was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Steedman, Colonel Bratton being wounded.

CLOSE OF A BUSY BLOODY DAY

"The two commands neared each other to 30 or 40 yards," says Colonel Jenkins, describing this struggle. "Losing heavily, I pressed on, and the enemy sullenly and slowly gave way, leaving the ground carpeted with dead and dying." By this time the Fifth South Caro-

lina volunteers came up at the double quick. The Twenty-seventh Georgia (which had been repulsed) rallied and came forward on the right. Jackson came up on the right of the Georgians, "sweeping before him the rallied fragments who had collected and resumed fire from the woods to the right; and thus, at 7:40 P. M. we closed our busy day."

Gen. G. W. Smith, the division commander under Johnston, who wrote a book on the battles now under consideration, says: "It is believed that the annals of war show few, if any instances of more persistent, skillful and effective battlefield fighting than was done by the South Carolina regiments under Colonel Jenkins on the afternoon of May 31st."

The losses were heavy, as might have been expected, but there is no official report of them. Col. John Bratton, of the Sixth, after the war, reported to General Smith that his regiment lost 269 killed and wounded out of 521 taken into action. The loss of the Sharpshooters must have been fully as large.

A UNION GENERAL'S GRACEFUL ACT

Colonel Bratton, badly wounded at Seven Pines, was walking, assisted by one of his men, as he thought into the Confederate lines. By an unlucky mischance he walked into the Federal lines and thus became a prisoner of war. Gen. Phil. Kearney, the gallant Federal cavalryman, a few days later addressed the following extraordinary letter to his prisoner, an enemy, but a noble gentleman like himself.

"Camp near Fair Oaks, Va., June 10, 1862.

"Dear Sir:

"The fortunes of this unnatural war have made you a prisoner, and it was in the hands of one of my regiments that you fell. I take the liberty, in courtesy and good feeling, of putting myself or friends at the North at your disposal.

"I forward by a special messenger your sword, belt and watch together with a letter from the surgeon, Dr. Gesner, who attended you, who is an acquaintance of your family at the South.

"If Sir, you will permit me the favor, I also place at your call a credit with my bankers, Riggs & Co., Washington, \$200, which may serve you until your own arrangements are made.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"P. KEARNEY,

"Brig. Gen'l Comd'g 3d Division, Third Corps.

"Colonel Bratton, Sixth South Carolina Regiment."

Colonel Jenkins himself writes: "In my two color companies, out of 80 men who entered, 40 were killed and wounded, and out of 11 in the color guard 10 were shot down. My colors, pierced by nine balls, passed through four hands without touching the ground." Capt. J. Q. Carpenter, commanding the color company, lost 16 out of 28, "and ever in their front, the fatal ball pierced his heart, when he turned to his company and said, 'Boys, I am killed, but you press on.'"

BATTLE OF FAIR OAKS

The battle of Fair Oaks, which was subordinate to Seven Pines, may have saved the Confederates from defeat by engaging a large force of the enemy destined by McClellan for the relief of the Federal

forces so sorely pressed at the latter engagement by Hill and Anderson. The portion of General Couch's command, which had been sliced off by Colonel Jenkins and retreated toward Fair Oaks, had been reinforced by Sumner's corps and threatened the left flank and rear of Hill's battle line. The headquarters of the Confederate commander-in-chief were still at Old Tavern, about two miles from Fair Oaks, and fearing a general turning movement of his left by the Union forces north of the Chickahominy he had ordered five brigades under Whiting to the point of danger, there to attack the Federal right and rear.

The head of these troops (Whiting's brigade), reaching Fair Oaks, were fired upon by Couch's battery and by his advanced pickets. A halt was made to take the battery and to drive the Federal infantry out of the road, when followed the battle of Fair Oaks.* The effect of the engagement was to keep Sumner and Couch from the Seven Pines battle field, and leave Hill's division and Anderson's brigade masters of the battle in that quarter. But this was the main result of the Confederate attack at Fair Oaks, for the battery was not taken, and Couch, reinforced by at least a strong division from Sumner's advance, with artillery, held his position against the assaults of the Confederate brigades and the Hampton's Legion. The last named, commanded by Wade Hampton in person, represented the only South Carolina troops at Fair Oaks.

THE HAMPTON LEGION AT FAIR OAKS

There is no report extant from General Hampton, but the reports of Generals Johnston and G. W. Smith define his position on the left of the Confederate attack. General Smith says that as the musketry fire of Whiting, Pettigrew and Hampton rapidly increased, opening the attack on Couch, he rode into the woods where the troops were engaged and learned from Col. S. D. Lee, of the artillery, that "General Hampton had driven the enemy some distance through the woods, but that they were being rapidly reinforced (by Sumner), held a strong position and extended beyond Hampton's left. The firing indicated that Whiting and Pettigrew were being fully occupied by the enemy in their immediate front."

The attack had been in progress for nearly two hours when darkness put an end to it. The gallant Hatton was killed, and that noble and accomplished soldier, Pettigrew, had fallen so badly wounded near the Federal line that he was made prisoner. Brig.-Gen. Wade Hampton was seriously wounded, but kept his horse, had the ball extracted by Surgeon E. S. Gaillard on the field and refused to leave his troops.

In the battle of Fair Oaks the total loss, killed, wounded and missing, was 1,270. General Smith reported that the Hampton Legion infantry suffered a greater loss, by far, in proportion to its numbers, than any other regiment of the division, having 21 killed and 120 wounded.

Near the close of the action, General Johnston was unhorsed and seriously wounded by a fragment of shell and the command of the Confederate army devolved upon Maj.-Gen. G. W. Smith, next in rank, who was succeeded by Gen. Robert E. Lee on the following day.

MCCLELLAN'S ARMY STRADDLING THE CHICKAHOMINY

Toward the close of June, 1862, the center and left of McClellan's army were firmly established south of the Chickahominy, his right,

* Ellison Capers's "Confederate Military History."

under Fitz John Porter being strongly posted on its northern banks behind Beaver Dam Creek. General Porter's front was well guarded at Mechanicsville, with outposts still beyond holding the crossing.

Gen. J. B. Kershaw, with two of his regiments, the Second, Col. J. D. Kennedy and the Third, Col. J. D. Nance, on June 18th made a reconnoissance on the Nine Mile road. This battalion advanced to within seventy yards of the Federal line, developed his position and numbers and then Kershaw withdrew to camp with a loss of one killed and eleven wounded.

LEE FORCES PORTER FROM MECHANICSVILLE

General Lee determined to attack Porter's separated army north of the Chickahominy, with three of his divisions on the ground and Jackson's troops on the way. The right flank and rear of the Federal position was to be assaulted by Jackson's Corps while the two Hills and Longstreet were to make a frontal attack across the river at Mechanicsville, the main movement to be intensified with the arrival of Jackson's troops. The morning of June 26th was fixed for these combined assaults, but various delays prevented Jackson from coming upon the chosen field of battle until the evening of that day, after the Federal position behind Beaver Dam had been fruitlessly assailed by A. P. Hill's division and Ripley's brigade of D. H. Hill's division. Capt. A. Burnet Rhett's South Carolina battery of Ripley's brigade participated in this action. With A. P. Hill were also the South Carolina batteries of Captains W. K. Bachman and D. G. McIntosh, the latter of which (the Pee Dee artillery) probably fired the first gun at Mechanicsville. Before the engagement was over it had fired 160 rounds from each gun. The brigade of General Gregg did not become actively engaged on the 26th. On the following morning, Lee was ready for the combined assaults on the Federal right wing, as he had originally planned, but Porter, realizing that his position behind Beaver Dam was now untenable, retreated three miles further down the river.

GREGG'S BRIGADE AT GAINES'S MILL

On the morning of the 27th of June, then, A. P. Hill's division was ordered forward toward Gaines's Mill, near which rested Porter's left wing. Then developed the battle of Gaines's Mill, or Cold Harbor, in which Gregg's South Carolina brigade bore as heroic a part as any command of the Confederate army. It is not necessary to follow the general movements of Lee's assault, which resulted, at enormous sacrifice of life, in turning the Federal left and driving the enemy from the battle field. The part taken by the South Carolina troops is all that vitally concerns a State historian, and it has been so well described in Capers's history that it would be labor lost to attempt to improve upon the following: "Gregg formed a line of battle with the First volunteers, Colonel D. H. Hamilton, and the Twelfth, Colonel Dixon Barnes, with skirmishers thrown out under Captains Cordero and Miller; the Thirteenth, Colonel O. E. Edwards, and the First Rifles, Colonel J. Foster Marshall, with Crenshaw's battery in support. They moved forward across the creek and through the discarded accouterments and burning stores of the enemy, until coming out in an open, Cordero's company was fired upon by artillery in front and Lieutenant Heise was wounded.

"This apparently hostile force, according to the report of General Gregg, proved to be Stonewall Jackson's command, with which com-

munication was at once opened. After a conference between Hill and Jackson, Gregg marched on, and presently was stopped by General Lee who gave him further instructions. Longstreet soon afterward informed Gregg that he was moving on a parallel road to the right. The skirmishers became briskly engaged at Gaines's mill, but Gregg soon ordered them forward at double-quick and they gallantly drove the Federal skirmishers before them. The brigade followed and bridged Powhite creek. Hill reported of the crossing of the Powhite: 'His whole brigade being over, he made the handsomest charge in line I have seen during the war.' Gregg continued his advance part of the time at double-quick and with continual skirmish firing, descended the hollow beyond Cold Harbor, driving out the enemy and forming in line of battle on the hillside beyond. He found the enemy above him and desired to attack, but, being refused, lay in position until 4 P. M., the artillery firing going on overhead. * * *

"Old Cold Harbor was in front of the Federal right and Gaines's Mill in front of his right center, the length of his line being about two miles and running in a curve from the wooded bluff on his left to a swamp on his right. The attack on this position was made by two roads running parallel with the Chickahominy, one going to the Federal left and the other, by Gaines's mill, opposite his right center. Longstreet attacked on the former and A. P. Hill on the latter, D. H. Hill and Jackson attacking from the direction of the Federal front and right.

"At 4 P. M., A. P. Hill ordered his whole division forward, and the desperate struggle began in which every inch of ground was to be won by a great sacrifice of life and disputed with heroic firmness. Gregg, who was first engaged, fought his way through the tangled wood and the boggy morass to the foot of the main position, when, confronted by a determined and unfaltering resistance, and his lines torn by artillery from the crest in front and by a battery on his right flank, he could make no further progress. Marshall was ordered to take the battery on the right and advanced gallantly, Perrin's, Joseph Norton's, Miller's and Miles Norton's companies in front, under Lieutenant Colonel Ledbetter. The battery was withdrawn, but its support in the woods, composed of a strong body of troops, among them the New York Zouaves, held the ground in a fierce combat. The Zouaves attacking on the left flank, Lieutenant Higgins promptly assembled thirty riflemen and held them in check. The attack being pressed anew, the regiment having lost 81 killed and 234 wounded, out of 537, and being unsupported, was forced to retire to its former position.

"But Marshall's gallant charge and contest had driven off the battery, and Gregg ordered the First, Twelfth and Thirteenth forward again. The struggle for the crest was renewed with heroic zeal and courage, and met with splendid firmness, driving Gregg back a second time. A third advance was ordered, and now the Fourteenth, Colonel Samuel McGowan, being, by Gregg's request, relieved from outpost duty, was conducted by his aide, Captain Harry Hammond, to his right flank. Passing through Crenshaw's guns, McGowan's men moved right forward, supported by the other shattered batteries of Gregg's brigade. 'Tired as they were,' says Gregg, 'by two days and nights of outpost duty and by a rapid march under a burning sun, they advanced with a cheer and at a double-quick. Leading his regiment to the right of the Thirteenth and across the hollow, Colonel McGowan arrived just in time to repulse the advance of the enemy and prevent them from establishing a battery on the brow of the hill.

With varying success, backward and forward, Gregg struggled to gain and pierce the Federal line, but not until the final and united charge of Lee's whole line was made at 7 o'clock and when Hood had gained the wooded bluff and turned the Federal left, did the Confederate commands mount the whole line of defense and drive its heroic defenders from the field."

CORPSE RING AROUND THE COLORS

It is estimated that Gregg's brigade lost 829 in killed and wounded at Gaines's Mill, of which the Rifles lost 319, the Fourteenth, 291, and the Twelfth, 155.* At one time every one of the color-guards of the First Volunteers was shot down around Colonel Hamilton, who took the colors. The color bearer, Sergt. James H. Taylor, fell with the colors in his grasp as he was planting them forward of the line. He had been shot down three times, twice rising to bear his flag. He was only sixteen years of age. Young Cotchett next fell; and the colors were passed to Shubrick Hayne, who in like turn, was shot down; when a fourth, Alfred G. Pinckney, took them from Hayne, and almost instantly fell mortally wounded across the body of his friend. Gadsden Holmes stood ready to receive them in turn, but fell, pierced with several balls, before the opportunity occurred. Hayne was but eighteen, and the other then not twenty years of age. Dominick Spellman, of the Irish Volunteers of Charleston, then took the flag and bore it in the final victorious charge. He was promoted color bearer on the field for gallant conduct.†

THE DEAD AND WOUNDED

Among the lamented dead of the First was the gallant and accomplished Lieut.-Col. A. M. Smith, who left a sick bed for the battle field. In the Twelfth, Colonel Barnes was wounded, but did not leave the field. Lieut. J. W. Delaney, commanding Company B, was killed in the first assault. In the Thirteenth, which was mainly in support, the loss was not so heavy. In the Fourteenth, Col. Samuel McGowan was among the wounded. Lieut. O. C. Plunkett, of Company H, was killed on the field. Of the First Rifles, or Orr's Rifles, Adjutant J. B. Sloan, Sergeant Major McGee, Captains Hawthorne and Hennegan and Lieutenants Brown and McFall were fatally shot in Marshall's charge.

OTHER SOUTH CAROLINA TROOPS AT GAINES'S MILL

The other South Carolina troops at the battle of Gaines's Mill were R. H. Anderson's brigade, including Micah Jenkins's regiment, with Longstreet, and the Hampton Legion (infantry), under command of Lieut.-Col. M. W. Gary, with Hood. They went into battle late in the afternoon of June 27th, and joined in Longstreet's and Whiting's final charge along the front and flank of the Federal left, being among the first to gain the coveted crest of the battle field, turn the enemy's flank and decide the day. In the grand assault, General Anderson and Colonel Jenkins who commanded the separated parts of the brigade,

* Maj. J. F. J. Caldwell, the historian of the brigade, writing in 1866, estimated the total loss as 854.

† The extraordinary heroism and exultant self-sacrifice of these young Carolinians has been fitly commemorated by a marble tablet in the State House, Columbia.

were especially commended by Longstreet, who said in his official report: "There was more individual gallantry displayed upon this field than any I have ever seen. Conspicuous among the gallant officers and men were Brig.-Gen. R. H. Anderson and Col. Micah Jenkins."

Anderson's and Gary's losses, probably about 350, was less than a half of Gregg's loss.

HEROISM OF MAJ. JOHN C. HASKELL

Again, Longstreet pays this personal tribute to Maj. John Haskell, of D. R. Jones staff, who had volunteered to act as an aide in performing the dangerous task of observing the movements of the Federals south of the Chickahominy and carrying the information to General Lee: "Though not of my staff, I should not do right were I not to mention here the chivalrous daring of young Major Haskell, of South Carolina. His personal bearing in a most deadly fire, his example and directions, contributed not a little to the enthusiasm of the charge of the Third brigade. I regret to say that the brave young officer received a terrible wound from a shell (losing his right arm), but walked from the field as heroically as he had gone into the fire."

Under cover of the night of the 27th of June, Porter retreated across the Chickahominy, his movement being covered by reinforcements sent by McClellan from the Richmond side. Although Lee had won the bloody engagement at Gaines's Mill and had taken over 5,000 prisoners and thousands of stands of arms, he did not cross the Chickahominy in general pursuit of Porter's retreating Federals until the 29th, when he was convinced that McClellan had commenced a withdrawal of his entire army upon the James River.

ALLEN'S FARM AND SAVAGE STATION

Magruder's corps had to meet an attack of McClellan's rear guard on the 29th at Savage Station. The South Carolina troops with Magruder were the brigade of General Kershaw, and Capt. Jas. F. Hart's Washington artillery. Kershaw's brigade was composed of the Second regiment, Col. J. D. Kennedy; Third, Col. J. D. Nance; Seventh, Col. D. Wyatt Aiken and the Eighth, Col. J. W. Henagan with Kemper's battery.

Early in the morning of the 29th Kershaw was ordered to advance and "feel" the enemy's position and an engagement ensued at Allen's farm but without material results. At three in the afternoon Kershaw, advancing toward Savage Station, found that the enemy had retreated to the Williamsburg road. Driving back the enemy thence, Kershaw moved on to fight his battle at Savage's farm. Along this Williamsburg road the battle raged intermittently from 5:30 P. M. until dark. At a critical moment that afternoon Semmes supported by Kemper drove back the Federal flanking column and Kershaw repelled the assault on his front.

Magruder's battle to beat McClellan's rear had been fought by Kershaw's brigade of South Carolinians and by two regiments under General Semmes. Hart's battery and Kemper's battery, as usual, had acted with conspicuous courage and efficiency. Among the losses were, Lieutenant-Colonel Garlington of the Third, killed; Lieut.-Col. A. D. Goodwyn of the Second, and Lieut.-Col. Elbert Bland of the Seventh severely wounded; Captain Bartlett of the Second killed; Capt. S. M. Lanford and Lieut. J. T. Ray of the Third killed. It is

evident from the Federal reports that Kershaw attacked Generals Burns and Brooks, the Sixty-ninth New York and "two lines in reserve." Although the Union General Sumner had successfully guarded the passage of White Oak Swamp against Kershaw and Semmes, the Northern claim that they were "driven from the field" is preposterous, for Sumner followed Heintzleman's retreat that night.

BATTLE OF FRAYSER'S FARM

Lee's delay of two days in crossing the Chickahominy and pursuing the retreating foe has been referred to. His orders to Jackson, Magruder, Huger, Longstreet, A. P. Hill, and Holmes, cannot be given in detail; suffice it to say that the plan was "perfect in its conception" as General Capers observes. But McClellan refused to be "bottled up," and was fully equal to the emergency. He put White Oak Swamp on his right, guarded by Franklin; his five divisions in his centre, "to meet the advance upon him down the Charles City and Darbytown roads, and selected a veritable Gibraltar for his left, crowned by artillery and defended by a fleet of gunboats and Porter's and Keyes's Corps."

In carrying out Lee's plan, everything miscarried but the movements of Longstreet and A. P. Hill. Gen. Benjamin Huger did not reach the field of battle on the 30th, reporting that his march had been obstructed by trees thrown across the road. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 30th the battle of Frayser's farm was opened. R. H. Anderson, the senior brigadier, was ordered by Longstreet to the immediate direction of his front, and Colonel Jenkins commanded the South Carolina brigade, the first engaged in battle. He captured the battery in his front, led his brigade forward, charged and drove back McCall's entire division seizing Randol's battery. Longstreet, however, was soon compelled to assume the defensive. Gregg's South Carolina brigade was thrown into the battle on the extreme left. Longstreet and Hill with their twelve brigades, captured the Federal General McCall, drove one of the Federal divisions from the field, successfully resisted the other four and holding in the end of the struggle all that they gained. A. P. Hill said: "Colonel McGowan with the 14th South Carolina retrieved our ground," and he specially mentions in his report Colonels McGowan, Edwards and Hamilton and Lieut-Col. Simpson of the 14th. Gregg lost twelve killed and 105 wounded, and Jenkins lost over 450, 234 of them being his sharpshooters. "The battle that General Lee had planned to be fought by all the divisions of his army was actually fought by two."

BATTLE OF MALVERN HILL

Malvern Hill, practically the last of Lee's battles with McClellan in front of Richmond, was fought the day after Frayser's Farm. McClellan, who was ranked by Von Moltke as one of the ablest soldiers on either side, had skilfully concentrated his army on the night of June 30th and the morning of July 1st, and had massed sixty pieces of artillery and ten siege guns on the summit of Malvern Hill and had the flotilla of Commodore Rodgers so placed as to command both flanks. Lee's plan to make a general attack along the whole line never eventuated, nor was any attack made until late in the evening, giving the terribly shaken enemy much sorely needed time for preparation. Theophilus H. Holmes deeming it "perfect madness" did not attack

at all, and Magruder, Huger, Jackson, and Ewell were all repulsed with heavy losses as they charged across the open and up Malvern Hill in the face of nearly 100 guns, the field and the woods swept by the gunboat battery.

The charge of the sorely depleted brigade of General Kershaw, the only South Carolina command "seriously engaged," was gallant and useless, and made with a loss of 164 out of 956 men.

Yet, though victory crowned the Union army and fleet, McClellan, seeing many Confederate brigades resting confidently that night so close to his lines, lost confidence in his ability to continue his defence on Malvern Hill, and abandoned that position during the night following the battle, leaving his dead unburied, his wounded in Confederate hands and valuable property and stores on the field. His retreat was to a strong camp at Harrison's Landing, immediately under the protection of Commodore Rodgers' flotilla.

"Johnny comes marching home" took the place of "On to Richmond" in boastful northern newspapers, and the first of four attempts to seize the Confederate capital had failed!

While these events were taking place round about Richmond, which had resulted to the general advantage of the Confederacy, the Union forces in South Carolina were laying their plans to close around Charleston and capture that "coigne of vantage" in the conquest of the South. They were to withdraw from that field too in disgrace, but with no question as to its success or failure, as was the case in the Peninsula campaign, about which "much might be said, on both sides."

CHARLESTON AGAIN ATTACKED AND WHY

It was not only Charleston's strategic value, or her values to the Confederacy that nerved the Federal Government to spend vast sums and thousands of lives in the capture of the devoted city. It would be difficult today to understand the bitter and vindictive hatred in which Charleston was once held by the large mass of the northern people. So late as 1888, twenty-three years after the capture of the city, Brevet Major-General Voris, in a paper before the Loyal Legion of Ohio, said: "South Carolina had the taint of treason in her very being. * * * South Carolina and especially Charleston, intentionally provoked the indignation of our people and made it cowardice not to punish her for her insolence, to say nothing of her treason. It was a sentiment deeply settled in the convictions of the loyal people of the country that * * * really forced the administration to make an effort to punish treason at that, particular locality by military operations. It was as much a sentiment that led the South to hold the city till it was practically ruined as animated our movement against it."

BENHAM'S PLAN TO CAPTURE CHARLESTON

Soon after the capture of Fort Pulaski by the Federals, Brig.-Gen. H. W. Benham submitted a plan for the capture of Charleston to Maj.-Gen. David Hunter, commander of the military department of the South and his immediate superior. General Stevens's biographer says Benham's plan was "entirely practicable, but marred from the start by Benham's unfortunate talent for blundering." After some investigation as to the Confederate forces available in its defense, after considerable delay, it was adopted in all its essentials. By the last of April, Admiral DePont had gathered information and transmitted it to

General Hunter, that there was a Confederate force of upwards of 28,000 men in and within ten miles of Charleston, of which some 1,600 were on James Island, between the mouth of the Stono and Charleston, and about 600 at Fort Johnson.

SMALLS'S PLUCKY THEFT OF THE PLANTER

On May 13th Robert Smalls, a Charleston mulatto, stole the steamer Planter out of Charleston Harbor and delivered her to the blockading fleet. It is said that two whites, a white woman and the negro crew were privy to the plot. It was plucky, but Smalls and his associates took no extraordinary risks, for against General Ripley's orders that officers of light draft steamers should remain aboard day and night, the officers of the Planter had left the boat in charge of the negro hands, while they dropped in on friends in town. At 3 o'clock on the morning of the 13th the plotters got up steam and pulled down the harbor. The sentinels on the fortifications allowed her to pass unchallenged as there was nothing in her movements to excite suspicion. Once outside the line of fire, Smalls hauled down the Confederate ensign, hoisted a white flag and gave up the Planter to a Federal vessel that was about to fire upon her. The Federals thus obtained possession of a small steamer, and six guns aboard of her, but of more value was the information Smalls gave of conditions in Charleston and thereabout. Smalls' knowledge of the intricate channels in that vicinity was also of great advantage to his new found friends. The importance of the taking of the Planter and the heroism of Smalls were exaggerated out of all due proportion at the North, and Dr. Alpheus Crosby, in an address at Dartmouth in 1866, questioned whether Robert E. Lee would make as good a citizen of the reconstructed South as Robert Smalls! After the war Smalls became a member of the Legislature and was convicted of receiving a large money bribe. That did not hurt him with his constituents who sent him to Congress. Smalls, in the opinion of many respectable people of Beaufort, had many excellent traits. In accepting bribes he had only followed the universal custom of his Republican associates in the State Legislature.

GUN BOATS ENTER THE STONO

Smalls and his negro crew brought the additional news to the Union commanders that the Confederate troops and guns had been withdrawn from Coles's and Battery islands, thus leaving the entrance to the Stono unprotected. Gunboats sent by Admiral DuPont, under Capt. Percival Drayton, entered the river without opposition. But before undertaking the main movement of dispossessing the Confederates of James Island and attacking Charleston from that direction, General Hunter, in conformity with General Benham's plan, directed Gen. I. I. Stevens, still in command of the Beaufort division, to destroy the Charleston & Savannah Railroad from Salkehatchie to Coosawhatchie, to prevent reinforcements from either Savannah or Charleston.

FEDERALS FAIL TO CUT THE RAILROAD

General Stevens had strongly urged Benham to instruct him to break up the railroad, but at the last moment he peremptorily countermanded the movement. Finally, at Stevens's last earnest request he

was allowed to make the demonstration with little more than a single regiment, instead of a brigade as Stevens had designed. At length General Stevens ordered Col. B. C. Christ to take his own regiment (the Fiftieth Pennsylvania), with detachments of Michigan, New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut troops, including cavalry and artillery, to cut the railroad.

The Union expedition crossed at Port Royal Ferry in the night of May 28th, was on the mainland by daylight the next morning, and marched immediately for Old Pocotaligo, about ten miles distant. The approach to that point by the road over which the Federal troops were marching was over a causeway partly flanked by a marsh, through which ran a narrow stream spanned by a bridge. The flooring of the bridge had been torn off, leaving only the string-pieces. The marsh was bordered by a skirt of woods, concealed in which were parts of three companies of dismounted Confederate cavalry, numbering seventy-six men and armed with rifles and shotguns. Their horses were about half a mile in the rear, where also about thirty other men, armed with sabres, were held in reserve. Altogether the force, which numbered 110, was commanded by Col. W. S. Walker and Maj. I. H. Morgan.

At the bridge the seventy-six dismounted cavalymen disputed the advance of the Federal troops from half-past ten until 1 o'clock in the afternoon. Then Captain Parker, of the Fiftieth Pennsylvania, at the head of his company, passed over the bridge, and was followed by the remaining companies. While flanking the little Confederate force and forcing them back to their support, Captain Parker was killed. The bridge was then repaired so as to enable the Union cavalry and artillery to pass, and Colonel Christ, with the remainder of his command, pressed on to within a quarter of a mile of the railroad which he was to destroy. Instead of accomplishing his purpose, he turned back to Port Royal Ferry, upon the plea that his ammunition was nearly exhausted, that the Confederates who had opposed Captain Parker expected reinforcements and that his instructions had been to "avoid, if possible, bringing on a general engagement with reduced ammunition." Colonel Christ accordingly retired from Old Pocotaligo and arrived at Port Royal Ferry at 11 o'clock P. M.

Colonel Walker, of the Confederate troops, having been reinforced by two companies of infantry and three pieces of field artillery under Capt. Stephen Elliott, pursued the Union men to Garden's Corner, where a few shots were exchanged. But the night was too dark to attack with advantage, and when morning dawned the Federal force had crossed the ferry and was out of reach.

General Stevens says: "In short, the operation was most successful as a reconnaissance or demonstration, and it is very certain could the original programme have been carried out the whole line would have been destroyed from Salkehatchie to Coosawhatchie. It proves the correctness of the information which I had previously gained, that the enemy was not in any considerable force at the railroad." The expedition which General Stevens thus reported as "most successful," his commanding officer, General Benham, characterized as "a miserable failure."

UNION INVASION OF JAMES ISLAND

Notwithstanding this failure to cut the Charleston and Savannah line, the main expedition to James Island was not relinquished, and General Stevens steamed out of Port Royal Harbor on the morning

of June 2d, and in the evening entered the Stono River and, at the direction of General Benham, landed his command at Battery Island. Here they were secure under the guns of the fleet in the Stono. By June 5th another division, under Gen. H. G. Wright, having marched across Seabrook and Johns islands from North Edisto, had crossed the stono from Legaréville to Grimball's on James Island. These two divisions constituted the force of General Benham—that of Wright covering his left on the Stono and that of Stevens his right, immediately in front of Secessionville. The gunboats in the Stono, firing by signals from the Federal camps and advance pickets, enfiladed their front and afforded effective support.

CONFEDERATE DEFENSE AT SECESSIONVILLE

Secessionville is situated on a peninsula cut from the east side of James Island by an arm of Lighthouse Creek, a bold tidewater stream which empties into Charleston Harbor east of Fort Johnson. Various small engagements and general reconnoissance, from June 3d to the middle of the month, had enabled the Confederates to fully develop the position and force of the Federal army on James Island. In these preliminary movements, Lieut.-Col. Ellison Capers, of the Twenty-fourth South Carolina Volunteers, was prominent. Although it is now known that the Federals and Confederates each overestimated the other's strength, by June 15th General Pemberton had gathered a force fully equal to that of the Union army behind the batteries, and on the lines of defense from Fort Pemberton on the Stono, at Elliott's cut, to Secessionville, on the extreme east. They were commanded by Brig.-Gens. N. G. Evans, W. D. Smith and S. R. Gist, the former in chief command. Col. Johnson Hagood, First Volunteers, commanded the advance guard, composed of his own regiment; the Twenty-fourth, Col. C. H. Stevens; the Eutaw battalion, Lieut.-Col. C. H. Simonton, and the Fourth Louisiana battalion, Lieut.-Col. J. McEnery. This force was camped outside the line of defense and was charged with guarding the front of the Confederate line, except the immediate front of Secessionville, which was protected by its own outposts.

Col. T. G. Lamar was in command of the fort at Secessionville (afterward called Fort Lamar in his honor) and its infantry supports. The garrison consisted of Companies I and B, of Lamar's regiment of South Carolina artillery, and the infantry support, the Charleston battalion, Lieut.-Col. P. C. Gaillard and the Pee Dee battalion, Lieut.-Col. A. D. Smith. The battery mounted an 8-inch columbiad, two 24-pounder rifles, several 18-pounders and a mortar. A gunboat battery on the east bank, anchored in Big Folly Creek and commanded by Capt. F. N. Bonneau, would have been an effective ally, had not its guns been just moved ashore to be added to those of the fort.

BATTLE OF SECESSIONVILLE

The battle of Secessionville opened early in the morning of June 16th. The pickets were on duty at Rivers's place, a mile in front of the fort, and the Twenty-fourth, with portions of the First South Carolina and Forty-seventh Georgia, was covering the east lines, under command of Col. C. H. Stevens. In the fort a gun detachment was on the watch, but the remainder of the garrison was fast asleep. At dawn the main picket force was surprised by the attacking Federals

and gave notice of the approaching attack to Colonel Lamar, the fort commander.

The six Union regiments which moved forward to the assault, under general command of Gen. I. I. Stevens, were the Eighth Michigan, Seventh Connecticut, Seventy-ninth New York, Twenty-eighth Massachusetts, One Hundredth Pennsylvania and Forty-sixth New York. Each regiment was commanded by its senior colonel. The assaulting force advanced in two lines. The peninsula narrowed, so that when within short range of the works the last regiment (the Connecticut) was crowded into the marsh. At this point in the forward movement, when there was some confusion, the guns of the fort belched forth—the columbiad charged with canister, the mortar and the 24's and 18's. But the Union officers urged on their commands and a considerable number of the officers and men of the Michigan and New York regiments gained the ditch and both flanks of the work, a few of them even entering the fort. These were met by the galling fire of the Charleston and Pee Dee infantry battalions, under Lieut.-Cols. P. C. Gaillard and A. D. Smith, and were either killed, wounded or captured. Meanwhile, 100 men under Capt. Joshua Jamison, who had been sent to the fort to mount Bonneau's guns, had arrived and promptly took their places on the parapet, adding their rifles to the fire of the Charleston and Pee Dee battalions.

A number of the assaulting force, moving along the marsh under cover of a fringe of myrtle bushes, gained a lodgment on the right flank and in the rear of the work, and were doing serious execution by their fire, hidden as they were by the bank of the peninsula.* But they were soon dislodged by the rifles of the Fourth Louisiana battalion, sent by Colonel Hagood to reinforce the garrison as soon as he learned that the fort had been attacked. The Louisianians, coming up at a run, were promptly put into position by their commander, Colonel McEnery, and drove the Federals from cover into the marsh or open field. Up to that moment, two 24 pounders on the west flank of the fort and commanding the marsh had been silent. That fact was noted by Colonel Hagood, who had moved down the Battery Island road to check the advance from that point and protect the right front of the fort. He therefore dispatched Lieut.-Col. Ellison Capers to get the guns into action, which was done so promptly and effectively that the Federals had no chance to reform their lines for a frontal assault.

No further attempt was made against the Secessionville line, the Federal forces under Brigadier-General Wright, consisting of forty companies of infantry, two batteries of artillery, and a squadron of cavalry, designed as a supporting column of the regiments assaulting the fort, having been driven down the Battery Island road by Colonel Hagood, also retired to their intrenched positions. McEnery's Louisiana troops assisted in this movement, which relieved the fort of any immediate danger, and won for the Confederates the battle of Secessionville. For the time being, Charleston itself was safe from Union assault.

FROM THE FEDERAL POINT OF VIEW

Any unprejudiced reader of the life of Gen. I. I. Stevens must sympathize with that gallant soldier. The reports of what occurred in the conference before the battle are so conflicting that it is impos-

* Ellison Capers's "Confederate Military History."

sible to reconcile them. It is clear, however, that General Stevens strongly objected to the time of making it. He was designated to make the assault, and he preferred to make it in the light of day that his men might see where they were required to go. He wanted "a continuous fire of the battery and of our gun boats." General Wright also emphatically protested so long as he could against General Benham's plan.

It was the Seventh Connecticut which was crowded into the marsh, as noted, and Col. J. R. Hawley, commanding that regiment, describes the crisis in the engagement from the Union standpoint, when the disorganized ranks staggered under the terrific fire of grape and musketry delivered from the fort artillery. "The line was inevitably broken," he says, "and though the men stood bravely to their work the line could not be reformed until the colors were brought into the open field. When reformed, it started again under a heavy fire toward the earthwork, but had proceeded but a little distance when an order came from General Stevens, brought by his son who was then receiving his baptism of fire, to call the men off, and the regiment fell back to the cover of the hedge in front of their hospital. The Twenty-eighth Massachusetts had been unavoidably pushed far to the left and as soon as it was formed into line, advancing, one regiment that was in front fell back and broke through our regiment, throwing it into confusion.

"Forward again," he continued, "marched by the flank through a dense brush on our left and followed the edge of the woods which formed one side of a marsh to within forty yards of the enemy's work. * * * On our right was an abattis of dense brush and on our left and front, marsh. Here we lost many of the men who were killed and wounded in the regiment. Seeing that we could be of no possible use in this place with less than platoon front to retaliate by fire on the enemy, and this position being raked by the fire of the gun on the corner of the enemy's work nearest the observatory, I ordered the regiment to retire and it, too, found shelter behind the hedge."

While the First Brigade of the Union forces was thus being cut up, the Seventy-ninth New York Highlanders, leading the Second brigade, was ordered by General Stevens to the right, in order to assail the work a little to the right of the point from which the Eighth Michigan had been driven. Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison, who led the right wing of his regiment to the parapet, says: "As I mounted the parapet, I received a wound in the head, which, though slight, stunned me for the time being; but still I was able to retain command. With me many mounted the works, but only to fall or to receive their wounds from the enemy, posted in rifle pits in the rear of the fort. * * * From the ramparts I had a full view of their works. They were entrenched in a position well selected for defensive purposes and upon which our artillery seemed to have little effect, save driving them into their retreats, and in attempting to dislodge them we were met with a fierce and determined opposition, but with equal, if not superior determination and courage, were they met by our forces, and had I been supported could have carried their works * * * for we virtually had them in our possession.

"After remaining in this position some considerable time and not being supported by the other regiments, I received orders to fall back, which I did in good order, leaving behind about forty killed or badly wounded, many of whom fell on the ramparts, and brought back with me six killed and about sixty wounded. The right companies of the regiment—the left having encountered a perfect storm of grape and canister—were obliged to seek shelter, either by obliquing to the left

under cover of a small ravine, or by dropping among the cotton ridges in front of the fort, where they kept up a steady fire on the enemy's gunners."

Colonel Leasure, who commanded the Second Brigade, which was also repulsed from the works, led the assault in person, and describes the advance to the works. When about 300 yards from the Confederate works, he reached the storm of shell and fire. "We entered," he says, "the range of a perfect storm of grape, canister, nails, broken glass and pieces of chains, fired from three very large pieces on the fort, which completely swept every foot of ground within the range, and either cut the men down or drove them to the shelter of the ravine on the left. I now turned to look after and lead up the One Hundredth Pennsylvania Regiment and found its center just entering the fatal line of fire, which completely cut it in two, and the right under Major Lecky obliqued to the right and advanced to support the right of the Seventy-ninth New York. Many of the men reached the foot of the embankment and some succeeded in mounting it, with a few brave men of the Seventy-ninth who were there with a portion of the Eighth Michigan.

"I may be permitted to report further that at the time I arrived in front of the hedge near the fort I saw nothing of any part of the supporting regiments of the First Brigade, and between the advancing Highlanders and the fort only a portion of the Eighth Michigan, who led the attack in front of the fort, that regiment having already been decimated by the murderous fire through which we all had to pass.

"While the Forty-sixth New York was advancing to the attack, it was run into by parts of the Seventh Connecticut and Twenty-eighth Massachusetts, which were retreating, and swept along with them in their retreat a part of the Forty-sixth New York.

"During all this time, our own artillery fired over our heads from enormous distances and burst several shells right over our heads. The fire of our gunboats was also very disagreeable until they finally succeeded in getting a better range."

The repulse of the Second Brigade was accomplished in a very few minutes, or, as reported by General Stevens: "My men were at the enemy's works about 4:30 o'clock and the conflict of twenty-five minutes, so dreadful in its casualties, was over and the men returned."

COMPARATIVE FORCES AND LOSSES

The Federal force assaulting the fort before Secessionville according to Gen. I. I. Stevens, numbered 2,960 and Wright's column was fully 2,500 strong. The fort was defended by a Confederate force of less than 1,000 men, comprising two companies of artillery, three battalions of infantry and the 100 picked men under Captain Jamison. Colonel Hagood's support did not exceed 700 men, with one piece of artillery.

As was usual in the first engagements of the war, there was a divergence of reports as to the comparative losses sustained. Generals Stevens and Wright reported losses of dead, wounded and missing aggregating 658. Colonel Hagood claimed that he had buried on the field more than the number reported as dead by the Federal commanders, and General Capers computed that the total Federal loss could not have been less than 750 or 800. Gen. Samuel Jones fixes the aggregate Federal loss at 683. The bulk of the casualties—fully one-third—fell on the Eighth Michigan Regiment.

CONFEDERATE DEAD AND WOUNDED

The Confederates lost in dead, wounded and missing, 204 officers and men. Among the dead were Capt. Henry C. King and Lieut. John J. Edwards, of the Charleston battalion; Capt. Samuel J. Reed, of Lamar's artillery; Lieut. Richard W. Greer, of the Eutaw battalion, and Lieut. B. A. Graham, of the Forty-seventh Georgia. Colonel Lamar and Lieutenant-Colonel Gaillard were severely wounded. Among the wounded were Captain Walker, of the Fourth Louisiana; Capts. J. A. Blake, F. T. Miles and R. P. Smith, and Lieuts. J. W. Axson, George Brown, John Burke and F. R. Lynch, of the Charleston battalion; Lieut. J. G. Beatty, of the Pee Dee battalion; Lieut. F. W. Andrews, of the Twenty-fourth, and Lieut. Samuel J. Berger, of the Eutaw battalion.

HUNTER AND BENHAM

The complete failure of the assault on the Secessionville line and therefore of the occupation of James Island by the Federals, induced General Hunter, then at Hilton Head, to relieve General Benham, who had been in active command of the operations, and order him to Washington under arrest. Benham was charged with disobedience of orders and instructions in making the assault and General Wright succeeded him in command. Benham's appointment as brigadier-general was revoked by President Lincoln; but, says Hazard Stevens, "later, by unwearied importunity and the pressure of influence, he managed to get himself reinstated, but never again was he trusted with the lives of brave men. General Stevens was transferred to Virginia, there to meet death a few weeks later, with the regimental colors in his hand, as he led his faithful Highlanders in the battle of Chantilly. As early as June 11th he had apparently estimated his two military superiors at their true value, in a letter to his wife in which he says: "I have two commanders, Hunter and Benham, who are imbecile, vacillating, and utterly unfit to command. * * * Benham is an ass—a dreadful man, of no earthly use except as a nuisance and obstruction."

JAMES ISLAND EVACUATED BY FEDERALS

The Union army evacuated James Island the last of June, 1862, and General Hunter reassembled the main portion of his troops at Hilton Head, Beaufort and North Edisto. The troops which had reinforced the command of General Gist on the Island were returned to their former stations on the Carolina coast and at Savannah. The fleet of the Expeditionary Corps was represented by the gunboats in the lower Stono and the fleet which still lay off Charleston bar. The defenders of Secessionville had saved the situation for South Carolina, Charleston and a large section of the Confederate States; and they were, accordingly, the heroes of the hour. The Confederates were left undisturbed to complete the strong line of earthworks on James Island from Fort Johnson, on the harbor, to Battery Pringle on the Stono, which were never captured.

In response to orders from the Federal War Department, General Hunter was obliged to send seven regiments of infantry and several companies of cavalry to Virginia, which so weakened his own forces in South Carolina that during the remainder of the summer of 1862 he could make no formidable demonstration against Charleston, either

by land or sea. Operations along the coast were reduced to predatory excursions by small parties and surprises and skirmishes between advanced pickets, which, however, had the effect of demonstrating the watchfulness and gallantry of the defenders of South Carolina soil. Notable among these minor events was the expedition of the Federal gun boats from Winyaw Bay, twenty miles up Black River, which was successfully repelled by Maj. W. P. Emanuel, commanding in that quarter, and the surprise and capture of a Federal picket force on Pinckney Island by Cpts. Stephen Elliott and J. H. Mickler.

General David Hunter * created a sensation North and South, on May 9th, when without any authority from Washington he issued a general order emancipating all of the slaves in the States of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, and proceeded to arm, equip and organize into companies and regiments the able bodied negroes under his control, to be used in prosecuting the war in these States. His recruiting methods were most arbitrary and summary. Soldiers went to different plantations and marched off the negroes from cotton field and cabin to the ranks of the army. This produced the wildest consternation and panic among the negroes; they rushed to the woods and swamps, and those of them who could be found were forcibly brought in and hurried to Hilton Head, "sighing," as Wells, a Northern overseer said, "for the old fetters as being better than the new liberty."

Hunter had organized one regiment (he expected to organize 50,000 of such troops!), when President Lincoln repudiated and revoked his orders. General Stevens was succeeded by Gen. Rufus Saxton, who afterward organized thousands of negroes either for service in the Quarter Master General's department, or into companies, regiments and brigades, and whose activities will be considered later in this narrative. General Hunter was succeeded in command of the department by Maj.-Gen. O. M. Mitchell on September 17th.

CONFEDERATE FORCES ALSO SENT TO VIRGINIA

The Confederate forces had also been largely reduced, to be thrown into the Virginia battle fronts, around which the most vital interests of both parties to the awful conflict were gathering. Early in August, Generals Drayton and Evans were sent to reinforce General Lee, taking with them the following commands: First regiment, Colonel Glover; Fifteenth, Col. W. D. DeSaussure; Seventeenth, Col. (Gov.) J. H. Means; Eighteenth, Col. J. M. Gadberry; Twenty-second, Col. Joseph Abney; Twenty-third, Col. H. L. Benbow; Holcombe legion, Col. P. F. Stevens; Third battalion, Lieut.-Col. G. S. James, and Capt. R. Boyce's battery.

BEAUREGARD SUCCEEDS PEMBERTON

On the 29th of the month (August), General Pemberton was also ordered to report for duty at Richmond, and General Beauregard, who had been in command of the army in Mississippi, was ordered to take charge in South Carolina and Georgia. The former had retained the confidence of the Confederate Government as an able, energetic and patriotic commander, but his military policy in South Carolina and his declaration of martial law in Charleston had caused dissatisfaction in the home State, especially his abandonment of the defense of the mouths of the Broad and Stono rivers and the harbor at Georgetown.

* Jones: "The Siege of Charleston."

In the execution of these acts, he had but carried out the expressed desires of his predecessor, General Lee.

General Beauregard apparently did not share these antagonistic views as to the military administration of General Pendleton, and, upon taking the command at Charleston, in September, after making a careful inspection of the military situation, wrote to the War Department at Richmond to express his admiration for the amount and character of the defensive work which had been accomplished by his predecessor, especially at Charleston. Judging by the statements of Colonel Roman, Beauregard afterward modified these views. Beauregard, further, deferred to the judgment of Pemberton by inviting him to give his views in detail as to the forces and guns necessary to the proper defense of Charleston, Savannah and the territory in his department.

In reply to this request, General Beauregard received the following from General Pemberton, dated September 24, 1862: "I have the honor to state, in answer to your inquiry that, in my opinion, this department can be successfully defended against any reasonable force which it is probable the enemy may bring against it by the following forces, to-wit: James Island—10,000 infantry, 1,000 heavy artillery, 500 cavalry and 6 field batteries; Morris Island—1,000 infantry, 250 heavy artillery and 50 cavalry; Sullivan's Island—1,500 infantry, 800 heavy artillery, 50 cavalry and 1 field battery; Christ Church—1,000 infantry, 100 heavy artillery, 200 cavalry, and 1 field battery; St. Andrews—2,000 infantry (movable column), 200 heavy artillery, 200 cavalry and 2 field batteries.

Second military district—5,000 infantry, 800 cavalry, 200 heavy artillery and 2 field batteries.

Third military district—5,000 troops of all arms.

Savannah—10,000 infantry, 1,200 heavy artillery, 2,000 cavalry and 8 field batteries.

Fort Sumter—500 heavy artillery and 100 riflemen.

Georgetown—(merely for preventing marauding, the defense of Winyaw Bay requiring obstructions and a numerous heavy artillery, both of which are entirely out of the question)—7 companies of cavalry, 3 batteries of artillery and 3 companies of infantry. The foregoing estimate is based upon the supposition that attacks may be made simultaneously upon different points."

Upon this communication, General Beauregard endorsed: "Approved as the minimum force required, as above stated, to guard with security the department of South Carolina and Georgia."

General Beauregard was always a favorite with the people of South Carolina, his return has been especially urged and upon again assuming the command of the department, Governor Pickens and his Council warmly received him. The governor addressed a personal letter to him, a few days after he had assumed command, pledging his co-operation in anything he might suggest, and putting all the resources of the State at his command.

BEAUREGARD AND PEMBERTON EXAMINE DEFENSES

Under orders of the War Department, General Beauregard, accompanied by Major-General Pemberton, Brigadier-General Jordan (Beauregard's chief of staff), Colonel Gonzales (chief of artillery), and Lieut.-Col. George Lay, inspected the defenses of Charleston Harbor on the 16th of September. In the following month he sent a

report of his examinations to Adjutant-General Cooper, at Richmond, and paid especial attention to the floating boom, one-fourth of which had then been constructed, designed to stretch under water from opposite the west end of Sullivan's Island to Fort Sumter and keep enemy craft from entering the inner harbor. "The boom," he writes, "is composed of railroad iron strongly linked together with heavy iron links and bands, protected and buoyed by spars of timber of the same length with the bars of iron and banded closely together with iron. The bars are suspended together four feet under water, and the whole structure is anchored every sixth section with an anchor. I am informed that it has been tested by running against it a heavily loaded vessel towed by a steamboat. This test it resisted, parting the tow line, a 10-inch hawser.

"It was also proposed to lay another line about 100 yards in the rear of that under construction, if sufficient time be allowed and enough chains and anchors can be procured. In addition, a rope obstruction has been prepared to place in advance of the wooden and iron boom for the purpose of entangling the enemy's propellers while under fire of our heavy guns in the adjacent forts and batteries."

General Beauregard* regarded the construction of the four new sand batteries near the west end of Sullivan's Island, and commanding the floating boom, as indispensable to the successful defense of the harbor. Their armament was to comprise large columbiads and rifle guns. Forts Sumter and Moultrie had also forty-seven heavy guns bearing on the obstructions to the harbor entrance. The Neck battery on Morris Island (afterward Battery Wagner), defending that approach to Fort Sumter, was then incomplete, as was Fort Ripley, midway between Fort Johnson and Castle Pinckney. The last named he considered practically worthless.

Accompanied by Major-General Pemberton, General Beauregard inspected the defensive lines on James Island, from the Wappoo to Mellichamp's, a distance of about three miles. The commander-in-chief thought the system, with the exception of Fort Pemberton, too complicated—that a simpler system might have been devised requiring a smaller force to hold and defend it. "However," he adds, "this line ought to serve our purpose with a proper force of about 3 men for every 2 yards of development. Fort Pemberton is a strong work, and has an armament of twenty guns of various calibers." Forts Sumter and Moultrie were found in fine condition, "considering the repairs in progress at the latter work. The armament at Moultrie consists of thirty-eight guns of various calibers, from 24-pounders to 8-inch columbiads, with a garrison of 300 effective men. The armament of Sumter consists of seventy-nine guns of all calibers, from 32-pounders to 10-inch columbiads. It has a garrison of about 350 effective men. The barracks are being cut down to protect them from the fire of the enemy. Battery Beauregard, across Sullivan's Island, in advance of Fort Moultrie to defend the approach from the east, is armed with five guns. The work at the eastern extremity of the island, placed to defend the interior approach by water to the rear and west of Long Island, is a redoubt armed with eight guns. I am informed by General Pemberton that all these works are sufficiently garrisoned.

"My conclusions are as follows: That when the works contemplated and in progress for the defense of the harbor, especially when the obstructions and ironclad gunboats shall have been completed and

* Capers: "Confederate Military History."

are properly armed with guns of the heaviest caliber, the enemy's fleet will find it extremely difficult to penetrate sufficiently within the harbor to injure or reduce the city; but until these works are finished, armed as indicated and properly garrisoned, the city cannot be regarded as protected."

COMMANDERS AND FORCES IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Upon assuming command of the department of South Carolina and Georgia on September 24, 1862, General Beauregard assigned Gen. S. R. Gist to command the first district, with headquarters at Charleston. The territory included in this assignment embraced the coast from the North Carolina line to Rantowles Creek, with the islands touching the harbor. Col. R. F. Graham commanded on Morris Island, Col. L. M. Keitt on Sullivan's Island, Col. C. H. Stevens on James Island, and Maj. W. P. Emanuel at Georgetown.

Lieut.-Col. William Butler, First regular infantry, commanded at Fort Moultrie, and Maj. Alfred Rhett, of the First regular artillery, at Fort Sumter. Fort Pemberton, on the Stono, was in charge of Maj. J. J. Lucas, and the post at Secessionville, of Lieutenant-Colonel Capers.

General Gist had altogether in his command 133 companies, including the following South Carolina regiments: First regular artillery, First regular infantry, First volunteer artillery, Twentieth, Twenty-first, Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth volunteers, ten companies each.

Brigadier-General Hagood, commanding the Second military district, with headquarters at Adams Run, had under him the Sixteenth South Carolina, Smith's and Nelson's battalions of infantry, two companies of cavalry, the Stono scouts and the Washington and Morrison batteries, twenty-nine companies, all South Carolinians.

Col. W. S. Walker, commander of the Third military district, whose headquarters were at McPhersonville, had forty companies under his orders, thus designated: Eleventh volunteers, First and Second battalions of sharpshooters, Third regiment of cavalry, First, Second and Sixth battalions of cavalry, the Rutledge Mounted Riflemen, Charleston Light Dragoons, Kirk's partisan rangers, Elliott's Beaufort artillery, Kavanaugh's Lafayette battery—all South Carolina commands—and Nelson's Virginia battery.

The entire Confederate force in South Carolina upon General Beauregard assuming command of the department, amounted to 12,544 officers and privates present for duty.

ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO CUT THE CHARLESTON AND SAVANNAH RAILROAD

Not long after this change in command, a Union expedition was dispatched to St. John's River and Jacksonville, which, after occupying several minor Confederate works with little resistance, returned to Hilton Head in about two weeks. The men thus engaged were incorporated with other forces to the number of about 4,500 and the entire land force supported by gunboats and transports, with powerful howitzers, was led by General Mitchell personally in another effort to cut the Charleston and Savannah Railroad. A few hours before it sailed, however, Brigadier-General Brannan was assigned to the com-

mand. As before, the points of attack on the railroad were to be Coosawhatchie and Pocotaligo, stations about ten miles apart.

The expedition started from Hilton Head in the night of the 21st of October, 1862, in fourteen gunboats and armed transports, and the leading vessel reached Mackey's Point, the designated landing place (a narrow neck of land between the Pocotaligo and Broad rivers), about half-past four on the morning of the 22d. The balance of the fleet arrived by 8 o'clock. The point selected for the debarkation of the expedition was about eight miles from Old Pocotaligo. General Mitchell had thoroughly explored the country and the streams not only in that locality, but along the entire line of the railroad from the Savannah to the Salkehatchie rivers, a distance of sixty miles. Seemingly, nothing had been left undone by the Federals to make the second attempt to sever the railroad tie between Charleston and Savannah a complete success. But the enemy reckoned without sufficiently taking into consideration the bravery and ingenuity of the Confederates in the military district which they proposed to invade, and which was commanded by Brig.-Gen. W. S. Walker, C. S. A. His headquarters were at McPhersonville, which, by rail, was about ten miles from Coosawhatchie, one of the objective points of the Union expedition.

The expedition was a failure. The main battle at Old Pocotaligo was fought and won by Colonel Walker (promoted in a few days to be brigadier-general) with a small force of infantry, dismounted cavalry and sections from two batteries of artillery, amounting in all to 675 privates and officers.* On the same day the railroad and turnpike bridges crossing the Coosawhatchie were successfully defended by the Lafayette artillery, Lieut. L. F. LeBleux commanding; a section of Elliott's Beaufort battery, Lieut. H. M. Stuart commanding, and Capt. B. F. Wyman's company of the Eleventh South Carolina infantry.

GENERAL WALKER'S ORGANIZED RESISTANCE

The Federal expedition under General Brannan marched forward over a good road up the narrow neck of land between the Tullifinny and Pocotaligo, which securely protected the flanks, while the gunboats of the expedition covered the rear of the column. As stated, Old Pocotaligo was about eight miles away, and when General Walker's pickets informed their commander of the landing of the Federal expedition at Mackey's Point, about an hour after it occurred, he dispatched the troops nearest McPhersonville, his headquarters, to the destination of the enemy's forces. General Walker also ordered the Lafayette artillery and a section of the Beaufort artillery, and, as support, a company of the Eleventh South Carolina infantry, to Coosawhatchie, five miles from Old Pocotaligo. From neighboring points were also gathered, at Coosawhatchie, Colonel Colcock's five companies of cavalry and two of sharpshooters; Maj. J. R. Jefford's battalion of Seventh South Carolina cavalry was stationed by General Walker at Salkehatchie bridge, and calls for reinforcements were sent out to Charleston and Adams Run, to assemble at Pocotaligo, and to Savannah for the purpose of strengthening the defense at Coosawhatchie. Capt. W. L. Trenholm, who commanded the outpost nearest Mackey's Point, was ordered to fall back with his command of two mounted companies toward Old Pocotaligo.

* General Samuel Jones fixes Walker's entire force at 475 men.

UNION FORCE DRIVEN FROM COOSAWHATCHIE

Colonel Barton, who had ascended the river in the steamer Planter, with a small body of engineers and soldiers, as the advance of the Union flotilla, landed about two miles from Coosawhatchie, and drove the Confederate pickets toward the village. When within a few hundred yards of the place, hearing a train of cars approaching, he at once placed his little command in ambush and, as it approached, bearing the Confederate reinforcements from Hardeeville, riddled it with musketry and canister from the boat howitzers. As the men were crowded together on the platform cars, the attack was serious, wounding a number of the Confederate force and killing the commander, Maj. J. J. Harrison, and the fireman of the train. The engineer was badly wounded, but stood to his post and dashed his train at full speed through the fire. Leaving a party of his engineers to tear up the railroad and destroy the telegraph line, Colonel Barton hastened forward to attack the troops while in the confusion of leaving the train. But upon approaching the village and examining the disposition of the artillery and infantry posted to receive him, and replying with a few rounds to the vigorous artillery blast which greeted the appearance of the Union party, the colonel realized that he was opposed by a determined and superior force and wisely returned to his gunboats. As they were embarking, other Confederate reinforcements which had arrived at Coosawhatchie attacked the Federals and added to the completeness of their repulse. The total result of their attempt was to cut the telegraph line in several places, tear up two or three rails and destroy four small bridges—nothing which could in any way seriously affect the situation.

CONFEDERATES ATTACK MAIN UNION COLUMN

In the meantime, General Brannan's main column was moving forward on the Mackey's Point road. After advancing about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles and coming out into a rolling, open country, it was fired upon by a section of the Beaufort artillery and its support at Caston's plantation, but pressed back General Walker's Confederates to the Frampton plantation and the position already described, on the road skirted by a wooded swamp. The Confederates had the advantage at this point of being able to plant their batteries in thick woods and on the arc of a curve which assured them an effective concentric fire as the enemy advanced along a narrow causeway.

UNIONISTS RETREAT FROM THE POCOTALIGO

The brisk engagements at this point developed into an artillery duel and an attempt of the Union forces to penetrate the woods and thickets concealing the Confederate position and cross the marsh which protected their line. In these actions General Brannan's men suffered severely. Finally, General Walker's artillery was so closely pressed by the Union infantry that it was obliged to withdraw about two miles in his rear, to the crossing of the Pocotaligo. At this, the Union column again pressed forward, and General Walker prepared to hold it at the Pocotaligo crossing until Confederate reinforcements should arrive.

Military critics hold that at this point in the campaign, General Brannan made the mistake which assured failure to his expedition; that instead of following and attacking the enemy in his new position

at the crossing of the Pocotaligo, he should have marched directly forward about a mile and destroyed the bridge and trestle-work about the Tullifinny. The Federal commander, however, left a regiment and howitzer to guard his flank and rear from that direction, and followed the retreating Confederates to their new position on the further side of the Pocotaligo, where the men were sheltered by the houses and trees of the little hamlet.

Both the Federal and Confederate forces had suffered severely, but General Walker's new position had the great natural advantages of having the frontal protection of an almost impassable marsh and an unfordable stream. What added to the difficulties of the Union position was that the Federal batteries had exhausted their ammunition, and the caissons not having accompanied the guns, the latter were sent back to Mackey's Point, about eight miles distant, to replenish the ammunition chests. To add to the morale of Walker's men, their commander had been notified by telegraph that reinforcements were on the way from Charleston, Savannah and Adams Run, and late in the afternoon of October 22d Nelson's battalion of the Seventh South Carolina actually arrived on the ground, adding 200 good fresh men to the Confederate forces. The Charleston Light Dragoons, which had been held in reserve, came into position about the same time, and were received by their tired comrades with a shout of welcome, thus strengthening the belief of General Brannan that the enemy was being strongly reinforced. Night was coming on, his ammunition was nearly exhausted and none was nearer than Mackey's Point—what more natural than that a conservative and common-sense commander like Brannan should conclude that his only course was to withdraw? The retreat to Mackey's Point was therefore ordered, the Union killed were buried, the wounded placed on improvised stretchers, the repaired bridges were again destroyed to retard Confederate pursuit, and on the following day (October 23d) the troops of the Brannan expedition re-embarked at Mackey's Point and were distributed to their respective stations.

It is estimated that the Confederates lost 163 of the 475 present when the fighting began, and had received but 200 reinforcement; they were, therefore, in no condition to undertake a pursuit of the retreating Federals. Brannan's losses were placed at 340.

This was the last expedition of any magnitude undertaken in the Department of the South until the spring of 1863.* On October 30, 1862, Major-General Mitchell, the Union commander, died of fever at Beaufort, and General Brannan, by seniority, succeeded him. When he assumed command, the aggregate force of the department present for duty was 12,838.

* General Samuel Jones: "Siege of Charleston."

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE WESTERN AND NORTHERN CAMPAIGNS (1862)

The remainder of the year 1862 was completed with the utmost credit to the military genius and honor of South Carolina, her sons giving their best support to the armies of Beauregard in the West and those of Lee in the North. Corinth and Murfreesboro, Second Manassas, South Mountain and Fredericksburg, all gave eloquent proof of this heroism and devotion.

MANIGAULT'S BRIGADE

General Beauregard, the old commander of the military department of South Carolina and Georgia, knew of the aggressiveness and dependability of the Carolina troops, and following the battle of Shiloh in April, 1862, two regiments were ordered to report to him—the Tenth, commanded by Col. A. M. Manigault, and the Nineteenth, Col. A. J. Lythgoe. They arrived promptly from the coast of South Carolina, and were brigaded with three Alabama regiments, first under Brigadier-General Trapier, and after December, 1862, commanded by Colonel Manigault. They are generally designated in the military history of the state as Manigault's Brigade.

AT CORINTH

The brigade covered the front of Beauregard's army on the 2d of May, and checked the enemy's advance in what was the first battle before Corinth. At Corinth and Tupelo, the army suffered from exposure and bad water, and 17,000 sick were sent to the rear. In these hardships the South Carolina regiments had their full share. The chaplain of the Tenth, the Rev. W. T. Capers, and many of the officers and men of both regiments were ill, many of them dying. In July, the army was moved to a healthier camp and early in August was concentrated near Chattanooga for an aggressive campaign in Tennessee and Kentucky. General Bragg was now in command, General Beauregard having been called to Charleston.

During the succeeding four months Bragg fought the Union commanders, Buell and Rosecrans, in Kentucky and Tennessee, capturing the Federal garrison at Munfordville (Manigault in the advance), repulsing the enemy at Perryville, but retiring toward the mountains of East Tennessee and occupying Knoxville to rest and reorganize his smaller forces. General Bragg then recrossed the mountains to Murfreesboro, about thirty miles southeast of Nashville, Tennessee, where he was attacked by Rosecrans. The battle of Stone's River, or Murfreesboro, was thereby precipitated on December 31, 1862.

BATTLE OF STONE'S RIVER (MURFREESBORO)

General Bragg's line of battle was formed in front of Murfreesboro, and Stone's River ran along his front, cut off his right and ran

along his rear. At the time the battle was fought, very conflicting claims were made as to the comparative strength of the armies thus thrown into action, but official reports of both Federals and Confederates, since published in the War Records, indicate that Bragg had a force of 34,650 of all arms with which to engage a Union army of 43,400.

Manigault's brigade bore a conspicuous part at Murfreesboro, its position being in the right wing of Bragg's army, Withers's division. The battle opened at 7 o'clock on the morning of December 31, 1862, and, as stated by Capers, the plan of the Confederate commander "was to drive back the right wing of Rosecrans and, when beaten, to attack his center and right simultaneously. Bragg's battle was a grand right wheel pivoting on the river, the wheel obliquing toward the wheeling flank and the pivot gaining forward. When evening came, the full right wheel had been completed and the army stood against its enemy in a line at exact right angle to its first position. The pivot had gained forward a half mile, but Rosecrans had held fast with his left on the river. In the wheeling fight, on Hardee's right, and in the struggle to move the pivot forward as it turned, Withers's division made its battle."

From General Withers's report of the operations of his division and General Polk's more general story of the movements of his right wing, is condensed the account of the participation of Manigault's brigade in the battle; and the only criticism which could be made on such movements is that the brigade was too eager to move forward. Although it stormed and carried several important positions, it was thrice flanked by the enemy's artillery and suffered serious losses—all because it went forward with such impetuosity that it distanced its supports. As a result of one of these artillery assaults, Col. A. J. Lythgoe fell at the head of his regiment, the Nineteenth South Carolina. The same regiment, side by side with the Tenth South Carolina, later in the engagement, captured the artillery which had played such havoc in its ranks.

General Bragg, in acknowledgment of this brave exploit of Manigault's brigade, allowed the regiments to retain the captured guns, which were sent to South Carolina to have the names of the gallant men who fell in the charge inscribed upon the pieces. General Withers closes this portion of his report with high praise of the brigade, saying also that "the calm determination and persistent energy and gallantry which rendered Colonel Manigault proof against discouragements, had a marked influence on, and was admirably responded to, by his command."

Lieutenant-General Polk thus refers to the brigade: "The brigade of Colonel Manigault, which was immediately on the right of that of Colonel Colcart (Deas's), followed the movement of the latter according to instructions; but as Colcart failed in the first onset to drive Sheridan's right, Manigault, after dashing forward and pressing the enemy back on his second line, was brought under a heavy fire of artillery from two batteries on his right supported by infantry, and was compelled to fall back. But the gallant South Carolinian returned to the charge a second and a third time, and being aided by the brigade of General Maney of the second line, which came to his relief with its Napoleon guns and a deadly fire of musketry, the enemy gave way and joined his comrades on his right in precipitate retreat across the Wilkinson pike. This movement dislodged and drove the residue of Sheridan's division, and completed the forcing of the whole of McCook's corps out of line of battle, and placed it in full retreat." With

these operations, thus described, South Carolina's part in the battle virtually ended.

Colonel Manigault's report is not available, but his brigade lost a total of 517. The Tenth South Carolina had 109 killed and wounded and 2 taken prisoners; the Nineteenth, 80 killed and wounded. In the list of fatalities were the commander of the Nineteenth, Colonel Lythgoe, already noted as having fallen on the battlefield; Maj. John A. Crowder and Lieut. J. T. Norris, also of that regiment.

New Year's of 1863 witnessed both armies resting on their arms, with Bragg's plan of battle only partially accomplished. On January 2d, Rosecrans brought on a bloody engagement with Breckenridge's division, and on the 3d and 4th, Bragg commenced his retreat with his worn and badly-equipped army, in the face of reinforcement coming to the enemy, already outnumbering him, and a rapidly rising river swollen by continuous rains which threatened his rear.

General Capers aptly comments: "General Bragg fell back ultimately to Tullahoma, without firing a gun in his retirement. Here, as afterward at Chickamauga, he failed to take advantage of his success, and General Rosecrans claimed a great victory."

NORTHERN ADVANCE ON RICHMOND

In the meantime, South Carolina soldiers had been coming to the front in all the great military movements in Virginia and Maryland. Hampton's cavalry and Greggs' and Kershaw's brigades, at Second Manassas, Fredericksburg and the campaigns which swept through these torn and bloody states, were making brilliant military history, and such stanch heroes as Gen. Maxcy Gregg and Col. (ex-Gov.) John H. Means had "passed the great Captain for final Review."

The actions in Virginia opened with an advance upon Richmond from the north, McClellan's army being intrenched at Harrison's Landing, under the protection of the Union gunboats. The other Federal forces, which had been hovering around Washington ready to protect it, had been united under Gen. John Pope as the "Army of Virginia." In July, 1862, 45,000 strong, it lay upon the Rappahannock, with outposts on the Rapidan, and the general plan of the Union campaign was to unite that force with McClellan's army and invest Richmond from the north. General Burnside, with a strong force, was also at Fredericksburg and was reinforcing Pope.

Obviously, it was Lee's logical move to prevent, if possible, the combination of the Union forces designed for a northern attack upon Richmond, and his first step was to send Jackson to stop, or at least retard, Pope's advance from the Rappahannock and the Rapidan. This was accomplished very effectively by Jackson on August 9th, in an engagement at Cedar Run, a tributary of the Rapidan. During that movement, Gregg's brigade guarded the passage of the Rapidan.

PRELIMINARY TO SECOND MANASSAS

Five days after the Cedar Run affair, McClellan began the movement of his army by water to Aquia Creek on the Potomac, but Lee had already sent Longstreet with twelve brigades and artillery support to the Rapidan, where on August 15th he took command in person. The South Carolina troops engaged in this forward movement were Anderson's old brigade under Gen. Micah Jenkins, Rhett's, Bachman's and Garden's batteries and Brig.-Gen. N. G. Evans' brigade, including the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-second and Twenty-third

regiments, the Holcombe legion and the Macbeth artillery. Kershaw's brigade was in front of Richmond and Hampton's brigade of cavalry, including the legion and Hart's battery, was in McClellan's front.

It is said that Lee planned an attack on Pope immediately before his arrival on the Rapidan, but that a letter detailing the movements of his cavalry which fell into the hands of the Union commander forced the Confederate leader to abandon this purpose; the capture of the adjutant general of General Stuart, the great Confederate cavalry leader, with this dispatch, also induced Pope to fall back to a much stronger position behind the Rappahannock.

LEE PUSHES AGAINST POPE

Now it came Lee's turn to come into possession of Union information which he could turn to good advantage; for he intercepted a letter from Pope to General Halleck, commander-in-chief of the Federal armies, divulging his plan to hold the Confederates in check until he could receive reinforcements from McClellan then coming up from the lower Rappahannock. Lee, therefore, called for every Confederate soldier available to push against Pope's army before it could be reinforced. He wrote President Davis that he particularly required Hampton's cavalry. Although the President feared that Richmond would thus be inadequately protected, he deferred to Lee's judgment that the Confederate capital must rely, under the circumstances, upon her defenses and field batteries. On the 26th, the divisions of D. H. Hill and McLaws and General Hampton's cavalry were therefore ordered to Lee, who had been detained by swollen fords and Pope's artillery on the right bank of the Rappahannock for several days. These valued additions to his army did not arrive until Second Manassas had been fought and won by Lee and Jackson.

Without waiting for their arrival, General Lee began his movement around the right of General Pope on the 25th of August. Jackson was to move up the right bank of the Rappahannock beyond Pope's extreme right, cross the river and move upon the enemy's railroad communications. Longstreet, after demonstrating in Pope's front, was to follow Jackson.

GREGG'S BRIGADE IN CONFEDERATE ADVANCE

Gregg's brigade, which had already been under fire several times, was to be an important unit of the grand Confederate advance. Early on the 25th, it formed a portion of Jackson's forces which crossed the upper branches of the Rappahannock and camped at Salem on the Manassas Gap Railroad. On the following day, the leading division turned east and by sunset was at Bristoe Station in Pope's rear and on his main railroad communicating with Washington. The capture of Bristoe and Manassas Junction, with vast stores, followed.

The movements of Gregg's brigade are specifically noted in Colonel McGowan's report. It states: "The next morning we reached Manassas Junction, where the enemy, attempting to recapture it, were scattered with considerable loss. In the afternoon of that day the brigade returned from pursuit to the junction, where three days' rations were issued from the vast supply of captured stores, and the men, for a few hours, rested and regaled themselves upon delicacies unknown to our commissariat, which they were in good condition to enjoy, having eaten nothing for several days except roasting ears taken from the fields near the road, and what was given by the gen-

erous citizens of the Salem Valley to the soldiers as they hurried along in their rapid march.

"At dark on the evening of August 27th (Wednesday), the brigade, in conjunction with that of General Thomas, was thrown out on the south side of Manassas Junction, as the rear guard, and formed in line of battle facing the enemy, who had during the evening been fighting General Ewell near Bristoe Station. Standing under arms here we had a fine view of the magnificent conflagration caused by the burning of the sutler's and commissary stores, together with about 100 cars freighted with every article necessary for the outfit of a great army, all of which was set on fire about midnight and consumed.

"About 2 o'clock in the morning of Thursday, the 28th, we silently retired from our picket lines in front of the enemy, and by the light of the smoldering ruins followed the division across Bull Run at Blackburn's Ford to Centreville. Here we rested a short time and thence turned back toward Bull Run and, moving by the Warrenton pike, crossed the run again near the stone bridge. At this critical moment the enemy, falling back from the Rappahannock, caused doubtless by our flank movement, were coming down the turnpike from Warrenton, meeting us. We turned to the right, leaving the turnpike, and after going up the run a short distance changed front and were drawn up in battle array along the line of the unfinished Independent railroad track, facing the turnpike along which the enemy was moving."

Following the minor engagement at Groveton by Jackson against Pope, the division commanders, Generals Taliaferro and Ewell, were both wounded, in a severe engagement, after which Jackson resumed his place behind the railroad. He had three divisions of say 20,000 men, supported by neither subsistence nor reinforcements in men, while before him was the bulk of the well-equipped and well-provisioned Union army. Longstreet's corps fortunately fought its way through Thoroughfare gap, but was not able to join Jackson's battle line until August 30th, the Stonewall holding the field from morning until far into the evening of the preceding day.

GREGG'S BRIGADE HOLD ADVANCED BATTLE LINE

The obvious plan of the Federal commander-in-chief was to crush Jackson before Longstreet could come to his relief. Jackson had repulsed two galling artillery assaults before 2 o'clock P. M., when the infantry battle was directed against his left. A. P. Hill's division bore the brunt of this assault, delivered by the Union commands, in whole or in part, of Generals Hooker, Kearney, Sigel and Stearns. Gregg's South Carolina brigade had been returned from Ewell's battlefield of the preceding day, and were posted on the extreme left on a wooded knoll, with a railroad excavation to the east and north, slightly in advance of the general line. That important position commanding the Sudley Ford Road, and barely large enough to give the brigade a footing, the South Carolina men were ordered to hold at all hazards. And they held it, fighting against large odds from 8 o'clock in the morning until dark.

The regiments of Gregg's brigade were the Thirteenth South Carolina, Col. O. E. Edwards; the First, Maj. Edward McCrady; Twelfth, Col. Dixon Barnes; Fourteenth, Col. Samuel McGowan, and Orr's Rifles (in reserve), Col. J. Foster Marshall. Although the brigade had a stubborn engagement with the Union advance early in the morning, it was later withdrawn to the railroad position, in accord with general Confederate orders, and there the South Carolina regiments

eagerly awaited the enemy's assault. Pressing forward through the thick bushes toward the wooded knoll, the Federal forces drove in Gregg's pickets, but the brigade as a whole repulsed four Union attacks in force for possession of the railroad cut.

HOW GREGG HELD THE RAILROAD CUT

"Now," says Capers's history, "came the critical hour of Jackson's battle.* Coming up the railroad cut from the left and right, and screened by high banks and thick brush on both sides of it, the enemy massed on Gregg's right opposite a thick wood. In this wood were Edwards and McCrady, forming the right of Gregg, McCrady supporting Edwards. Beyond Gregg's right was the left of Thomas's Georgia brigade, quite an interval being between the two brigades.

"The fifth grand assault fell on Thomas's and Gregg's right, and easily filled the wooded interval between them, flanking both Thomas and Gregg. The moment was most critical. Edwards and McCrady changed front to face the woods filled with Federal troops and fought desperately. Barnes came up to their help, while Marshall's Rifles heroically held Gregg's left. But the right was about to be overpowered and crushed, when Gregg sent in McGowan, his only reserve. The Fourteenth rushed upon the crowded ranks of intruders in the wood, delivered their volleys at close range and, shouting, charged the mass. At that instant Thomas attacked from his side with the Forty-ninth Georgia, and the victory was gallantly won. The whole assaulting force was driven by Gregg's and Thomas's forces back across the railroad and into the woods beyond.

"Almost exhausted by such terrible work, the cartridge boxes reduced to two or three rounds, Gregg held his railroad line with a fixed determination never to yield. In this resolve he was supported by every officer and man of his brigade. When General Hill sent to ask if he could hold out, says McGowan, 'he replied modestly he thought he could, adding, as if casually, that his ammunition was about expended, but he still had the bayonet.' And on the bayonet, the brigade was now to rely as the most desperate assault from fresh forces in its front was about to come. The rush and noise of the advance were heard, the volleys of musketry swept over and through the thinned ranks of Gregg, and in another moment the charging lines of the enemy were mounting the banks of the railroad cut and rushing upon him. Meeting this heaviest assault of the day and fighting, first with their cartridges and then with the bayonet, the men of the brigade gave slowly back. They were not driven far from their battle line, when Gregg's call for help was answered by General Hill. Branch and Field were sent in and, with portions of their brigade, met and turned the tide of assault. Gregg's men were rallied by their commanders, and Virginians, North Carolinians and South Carolinians drove back the great assault across and beyond the railroad; and again Gregg's line was formed. But the brigade, after fighting for several hours, was worn out and its last round of ammunition expended."

In this supreme engagement the gallant Col. J. Foster Marshall, commander of Orr's Rifles (the reserve regiment of the brigade) was killed on the field, as was Lieut.-Col. D. A. Ledbetter. Colonels McGowan and Barnes, Lieutenant-Colonel Farrow, and Majors Brock-

* See also "The History of a Brigade of South Carolinians," known first as "Gregg's" and subsequently as "McGowan's Brigade," by J. F. J. Caldwell, Philadelphia, 1866. A second edition of this admirable work is now (1920) being prepared for the press by Major Caldwell.

man and McCorkle, were wounded. Minor officers and privates lay everywhere dead and wounded.

STONEWALL JACKSON HOLDS THE FIELD

But it was evident that another grand assault must be met and rolled back at this pivotal point in the battle front, before a final repulse of the Union forces could be won. "Casting about for help," says General Hill, "fortunately it was reported to me that the brigades of Generals Lawton and Early were near by, and sending to them they promptly moved to my front at the most opportune moment." Gregg was relieved and Lawton and Early, now late in the afternoon, advanced beyond the railroad, met the last assault of the day and drove the Federals in confusion to the rear. Night had come and with it rest for Gregg's heroic brigade. Jackson held his field, and the effort to crush him before Longstreet arrived to aid him, had disastrously failed.

The losses in Gregg's brigade aggregated 613, the First, Twelfth and Thirteenth each suffering losses of over 140. Twelve of its commissioned officers were killed and thirty-seven wounded. Of the killed were Col. J. Foster Marshall, Lieut.-Col. D. A. Ledbetter, Capt. M. M. Norton and Lieut. W. C. Davis, all of Orr's Rifles (the reserve regiment of the brigade); Capt. C. D. Barksdale, Lieuts. John Monroe and John C. McLemore, of the First Regiment; Lieuts. J. A. May and J. R. Hunnicutt, of the Twelfth, and Capt. A. K. Smith and Adj. W. D. Goggans, of the Thirteenth.

LONGSTREET TO THE FINAL RESCUE

The final issue of the crucial battle of Second Manassas was to be deferred until the 30th, with the arrival of Longstreet to relieve Jackson's exhausted army. By the morning of that day, the latter was on the field with seven brigades, including Evans's and Jenkins's brigades of South Carolina troops, the Fifteenth South Carolina (in Drayton's brigade) and the Hampton Legion Infantry (Wofford's brigade). Evans's brigade was in Hood's command, and Jenkins's superior was General Kemper. R. H. Anderson's three brigades were moving toward the battlefield from Warrenton. Bachman's and Garden's batteries were in Major Fobel's battalion and Rhett's was in S. D. Lee's battalion.

Pope again massed all his available forces against Jackson, who held firm from 1 to 4 o'clock P. M. But there is a limit to human endurance, and at this point Jackson sent to Lee for a division. At that moment Longstreet from a commanding position at Jackson's right seized upon the military advantage of an enfilading attack by his artillery. Three times the Union forces were swept by the murderous fire thus delivered, in which the South Carolina batteries were prominent—especially Lieut. William Elliott, with Lee's battalion. When the Confederate artillery had torn the Union line to shreds, Lee ordered a general advance of the battle line, and all the South Carolina commanders were in the sweeping forward movement which finally carried Pope's army to the great plateau at the Henry House, upon which had been fought the most violent contests of First Manassas. Night fell over the Second Manassas, another Confederate victory, but it enabled the retreating Union Army to cross Bull Run in safety.

FATALITIES OF SOUTH CAROLINA TROOPS

The battle of the 30th had made a sad addition to the fatalities among South Carolina troops reported for the previous day. Among the dead and those who had received mortal wounds, besides Colonel Marshall and Lieut.-Col. D. A. Ledbetter, of Orr's Rifles, were the following: Col. Thomas J. Glover, of the First South Carolina Battalion; Col. John V. Moore, of the Second Rifles; Col. John H. Means (governor in the early '50s), of the Seventeenth; Col. J. M. Gadberry, Eighteenth; and Lieut.-Col. Francis G. Palmer, of the Holcombe Legion. Brigadier-General Jenkins was wounded at the head of his brigade and over 400 of his officers and men killed and wounded. Col. H. L. Benbow, Twenty-Third South Carolina; Maj. W. J. Crawley, of the Holcombe Legion, and many other field, staff and company officers of the South Carolina commands, were wounded on the field.

The grand total of casualties among South Carolina men in the two days' battle was 1,714, of whom 281 were killed on the field.

COL. JOHN H. MEANS

John H. Means, ex-governor of South Carolina and the brave colonel of the Seventeenth Regiment, was the most prominent Confederate to fall upon the battlefield of Second Manassas. His father was a native of Massachusetts, but he himself was a South Carolinian of Fairfield District, a graduate of the South Carolina College, a strong believer in State Rights and a brave, outspoken typical man of the Palmetto State. Colonel Means was a planter of the old regime, an owner of slaves and a staunch upholder of the institution at its best. After serving in the Legislature for some time, in 1850 he was elected governor of his native State and served thus for the regular term of two years. His administration was marked by a reorganization and a strengthening of the State Militia, and the chief executive did not pretend to obscure his position that it might be used to physically resist Federal demands if they went too far. Afterward he served as president of several conventions which represented the extreme advocates of nullification and secession.

Governor Means emerged from partial retirement when the controversy between the free and the slave States was at its height and which reached its climax at the election of Abraham Lincoln. He was a delegate to the convention which passed the Ordinance of Secession, enlisted in the Confederate service and was made colonel of the Seventeenth when it was called to arms. His command performed gallant service at Malvern Hill and Rappahannock Station, and was in the thickest of the fight in Evans's brigade when he was killed August 30, 1862, on the second day of the battle of Second Manassas. Colonel Means had celebrated his fiftieth birthday only three weeks before he thus received his death wound.

POPE'S UNION ARMY FALLS BACK ON WASHINGTON

Pope's Union Army retreated across Bull Run to Centreville after nightfall of August 30, 1862, and on the following morning, under instructions from Lee, Jackson pursued and attacked the Federals at Ox Hill. The main attack was made by Hill's division, with Gregg's brigade again at the fore in every movement. It was a rear guard action, although a severe fight which caused the death of the Union gen-

erals, Kearny and Stevens.* The losses to the South Carolina troops amounted to 15 killed and 89 wounded. Lieut. W. C. Leppard, of the Thirteenth, and Adj. W. C. Buchanan, of the Twelfth, were killed in action.

On the night of September 1st and the morning of the 2d, the Union Army fell back on the defenses of Washington, and the Confederates, under Lee, moved from Manassas to Leesburg and between September 4th and 7th crossed the Potomac into Maryland and concentrated at Frederick.

Lee took with him, across the Potomac into Maryland, all the South Carolina commands mentioned as being identified with Longstreet's corps, Gregg's brigade with Jackson's corps, as well as McIntosh's battery, Hart's battery and Col. M. C. Butler's Second Cavalry of Hampton's brigade. Altogether four brigades, a regiment and a battalion of infantry, one regiment of cavalry and six light batteries, represented the Palmetto State in this movement toward the enemy's country.

BATTLE OF BOONSBORO GAP (SOUTH MOUNTAIN)

When Lee concentrated his forces at Frederick, he expected that the Federal forces in the Valley of Virginia at Martinsburg and at Harper's Ferry would retreat upon Washington, but as they did not, he made plans to dispossess them. The date when the movements looking to this end were to be put to the test was September 12th, but his orders to his corps, division and cavalry commanders, detailing and putting into effect such combinations as should result in the capture of Harper's Ferry, fell into the hands of McClellan, who, on the 14th, surprised Hampton's brigade at Boonsboro Gap, near Frederick. But Hampton was equal to the occasion and ordered Colonel Butler to charge with his cavalry, supported by the infantry. The Union gun which commanded the city was captured and the Federal advance definitely checked. In fact, Hampton's brigade so delayed the movements of McClellan's advancing army that Hill's division of Confederates occupied Boonsboro Gap and held the line until Longstreet could arrive. Combined they held back the advancing Union columns of Hooker and Reno until night put an end to the engagement known as Boonsboro Gap, or South Mountain.

Jackson's corps had already been set in motion toward Harper's Ferry, and in the development of such movements both Kershaw's and Gregg's brigades participated. To Kershaw, commanding his own and Barkdale's brigades, was assigned the task of capturing the south end of Elk Ridge, called Maryland Heights, which overlooked Harper's Ferry. The heights captured, McLaws's division in which was Kershaw's brigade, was to plant his rifled guns there, to cooperate with Col. Joseph Walker, commanding Jenkins brigade, on Loudoun Heights, and Jackson, on Bolivar Heights.

KERSHAW SEIZES MARYLAND HEIGHTS

Kershaw who commenced his march on the 12th did not meet with stiff resistance until his advanced troops had reached a point within a mile of the south end of Elk Ridge. As it was 6 o'clock P. M. by this time, after putting his command in two lines of attack, with a brigade

*Both of these gallant commanders were held in high regard by South Carolinians; Stevens for his lofty ideals of the conduct of war when in command at Beaufort, and Kearny for his more than magnanimous treatment of Col. John Bratton.

in reserve, the Confederates lay on their arms within sight of the battlefield. Early in the morning of the 13th, the South Carolinians moved to the attack in beautiful order and came under the heavy fire of the enemy. By combined attacks on the front and flank of the Union position, the enemy was driven down the mountain and across the river, by pontoon, into Harper's Ferry. The captured heights were occupied, and by 2 o'clock P. M. on the 14th, while the battle at Boonsboro Gap was raging and the enemy had penetrated Pleasant Valley and was marching on McLaws's rear, Kershaw opened his guns on Harper's Ferry and Bolivar Heights. His brigade lost 196 in the actions along the ridge, of whom 33 were killed.

SURRENDER OF HARPER'S FERRY

Gregg's South Carolina brigade, of Jackson's corps, on the 12th crossed the Potomac and marched upon Martinsburg, the Union troops then retiring upon Harper's Ferry. The South Carolina troops were in front. After Jackson's half-famished men had appeased their hunger from the captured stores of the Union troops, they marched to Bolivar Heights which they occupied by noon of the 13th. Two days afterwards all the Confederate batteries opened on the defenses of Harper's Ferry—from Maryland Heights, the Loudoun Heights and Bolivar Heights. Jackson's entire infantry was about to assault in force, when the white flag was raised by the Union defenders.

A FEDERAL TRIBUTE TO JACKSON'S VALOR

Gregg's brigade had not lost a man, but remained with A. P. Hill's division to reap the spoils of battle from the captured fortress. Captain Caldwell thus describes the situation: "We fared sumptuously. In addition to meat, crackers, sugar, coffee, shoes, blankets, underclothing, etc., many of us captured horses, of which the quartermaster, however, duly deprived us.

"Jackson was the great theme of conversation. The Federals seemed never weary of extolling his genius and inquiring for particulars of his history. They were extremely anxious to see him. He came up from the riverside late in the afternoon. The intelligence spread like electricity. Almost the whole mass of prisoners broke over us, rushed to the road, threw up their hats, cheered, roared, bellowed as even Jackson's own troops had scarcely ever done. We, of course, joined in with them. The general gave a stiff acknowledgment of the compliment, pulled down his hat, drove spurs into his horse and went clattering down the hill away from the noise."

BATTLE OF SHARPSBURG, OR ANTIETAM

General McClellan did not push his advantage gained at Boonsboro Gap, and it was 8 o'clock on the morning following the battle (on the 15th) before his troops appeared on the west side of South Mountain, when Lee had the columns of D. H. Hill and Longstreet beyond the reach of the Union troops. At that time, the Confederate commander had his army in front of Sharpsburg and behind the Antietam River. Early on the 16th, three of the four divisions of Jackson's corps arrived upon the chosen battlefield from Harper's Ferry. Stuart, with cavalry and horse artillery, guarded the extreme left of Lee's forces lying along the Potomac, which ran parallel to the Antietam, in the battlefield of Sharpsburg. The artillery opened the great battle at dawn on the 17th,

and before the sun had risen Jackson was hotly engaged with Hooker's corps on the Confederate left. The arrival of McLaws' division from Harper's Ferry saved the day in this portion of the battle line for the Confederates. Both sides had become exhausted with the hard fighting, when three fresh Union divisions were thrown into the battle against D. H. Hill of Hood's corps. The Union corps commander had been killed and these unexhausted, confident reinforcements promised to check the back-flowing tide of the Federal Army, when McLaws' division appeared on the battle field. Although worn, footsore and hungry from their long forced march, they promptly and aggressively entered the battle line and, being joined by Walker's division, they beat back the advancing Union troops and rallied the remaining battle-worn troops of Lee's army.

KERSHAW'S BRIGADE OF MCLAWS'S DIVISION

In this great achievement, notes Capers's history, Kershaw's South Carolina brigade, of McLaws' division, bore a distinguished part. The Second South Carolina led the direct attack of the division, Kershaw throwing the Eighth, Seventh and Third forward to its support, assisted by the fire from Read's battery. Assault after assault by the Union line was repelled and finally he was driven back and held firmly throughout the day. The Second, first to attack and drive back the enemy, suffered the loss of their gallant colonel, A. D. Kennedy. Colonel Aiken, of the Seventh, was seriously wounded, and Maj. W. C. White received fatal injuries. "Without a supply of rations from Monday to Wednesday; constantly under arms, marching, or in action during that period, no sleep and with but brief halts for rest, Kershaw's gallant command fought at Sharpsburg as if they had come to the field from a well-provided camp."

LEE'S LINE OF RETREAT HELD

The assault on Longstreet's corps, which held Lee's right, by Burnside's Union troops, was the great action of the day. That portion of the Confederate battle line was subjected for hours to the incessant fire of Union batteries east of the Antietam. Finally, on the afternoon of the 17th, the Federal troops on the Confederate side of the river were driven into the woods bordering that stream. In this important movement, the guns of Rhett's battery, under Lieut. William Elliott, did fine service firing at short range on the masses of the Union infantry as they surged up from the Antietam. Jenkins's South Carolina brigade and the Fifteenth Regiment, under Colonel DeSaussure, were very large units in this grand assault. The losses of the brigade at Sharpsburg, or Antietam, were 26 killed and 184 wounded, the heaviest casualties being among the Palmetto sharpshooters. Capt. J. E. Lee and N. W. Harbin, of the sharpshooters, were killed, and Lieut. Col. D. Livingston, of the First, Capt. E. B. Cantey, commanding the Sixth, Lieut. J. C. McFadden, of the Sixth, and Lieut. H. H. Thompson and Lieut. W. N. Major, of the sharpshooters, were wounded.

Gen. D. R. Jones's right, which was fiercely attacked by an entire Union corps, was being held by one Confederate division commanded by General Toombs, who, after repulsing five assaults by Burnside's forces, retired upon Sharpsburg only with the complete exhaustion of his ammunition and the turning of his position by a passage of the Antietam below. At this crisis in the battle, when the Union corps of General Cox was sweeping to the front and right of Toombs and mak-

ing for a lodgment on the Shepherdstown Road in his rear (Lee's line of retreat), the division of A. P. Hill, which had been marching all day, arrived upon the battlefield and was thrown into Lee's imperilled right.

The final bloody end of the fearful battle of Antietam is thus graphically described: "Hill placed his batteries rapidly and opened with canister; but before his infantry could be formed the enemy had charged the guns and captured McIntosh's battery and flag. Not a moment was to be lost if Lee's line to Shepherdstown was to be saved, and A. P. Hill and Jones ordered the charge. 'My troops were not a moment too soon,' says Hill. With a yell of defiance Archer and Toombs charged, recaptured the battery and drove the enemy pellmell down the slope. Gregg and Branch, from Archer's left, poured in a deadly fire as they steadily moved down the slope, and the whole line of attack broke and retired to the Antietam. Night settled down upon the battlefield of Antietam and the bloodiest struggle of the war was over." For eighteen awful hours two great armies had fought a series of heroic contests.

Gregg's casualties were 163 killed and wounded. All the regiments in the brigade except the Fourteenth were engaged. Col. Dixon Barnes, "the head and heart of his splendid regiment," the Twelfth, was mortally wounded, and Lieut. Archibald McIntyre, of the First, and Capt. F. A. Irwin and Lieut. J. B. Blackman, of the Twelfth, were killed on the field.

ENGAGEMENT AT SHEPHERDSTOWN

The last actions of the Maryland campaigns of 1862, in which South Carolina troops participated, were led by Gregg and Hampton. Hampton's brigade of cavalry, under Stuart and in the advance, crossed into Maryland and, in front of Williamsport, safeguarded the passages of the Potomac for Lee's army. At close quarters with the Union troops, who had captured four guns of General Pendleton's artillery, Hill, early in the morning of the 20th of September, ordered the final charge at Shepherdstown Ford, and the brigades of Porter's corps were driven into and across the river, hundreds being drowned. Over 200 prisoners were taken and the dead and wounded left on the battlefield.

In the battle of Shepherdstown, the heaviest loss fell on Hill's left flank. General Gregg commanded one of his two divisions. The greatest loss of Gregg's South Carolina brigade was suffered by the Fourteenth regiment, which had ten killed, among them Capt. James H. Dunlap, and forty-five wounded, most of them by artillery fire.

CAVALRY RAID TO REAR OF MCCLELLAN'S ARMY

While the exhausted, ragged and under-fed Confederates under Lee were resting and recuperating after their fearful months of fighting and campaigning, General Lee directed Gen. J. E. B. Stuart to take a picked force of 1,500 horsemen, cross the Potomac above Williamsport, penetrate to the rear of McClellan's army, gain all possible information and inflict as much damage as possible upon his railroad communications. Hampton's brigade was in the advance of this important raiding expedition into Maryland, when it forded the river at dawn of October 10th. With Hampton was also a section of the Second South Carolina Cavalry, under Colonel Butler, with a portion of Hart's South Carolina Battery. The enemy's pickets were surprised and routed above McCoy's ford, and before night the entire

expedition was before Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, which, without resistance, was occupied by Hampton's brigade. At this place considerable munitions of war were destroyed and Stuart's column resumed its march. The early morning of the 12th found the rear guard (Hampton's brigade) at Barnesville, on the Potomac, with the enemy's advance pressing uncomfortably close. But the crossing was successfully accomplished, and General Hampton covered the return of the expedition to the Virginia shore without losing a man or a horse. Nearly 300 horses were captured in the raid. All of which was recorded in the Confederate annals of the War of Secession as a dashing and successful military feat.

GREAT BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG

The remainder of the year 1862 is of absorbing interest to the South Carolina historian because of the heroic actions of home troops in the great battle of Fredericksburg, and Stuart's brilliant cavalry campaigns, in which Hampton and Butler so added to their fame. Fredericksburg was fought to bar the advance of the Federal Army toward Richmond, which President Lincoln had ordered Burnside, the new Union commander, to capture. "On to Richmond" was again the deafening battle-cry of the entire North. On the 22d of November, General Lee informed President Davis by telegram that General Burnside's whole army was on the left bank of the Potomac opposite Fredericksburg and by December 1st he had gathered the cream of the Confederate Army, comprising the great commands of Longstreet, Jackson and Stuart, on the heights behind that place.

Burnside's army was arranged in three grand divisions, aggregating 113,000 men and commanded by General Sumner, Hooker and Franklin. To cover the crossing of the Union troops were 147 guns in battery along the Stafford hills which fronted the heights of Fredericksburg on the Confederate side of the Potomac, which, in turn, were bristling with guns posted so as to protect Jackson's right wing, Longstreet's left wing, and the center directly commanded by Lee. In A. P. Hill's division of Jackson's wing, in the second line, was Gregg's brigade. Jenkins's brigade was in Pickett's division. Kershaw's brigade was in McLaws's line. As to South Carolina batteries, McIntosh's, with Lieut.-Col. R. L. Walker's guns, was on the extreme right of A. P. Hill's division, Bachman's and Garden's batteries, in Hood's division, and Rhett's battery, in Alexander's battalion.

BATTLE OPENS ON CONFEDERATE RIGHT

The battle opened on December 13th, after the Union Army had been allowed to cross the river, and the first attack was directed against A. P. Hill's division on the extreme right of the Confederate position, after it had been raked for hours by the Union batteries posted on the Stafford hills. Stuart's cavalry held the Federal advance in check for a time, but was forced to retire when three Federal divisions, commanded by Meade, Gibbon and Doubleday, again pressed forward, only to be driven back by the Confederate artillery. But the Union troops returned to the charge, entered the woods and forcing through an interval between the brigades of Archer and Lane flanked them right and left. Lane retreated slowly and Archer's left was crushed.

GEN. MAXCY GREGG MORTALLY WOUNDED

Lane's brigade called for assistance and was reinforced and held Gibbon, one of the Union division commanders, but Meade pressed on through the woods and took Gregg by surprise. That move resulted in the death of the brave and able Confederate commander. He was entirely cut off from information and was without orders from Hill, in the thick of the woods. Not believing the enemy to be near, he had withheld the fire of his brigade for fear of injuring Lane and Archer. Suddenly Meade's troops opened fire upon Orr's Rifles, on his right, which naturally threw them into some confusion. But for the firmness of the First Regiment, immediately on the left, and the conduct of the left company of the rifles, under Lieut. J. D. Charles, the whole brigade might have been routed; for, in addition to this unexpected attack of the enemy, General Gregg, who had promptly ridden to his right, was shot from his horse and mortally wounded.

The gallant head of the brigade was replaced by Col. D. H. Hamilton, of the First, senior officer, who successfully rallied the men on his right. The partial confusion subsided, as he was promptly supported by the other regiments of the brigade, which delivering their fire at close quarters finally resisted Meade's attack. It was also soon reinforced by Alabama and Virginia troops, who then drove back the Union forces. Jackson then sent Early's entire division forward, which swept both Meade's and Gibbon's divisions back and beyond the railroad.

The casualties of Gregg's brigade amounted to 336, of whom 40 were killed. The main loss was sustained by Orr's Rifles, who were attacked lying down behind their stacks, and 170 of them killed and wounded and their general mortally wounded before they could grasp their arms in self-defense. Capt. T. H. Lyles, of the First, was also killed.

GEN. MAXCY GREGG

General Gregg was shot through the spine in the surprise attack made upon his brigade by Meade's division, and died on December 14, 1862, the day after the battle of Fredericksburg. He was a native of Columbia, South Carolina, and, like his accomplished father, Col. James Gregg, was a lawyer at the outbreak of the war. Although General Gregg was a major of volunteers during the Mexican war, his regiment did not arrive at the front in time for active service, but his experience and record indicated that he was a good organizer and disciplinarian. In the winter of 1860, he was a delegate to the convention which passed the Ordinance of Secession and which authorized the raising of a South Carolina regiment of volunteers.

Of the regiment noted, known as the First Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers, Maxcy Gregg was appointed colonel. His forces were at first distributed on Sullivan's and Morris's islands, but after the reduction of Fort Sumter by the Confederates was ordered to Virginia. After a stay of about two months, it was returned to South Carolina and disbanded at the expiration of its term of service.

Colonel Gregg at once organized a new regiment, partly from companies of his old command, and, with this regiment, returned to Virginia. In December, 1861, he was advanced to the grade of brigadier-general and ordered to South Carolina, where he assumed command of the Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth regiments of South Caro-

lina volunteers. With the brigade formed by these regiments, he was returned to Virginia in the spring of 1862, and in June his command was merged into the Army of Northern Virginia. The record of "Gregg's brigade" at Cold Harbor, Sharpsburg, Shepherdstown, Second Manassas and Fredericksburg, may be readily traced as one of the most creditable of the noteworthy commands in Lee's superb army. At his death, he was succeeded as brigade commander by Col. Samuel McGowan, who was soon advanced to a brigadier-generalship.

General Gregg, like other superior commanders, was able as a disciplinarian, as well as brave in the field and cool in the confusion and ardor of battle. The bent of his mind was imperfectly indicated by his large, yet select library and a well-equipped astronomical observatory in his Columbia home. He was rather reserved in character, but those who were closest to him pronounced him affectionate and generous.

SOLDIER AND GENTLEMAN BEYOND COMPARE

When in the throes of death, General Gregg said: "Tell the Governor (Pickens) that if I am to die now, I give my life cheerfully for the independence of South Carolina." General Hill declared, in his official report, that "a more chivalrous gentleman and gallant soldier never adorned the service which he so loved"; General Jackson, always chary of praise, deplored the loss of "a brave and accomplished officer, full of heroic sentiment and chivalrous honor," and General Lee, in a letter to Governor Pickens, said that General Gregg had "always been at the post of duty and danger. His services in this army have been of inestimable value, * * * in the greatest triumphs and bloodiest battles he has borne a distinguished part."

FAMOUS BATTLE AT THE "STONE WALL"

At 10 o'clock on the morning of the 13th, while the division of Meade and Gibbon were assaulting A. P. Hill, two other Union divisions, under Sumner and Hooker, were attacking McLaws's line of Longstreet's left wing, which was defending Marye's Hill. General Cobb's brigade held the foot of the hill and while the assault increased in force Kershaw's brigade was ordered forward to assist him. Two of its regiments were dispatched to the danger point—the Second, under Col. A. D. Kennedy, and the Eighth, under Capt. E. T. Stackhouse—but before they could reach their destination, Kershaw was directed by General McLaws, the division commander, to go forward with his entire command and lead it in person, the heroic Cobb having been mortally wounded. General Kershaw reached the point, with the Second and Eighth regiments, just in time to repulse a fresh assault, at what was always mentioned in accounts of the battle as the "stone wall."

The locality where Kershaw's brigade was to write its name large in the annals of Confederate military history is thus described by the brave and able commander himself: "Marye's hill, covered with our batteries—then occupied by the Washington artillery. Colonel Walton commanding—falls off abruptly toward Fredericksburg to a stone wall, which forms a terrace on the side of the hill and the outer margin of the Telegraph road which winds along the foot of the hill. The road is about 25 feet wide and is faced by a stone wall about 4 feet wide on the city side. The road having been cut out of the side of the hill, in many places this wall is not visible above the surface of the

ground. The ground falls off rapidly to almost a level surface, which extends about 150 yards, then, with another abrupt fall of a few feet, to another plain, which extends some 200 yards and then falls off abruptly to a wide ravine, which extends along the whole front of the city and discharges into Hazel run."

When General Kershaw arrived at the stone wall with the Second and Eighth regiments of his brigade, General Cobb, with his Georgians, had held the foot of the hill against the successive assaults of three divisions of the Second Union corps, and the Ninth Federal corps was about to come into action against the position. The South Carolina commander immediately threw his two regiments behind the wall in the sunken road, and assisted Cobb in checking the pending attack. As the Third and Seventh regiments of Kershaw's brigade arrived they were posted beyond the stone wall, and the Fifteenth South Carolina, from Drayton's brigade, was placed still further in the rear as a support to Walton's battalion. When the fifth assault was delivered by another Union division of the Ninth corps, the Third and Seventh had been so posted that they could fire over the heads of the Confederates defending their position at the stone wall and pour their volleys into the column of attack. The Third thus fired from almost open ground and suffered accordingly. The fifth assault met the fate of the other four, so that General Sumner's right grand division of Burnside's army had been decisively repulsed by three Confederate brigades, with artillery support.

The Union commander-in-chief, disappointed in his general assaults all along the line, now determined to throw the Fifth corps of Hooker's center against the lines defending the stone wall with such determination. In preparation for the sixth attack, all the available Union batteries opened fire against the position at the foot of Marye's Hill, and two more divisions were formed for the assault.

To meet these preparations on so large a scale, General Kershaw could only order the Third, Seventh and Fifteenth South Carolina regiments to join their comrades of the Second and Eighth behind the stone wall and in the sunken road.

UNION COLUMNS SHATTERED AND REPULSED

General Kershaw described the artillery fire of Hooker's batteries as terrific. It continued until near sunset, when the two Union divisions selected for the assault, advanced to carry the position with the bayonet. General Hooker says the attack was made with a spirit of determination "seldom, if ever, equaled in war." He assigns as the reason for its "almost immediate repulse" that the enemy had the advantage of an "impregnable position" a judgment which he had previously expressed to Burnside.

General Kershaw reports that the attack was gallant and impetuous, assailing his whole front and lasting from 5 to 6 o'clock P. M., but that the Union columns were shattered and beaten by the time they came within a hundred paces of the position. Some of the assailants came as near as thirty paces, but were shot down, or, being unsupported, retreated with the mass. With this last assault the battle practically ended and the Confederate victory was won. General Lee reports that not more than 20,000 of his army was engaged during the day.

APALLING LOSS OF THE THIRD

The loss of General Kershaw's brigade was 373 killed and wounded. The heaviest loss fell on the Third, commanded by Col. James Nance.

He had first occupied a position on the crest of the hill and, being in full view of the assaulting column and its supports, the regiment was subjected to a terrible fire of both infantry and artillery; but, seeing the importance of delivering a steady fire on the advancing Union troops, Colonel Nance held his men in position until the attack was repulsed. He fell wounded, but lay on the field, and continued to direct his men until carried off, then ordering up a fresh supply of ammunition and directing his regiment to move more under cover. Colonel Nance's successors in command of the Third Regiment were Lieut.-Col. D. W. Rutherford, Maj. Robert C. Maffett, Capt. W. W. Hance and Capt. John C. Summer, all of whom were shot down. Captain Hance lost a leg, and Captains Summer and L. P. Foster, as well as Lieuts. James Hollingsworth and James C. Hill, were killed on the field. The three field officers and the three senior captains were wounded or killed, leaving the fourth captain, John K. G. Nance, in command. There were few parallels of casualties in a regimental list of the War of Secession.

HAMPTON'S BRILLIANT CAVALRY RAIDS

Two weeks before the battle of Fredericksburg, Gen. Wade Hampton commenced his series of brilliant cavalry raids from Culpeper Court House, across the Rappahannock and well into the enemy's lines. His regular brigade comprised the First Cavalry, under Col. J. L. Black, and the Second, commanded by Col. M. C. Butler. Hampton's first raid, made with only about 200 selected men, resulted on November 28th in the capture of two squadrons of Federal cavalry, on the road from Fredericksburg to Morrisville, along Burnside's right flank. In this raid, Hampton's men had eluded two forces of outpost pickets and captured 2 captains, 3 lieutenants, 2 stands of colors, 87 privates, 100 horses and as many carbines, without the loss of a single man of his force (amounting to 208).

With a picked force of over 500, including a detachment from the Second South Carolina under Colonel Butler, Hampton captured the town of Dumfries, on the night of December 12th. It was on the line between Alexandria and Fredericksburg, and the booty of the dashing South Carolinian included 50 odd prisoners, 24 sutlers' wagons and a telegraph operator with his battery. On the 13th, while the battle of Fredericksburg was in progress, the Confederate raiding force recrossed the Rappahannock without the loss of a man.

A third expedition against the enemy's communications, which covered the three days, December 17-19, 1862, had for its special object the sweeping up of the Telegraph Road and the capture of the Union garrison at Occoquan. Hampton's total force was about the same as on his former raid, and after capturing a small post and a number of pickets he moved on the town in the morning of the 17th in three little columns, which duly occupied Occoquan. Soon afterward a force of 2,500 Union cavalry from Alexandria appeared at the ford about a mile south of town, the possession of which would endanger the expedition with its captured stores and men. Hampton therefore sent Captain Clark to dispute the crossing for an hour which would give the former time to save the train. After twenty wagons, loaded with army stores, 30 stands of infantry arms and 1 stand of colors, with 157 prisoners, had been ferried over on the single available boat, General Hampton sent the train ahead and commenced his return march, Captain Clark covering his rear. The enemy's cavalry crossed in pursuit, but Clark drove them back, and the expedition resumed its

retreat, the latter continuing to skirmish with the enemy for two miles. Finally, on the 19th, Hampton's men, with all their booty and prisoners, again crossed the Rappahannock without loss of any kind.

These three expeditions, which accomplished so much without the expenditure of a single Confederate life, placed Hampton higher than ever in the estimation of General Stuart. The fourth cavalry raid was led by the commander-in-chief of the Confederate cavalry himself, in the last days of the year 1862, and had for its main object the capture of military trains moving along the Telegraph Road to Burnside's army. Stuart's chief lieutenants were Wade Hampton, Fitzhugh Lee and W. H. F. Lee, from whose brigades the men selected for the raid were taken. The destined points of occupation had already been well covered by Hampton's raids. Gen. W. H. F. Lee was ordered to move on Dumfries, General Hampton on Occoquan, and Gen. Fitzhugh Lee on the Telegraph Road between these points, the brigades being in supporting distance.

General ("Runy") Lee, who was to assault Dumfries, found the place too strongly defended for successful attack. Fitzhugh Lee, on the other hand, routed two strong bodies of Union cavalry, captured a number of prisoners and eight loads of army stores and burned a railroad bridge over the Accotink, a Rappahannock stream.

Hampton's command of 870 men was selected from the First and Second South Carolina, the First North Carolina, and the Cobb, Phillips and Jeff Davis legions. A section of artillery was also with him. Hampton crossed the Rappahannock with a detachment, Col. M. C. Butler, of the Second, moving directly on the town of Occoquan with most of the brigade. Butler accomplished his aim, charging through the town, routing several hundred Union cavalry and taking nineteen prisoners and eight loaded wagons, at the expense of only one man wounded. Under orders from Stuart, Hampton followed Fitzhugh Lee across the Occoquan, routed a small body of the enemy, and joined Butler on the night of the 28th of December. In the meantime, that able lieutenant had skilfully extricated his little command from the clutches of a division of Union cavalry, supported by artillery, on the march from Fairfax to Dumfries. His loss was only several horses and two of his men wounded. Hampton's brigade recrossed the Rappahannock on the 29th, with the captured wagons and thirty-three prisoners.

General Stuart reported over 200 prisoners captured altogether, and a large number of horses, mules, wagons, sabers, saddles and other valuable property. He was disappointed in his expectation of finding loaded trains on the Telegraph Road, and ascribed his ill luck to the "numerous descents upon that road by General Hampton and detachments from his command." In other words, Hampton's men had quite effectually swept the road of Union supply trains, which was the ultimate object of Stuart's operations at the close of 1862. In General Orders, issued in February, 1863, General Lee announces the Hampton raids as "the series of successes of the cavalry of Northern Virginia during the winter months, in spite of the obstacles of almost impassable roads, limited forage, swollen streams and inclement weather," and particularly commends the bravery of two of Hampton's scouts, Sergeant Mickler and Sergeant Sparks.

GENERAL AND GOVERNOR MILLEDGE L. BONHAM

During this bright period for the Confederate arms (December, 1862), there was a change in the gubernatorial administration of South

Carolina. Governor Pickens' term expired and Gen. Milledge L. Bonham succeeded to the office.

Governor Bonham was a civilian and lawyer of distinction and a soldier of three wars. A native of the Edgefield district and a graduate of the South Carolina College, when he had scarcely reached his majority, his law studies were interrupted by service in the Seminole war, and after nearly a decade of successful practice, the Mexican war again called him afield. In the latter he was in command of the Twelfth Regiment of United States Infantry, Winfield S. Hancock, afterward an eminent Union general and a presidential candidate of the Democratic party, being his adjutant. He remained in Mexico after the close of the war for a year as military governor of one of the provinces.

Returning from his service in Mexico, Colonel Bonham resumed the practice of the law, was elected solicitor of the southern circuit of South Carolina, and was a member of the Legislature, before he was advanced to the thirty-sixth Congress succeeding Preston S. Brooks. He served in that body from December, 1857, until his withdrawal, with other members of the South Carolina delegation, in December, 1860. Colonel Bonham, at the withdrawal of his State from the Union was detailed by Governor Pickens to the command of the South Carolina troops with the rank of major-general, but heartily cooperated with General Beauregard in Charleston.

Governor Bonham to-be was later appointed brigadier-general, took to Virginia the first troops, not Virginians, that went to the defense of the capital and was placed in command of the First brigade, First corps, of the Provisional Army of the Confederate States. At First Bull Run, his brigade comprised Kershaw's Second regiment, Williams's Third, Bacon's Seventh and Cash's Eighth, of the South Carolina Volunteers; of Shield's and Del Kemper's batteries and of several companies of Virginia cavalry under Colonel Radford. Both Lee and Beauregard placed great reliance upon his sound military judgment and his skill in directing large military movements.

General Bonham having had a disagreement with the war department, resigned and was called from the army to serve South Carolina in the Confederate Congress and in December, 1862, was taken from that body to the governor's chair. At the expiration of his term in 1864, he re-entered the Confederate Army in which he served to the end of the war. His later record covers the critical reconstruction periods of his State, in which he played a brave part, as will be noted in succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER XLIX

SOUTHERN STRONGHOLDS INVESTED (1863-1864)

It was more than a year after the repulse of the Union expedition at Secessionville before the Federals attempted another investment of Charleston either by land or sea. In the meantime, the land forces were inactive and Admiral DuPont's gunboats in South Carolina waters did little more than make exploring expeditions from the Stono River and the base of the fleet at Fort Royal.

Repeated efforts to destroy the bridges and break the railroad communication between Savannah and Charleston had all been signally repulsed. It was left for the Confederates themselves to take the initiative and attack and disable several important units of the blockading fleet. These bold and successful ventures undoubtedly stirred the Federal commanders to the large and decisive undertaking of a renewed assault on Fort Sumter and Charleston.

At the beginning of the year 1863, General Beauregard had 15,500 men of all arms under his command in South Carolina for the defense of the State. General Joseph H. Trapier commanded the military department from the North Carolina line to the South Santee; General R. S. Ripley, from that river to the Stono; General Johnson Hagood, thence to the Ashepo, and General W. S. Walker from the Ashepo to the Savannah. More than half of the total force controlled by Beauregard was stationed in the forts and on the immediate approaches to Charleston. The district commanded by General Ripley embraced the harbor defenses, Christ Church and St. Andrew's parishes and the islands surrounding the harbor. Each island constituted a separate subdivision of the district, the parish of St. Andrew's being attached to James Island.

MILITARY DEFENSE OF CHARLESTON

The islands and forts which held the keys to the defense of Charleston were commanded as follows: Sullivan's island, Colonel L. M. Keitt, with the Twentieth South Carolina; Fort Moultrie and supporting batteries, Colonel William Butler; Morris island, Colonel R. F. Graham, of the Twenty-first; James island and St. Andrew's parish, General States R. Gist; Fort Sumter, garrisoned by the First artillery, Colonel Alfred Rhett, and Fort Ripley and Castle Pinckney, Captain H. S. Farley. Altogether, the South Carolina commands were nine regiments and three battalions of infantry; two regiments and three battalions of heavy artillery; thirteen light batteries; four regiments and three independent companies of cavalry. Besides the South Carolina commands, General Beauregard had under his command in the State, two North Carolina brigades and several regiments and batteries from Georgia. It will be remembered that General Pemberton, the former commander of the department of South Carolina and Georgia, had estimated, at General Beauregard's request, the minimum force necessary to protect Charleston at 30,000 men of all arms; but since the fall of 1862, when the figures were furnished, the

**"THE ATTACK ON CHARLESTON BY THE YANKEE IRON-CLAD FLEET, APRIL 7, 1863."
(From a Confederate Lithograph.)**

military resources of South Carolina had been largely depleted by the exigencies of Virginia, and the great battlefields of Mississippi and Tennessee, and by the expected invasion of North Carolina, leaving only half the designated number available for home defense.

FEDERAL GUNBOATS PATROL STONO RIVER

The Federal gunboats had control of the Stono River up to the range of Fort Pemberton, a strong work which mounted fifteen guns and flanked the defensive line on James island to the west. John's island, on the west side of the Stono, was occupied only by a cavalry picket and the Federal gunboats freely moved up and down the river. Stono inlet was then regarded as an important point to cover. The inlet is the way to Stono River which winds through marsh and plantation fifteen or twenty miles south of Charleston harbor. The Wappoo River, a twisty little stream connects Stono River with Charleston harbor for vessels of light draught, and small blockade runners that could escape the blockaders could easily ship their cargoes into Charleston by this convenient side door. The Isaac P. Smith, with the Commodore McDonough, was expected to prevent the use of Stono Inlet, and to so patrol the river as to prohibit, if possible, the construction of offensive works along its banks. The Confederates who had considerable forces on James Island and a picket on John's Island, between which Stono River meanders to the sea, were annoyed by the patrol of the river by the gunboats. One of these vessels would steam up the Stono nearly every day coming nearly within the range of the guns of Fort Pemberton. One of the Confederate officers, greatly exasperated by the audacity of the Union craft conceived an ingenious and unusual revenge which he communicated to General Ripley and which eventually reached General Beauregard. Yates asked to be assigned artillery forces sufficient to enable him to make the Smith or the McDonough "come ashore." Ripley and Beauregard at first laughed at the young officer, because they thought the men of the Smith could not be enticed ashore by any pretext, but Yates persisted, overcame Ripley's objection through Beauregard who considered Yates a young man entitled at least to be occupied. At last Yates found himself intrusted with a command instructed to obey his directions implicitly.

The arrangements were most successfully carried out on the 30th of January. Major J. J. Lucas commanding at Fort Pemberton sent Captain John H. Gary with three rifled 24 pounders to put them in battery and under cover at the Grimball place on James Island. This was done at night and the guns carefully secreted from the enemy's view. In the same way, lower down the Stono, at Battery Island, Col. Yates sent Major J. W. Brown who concealed two rifled 24 pounders, while Yates himself, with the main force, took position, in like manner, between the guns of Gary and Brown, masking his guns at Grimball's and Legare's points on John's Island and bided his time.

LAND BATTERIES CAPTURE A GUNBOAT

* On Friday morning the Isaac P. Smith, under Lieut. Conover

* The account here given follows mainly that written by Mr. E. J. Dunnell in the New York Times, and differs materially from that found in Roman's Beauregard. In that military memoir Gen'l Beauregard would appear to have initiated the plan of attack on the Smith, and that Yates only carried out his orders in every detail.

and with 119 officers and men aboard, started on a reconnoissance, piloted by a negro who was well acquainted with the river. Conover scanned the shores closely as the Smith steamed onward. They seemed as deserted and harmless as they were before. At about 4:30 the Smith stopped at a point just above the Grimball place on James Island, dropped her anchor and swung to the tide. For once the Union Commander had gone too far and taken too much for granted. While the anchor of the Smith was sinking in the mud of Stono River Col. Yates's first battery, just below her, and commanding the way back, was uncovered. Where there had been a row of innocent worthless negro cabins was now a row of shotted guns, the first of which at once opened fire. Before the Smith could slip her cable and get under way the whole battery was banging at the propeller. The men of the Smith manned their batteries promptly, but while they were busy delivering their first responses from port another concealed battery on John's Island opened upon them. Lieut. Conover urged on his men, appealed to engineer and pilot to do their best, and stimulated the gunner in charge of the big Parrott bow gun. At least there was a chance to run by.

The Smith was scarcely more than under headway with her bow down stream when there was an explosion, a cloud of steam, a sudden loss of headway, a swerving of the vessel's bow toward shore, and the prospect of destruction, for the fire of some twenty or thirty guns was now directed toward the Smith, shot were ripping through her frail defenses, her men were being picked off by sharpshooters, one of whom already had killed the pilot, and with a hole in the steam chimney the vessel could not be handled so as to make her batteries effective. There was but one thing to do. Col. Yates called out from shore:

"SURRENDER, AND SEND A BOAT ASHORE!"

"Surrender, and send a boat ashore with the commanding officer." The decks of the Smith were covered with wounded men, so hot had been the rifle fire in the short spurt she had made to escape. To blow up the vessel would be to sacrifice life needlessly. To get away was impossible. The white flag was sent up.

In two of her own perforated boats the first instalment of the officers and men of the Smith went ashore, as Col. Yates had predicted they would when he besought Beauregard's patronage for his enterprise. While other boatloads were being landed the McDonough appeared, but a long way off down the river. She fired some shot from her 100-pounder. She made efforts to destroy the Smith, when she grounded, but she was too far away, darkness was coming on, and there were undeveloped dangers along shore. She went back to Stono Bar to report the disaster to Flag Officer Du Pont.

Lieut. Conover and his men, who had been captured, were sent to Charleston and put in jail, and the officers were held until exchanged. Col. Yates and his officers took dinner on board the Smith soon after her surrender.

A gifted northern writer declares this extraordinary performance unique in the annals of war, and holds that, "Col. Yates was the only officer of land forces who succeeded in the attempt to make a war vessel surrender to land batteries."

CONFEDERATE IRON-CLADS ATTACK UNION FLEET

Early in the morning following the capture of the Isaac Smith, the Confederate armored ships Palmetto State and Chicora, which

had been built mainly by James M. Eason in Charleston shipyards, boldly slipped over the harbor bar and headed for the Union fleet, for the purpose of engaging its vessels at close quarters and ramming and shelling them. The iron-clad rams were in command of Flag Officer and Commodore D. N. Ingraham, under whom were the naval forces in Charleston harbor, the Palmetto State carrying his flag. The captain of the flag-ship was Lieutenant-Commander John Rutledge and the Chicora was in command of Captain J. R. Tucker.

After crossing the bar, the Palmetto State went under full steam for the nearest Union vessel seen at anchor, which proved to be the Mercedita. Although the Federal gunners had been ordered to fire, the Confederate iron-clad was in action before them, simultaneously ramming the Mercedita and sending a seven-inch shell diagonally through the ship, damaging the boiler. The shell exploded in the opposite side of the ship, tearing a large hole. The vessel was instantly filled and enveloped with steam and, being in a defenseless and sinking condition, its captain surrendered, with his crew of 158.

NARROW ESCAPE OF KEYSTONE STATE

In the meantime, the companion iron-clad, the Chicora, had engaged and partially disabled a Union propeller and side-wheeled steamer, as well as the blockader, the Keystone State. She put to sea in order to extinguish the conflagration caused by a shell from the Chicora and prepare for action. Not long afterward, the Keystone State returned to the attack, but her shells made no impression on the iron sides of the Confederate boat. A shell from the Chicora, however, destroyed the steam chimneys of the Union boat, and as the steaming water from the boiler poured through the port holes, the fire which was believed to have been extinguished broke out again and she, too, surrendered. In the confusion and uncertainty as to the condition of the Keystone State, it withdrew out of the range of the iron-clad, was taken in tow by another steamer of the fleet and carried to Port Royal.

The Chicora also engaged other boats of the fleet, but as the iron-clads were slow, except when taking the enemy by surprise they were at a disadvantage in the offensive. Although the Mercedita and Keystone State had surrendered the Confederates had not seized the damaged boats. Both the Mercedita and the Keystone State eventually escaped to Port Royal. But the attack of the two iron-clads threw the Union fleet into such panic that it beat a general retreat to the south and east, with the slower enemy pursuing. So that by 8 o'clock on the morning of January 31st, Commodore Ingraham anchored the Palmetto State and the Chicora in the outer harbor of Charleston and reported that none of the Federal fleet was in sight.

RAISING OF BLOCKADE ONLY TEMPORARY

Temporarily, the blockade of the port was raised, which was formally proclaimed by General Beauregard and Commodore Ingraham; but the Union fleet returned, much strengthened, and the gun-boats withdrew to the inner defenses of Charleston.

It was contended by some of the Confederate authorities that there had been bad faith in retaining control of the Mercedita and Keystone State after they had surrendered, and that the blockade of Charleston was raised by this attack, but this contention being disputed the point was never sustained.

The next attempt against the strong and intricate system of fortresses guarding the approaches to the historic city was to be on a scale greater than hitherto planned, and to be prosecuted with naval engines of war which the world had never before known. It was to be a supreme test of the military merits of monitors, clad with armor the thickest, and bearing guns the most powerful of those times.

While the Confederates were attacking the Union gunboats off Charleston, the great naval movement against that important port was gathering headway at Port Royal and near Savannah. A minor test of the efficacy of monitors against land forts was being made by Admiral DuPont at Fort McAlister, not far from Savannah. Seven ironclad steamers, or monitors, constructed on a new model designed by the naval expert, Captain John Ericsson, and armed with the heaviest guns ever used, were sent to Port Royal to operate against Charleston. One of the three first dispatched, the original Monitor, foundered at sea off Cape Hatteras, and the other two, after narrowly escaping the same fate, made Port Royal early in January, 1863. They were joined later by the Passaic, Patapsco and Nahant and other monitors of the same type, except the Keokuk which was double turreted.

LAND FORCES IN CHARLESTON DISTRICT

At the beginning of April, the Federals were concentrating in the Stono and North Edisto for another attempt to take Charleston. The land attack was to be for the possession of Morris island, by way of Folly Island, the objective being Fort Sumter. Major General Hunter, commanding the department of the South, had an aggregate land force of more than 23,000 men, and General Beauregard, in command of the department of South Carolina and Georgia, had nearly as many effectives for the defense of Charleston and the Carolina coast. In the forts and batteries and on the islands immediately surrounding Charleston harbor, the effective Confederate force amounted to nearly 13,000.

As events proved, the land forces of neither Confederates nor Federals played any part in the coming assault on Fort Sumter. On the 6th of April, the steam frigate, the New Ironsides, Admiral DuPont's flagship, with eight monitors, lay off the bar, and on the morning of the 7th, having crossed, were lying off the south end of Morris island.

UNION FLEET MOVES AGAINST FORT SUMTER

The Federal fleet moved to the attack at 2 o'clock P. M. of that day, steaming up Ship channel, "line ahead," or in single file, as follows: Weehawken, Passaic, Montauk, Patapsco, New Ironsides, Kaatskill, Nantucket, Nahant and the Keokuk. A squadron of vessels, consisting of the Canandaigua, Housatonic, Huron, Unadilla and Wissahickon, was held in reserve outside the bar and near the entrance, in readiness to support the ironclads in the proposed attack on the Morris island batteries, after Fort Sumter should fall.

Commanders were ordered by Admiral DuPont to pass the Morris island batteries, Wagner and Gregg, without returning their fire, unless specially signaled to do so. They were directed to take position to the north and west of Sumter, within about eight hundred yards, and fire low at the central embrasures.

FAIR TEST OF MONITORS AGAINST FORTS

The New Ironsides, in the center of the advancing column, carried fourteen 11-inch guns and two 150-pounder Parrott rifles; the Patapsco, one 15-inch and one 150-pounder Parrott rifle; the Keokuk, two 11-inch guns, and the others, one 15-inch and one 11-inch gun each. The Confederates had sixty-nine guns of various caliber in action, but only forty-one of them, exclusive of mortars, were above the caliber of 32-pounders. The armament of the fleet altogether was thirty-two guns (eight of which it seems, were not fired) of 8, 11 and 18-inch caliber, which, at a single discharge, could throw nearly as great a weight of metal as could the land batteries. So that the test between monitors and forts was conducted under as fair terms as was possible.

As the fleet moved ahead in battle line through the smooth waters of the bay, the raft attached to the Weehawken, the advance of the column, exploded a torpedo, which lifted the monitor somewhat, but did not disable her. Shortly before the long roll was beat in Fort Sumter, the garrison, regimental and palmetto flags were hoisted and saluted by thirteen guns, the band playing the national air, "Dixie." The great battle between the most powerful naval guns and the strongest fortress in America was on.

THE FEARFUL NAVAL ENGAGEMENT

The following graphic picture of the engagement is drawn by General Samuel Jones in his "Siege of Charleston": "A few minutes before 3 o'clock P. M., the leading monitor (the Weehawken) having approached to within about two thousand yards of Fort Moultrie, the action was opened by a shot from that fort, fired by its commander, Colonel William Butler. Three minutes later, the leading monitor, when about fifteen hundred yards from Sumter, fired two guns simultaneously. Then Sumter opened, firing by battery. The action became general and for more than two hours nearly a hundred guns, on land and water, many of them of the heaviest caliber yet used, were in rapid action.

"It was a calm and balmy day in spring—the season of greatest natural beauty and luxuriance in that mild region. It was the season at which Charleston had been wont to present its most attractive phase, when the wealthy planters and their families had not yet been driven by the heat from their city homes and when the hotels were most crowded with visitors from the North. In strong contrast to the picture of tranquil pleasure and enjoyment, in a mild, delicious climate, which the city had formerly presented at this season, was the scene of strained excitement and anxiety on this day of the attack on the harbor defenses of Charleston. From every point of view in the city the eyes of many thousands of spectators were riveted on the grand and imposing spectacle. The church steeples, roofs, windows and piazzas of the houses on the Battery were crowded with eager, breathless witnesses of this bombardment, the precursor of a siege which was to arouse in the people there assembled and those whom they represented, every high and patriotic hope, every reserve of courage and endurance, the sublimest exercise of patience and submission.

"From the blockading fleet and transports off the bar, this trial of strength and endurance between forts and ships, the latter brought to the highest point of precision and destructive power, was wit-

nessed by other anxious spectators, who confidently anticipated a brilliant victory for the fleet, with feelings scarcely less intense than those of the people in the city, who fully realized the importance to them of the events which hung upon the issue.

"Through the thunder of the artillery ran the heavy thud of the huge shells as they pounded the brick walls of Sumter and the sharp metallic ring and crash of the shot and shells as they struck the iron turrets and casings of the monitors, tearing away the iron plates, crashing through the sides and decks, or shivering into fragments by the concussion, and falling then in showers about the deck or into the water.

"The ironclads came into action in succession, and though the engagement lasted about two hours and twenty minutes, from thirty

SOUTH BATTERY STREET OVERLOOKING CHARLESTON HARBOR.

to forty-five minutes exposure to the fire of the forts and batteries sufficed to put the vessels hors de combat."

DAMAGE OF THE MONITORS IN DETAIL

As the leaders of the Federal fleet came into action, Fort Sumter, and her supporting batteries concentrated their fire. The Weehawken, in the advance, was struck fifty-three times—a part of her side armor ripped to pieces, her deck pierced and her turret so shaken and wrenched that it would revolve with difficulty. The turret of the Passaic was battered to pieces by the fire from the fort, early in the action, so that it was withdrawn from the battle as useless. Its commander reported that "the monitors were no match for the forts." The Montauk suffered less than the others, but its brief engagement convinced its captain that "Charleston cannot be taken by the naval force now present, and that had the attack continued it could not have failed to result in disaster." The Patapsco had her main gun put out of action and her turret rendered almost useless, and retired out of range of the concentrated fire of Sumter and the Sullivan's island batteries.

BATTERED MONITORS TURN SEAWARD

These four leading monitors turned seaward, and threw the entire line into confusion, so much so that the flagship, the *New Ironsides*, came into collision with two of the monitors and was obliged to anchor twice to prevent running ashore. She could not fire on Fort Sumter without great risk of injuring the intervening monitors, but was detained at a distance of about a mile from Fort Sumter and subjected to a heavy fire which could not be returned. The *New Ironsides* was, however, less damaged than the monitors, because she required a greater depth of water than they and was, therefore, forced to keep at a greater distance from the batteries.

The rear vessels of the fleet shared substantially the beating suffered by those in advance. The commander of the *Nantucket*, which was under the fire of three forts for some forty-five minutes, after paying his tribute to the Confederate marksmanship, concludes "I must say that I am disappointed beyond measure at this experience of monitors overcoming strong forts. It was a fair trial."

THE MONITOR NAHANT CRIPPLED

The *Nahant* and *Keokuk*, the two monitors which originally occupied the rear of the naval column, suffered as severely as any under fire, the latter being finally sunk. Commander John Downs, of the *Nahant*, has given a detailed account of his experience, which was so terrific that he believed himself at the time to be under the fire of one hundred guns. The blows from heavy shot very soon so jammed the turret that it could not be turned, thus stopping his fire. The concussion of a heavy shot on the pilot house forced off on the inside a piece of iron weighing seventy-eight pounds, and drove it with such violence that in its course to the other side it came in contact with the steering gear, bending and disarranging it so that it could not be worked.

Bolt-heads were forced off and driven in showers about the pilot house and turret, one of them mortally wounding the quartermaster and the other knocking down the pilot senseless, leaving the commander himself alone in the pilot house. His vessel was struck thirty-six times, the iron plating was broken in several places, and in some stripped from the wood backing, which was broken. Commander Downs describes the effects of the shot more minutely than the other captains to draw attention to the weak points of the monitors for the benefit of future builders of such vessels. After repeated and futile efforts to train his guns on the fort and renew the action, he abandoned the effort and withdrew.

SINKING OF THE KEOKUK

* The *Keokuk* was the rear vessel of the line. Her commander, A. C. Rhind, becoming impatient of the long delay, passed not only the *Ironsides* but the vessels ahead of him, and, defiantly directing his prow toward Sumter, approached nearer than any other vessel had done, firing as he advanced and drawing on the *Keokuk* the concentrated fire of Sumter, Moultrie, Bee and the battery on Cummings Point. But he was permitted to fire only three shots.

* General Samuel Jones's "Siege of Charleston."

Commander Rhind's daring gallantry in carrying his vessel so far into action was only equaled by the frankness and brevity with which he officially reported the result, viz: "The position taken by the Keokuk was maintained for about thirty minutes, during which period she was struck ninety times in the hull and turrets. Nineteen shots pierced through, at and just below the water line. The turrets were pierced in many places; one of the forward port shutters shot away; in short, the vessel was completely riddled. Finding it impossible to keep her afloat many minutes more under such an extraordinary fire, during which rifle projectiles of every species and the largest caliber, as also hot shot, were poured into us, I reluctantly withdrew from action at 4:40 P. M., with the gun carriage of the forward turret disabled and so many of the crew of the after gun wounded as to prevent a possibility of remaining under fire. I succeeded in getting the Keokuk to an anchor out of range of fire, and kept her afloat during the night in the smooth water, though the water was pouring into her in many places." In the morning the water became a little ruffled, and she sank at her anchorage off Morris island, her smoke-stack only partially protruding above the water to show her position. Her crew, with the killed and wounded, were taken off and transferred to other vessels.

At 4:30 P. M., Admiral DuPont signaled the fleet to withdraw, intending to renew the attack the next day. In half an hour the crippled vessels were pointed seaward following the flagship, and soon anchored out of range of Fort Sumter and the land artillery. During the evening of the 7th, the commanders of the ironclads went aboard the New Ironsides and verbally reported to the Admiral the events of the engagement and the condition of their vessels. These statements decided him not to renew the attack and the following day he sent a dispatch to the secretary of the navy.

DUPONT SAYS MONITORS WERE "MISERABLE FAILURES"

In that official communication Admiral DuPont reports as follows: "I yesterday moved up with eight ironclads and this ship (the New Ironsides) and attacked Fort Sumter, intending to pass it and commence action on its northwest face, in accordance with my order of battle. The heavy fire received from it and Fort Moultrie, and the nature of the obstructions, compelled the attack from the outside. It was fierce and obstinate, and the gallantry of the officers and men of the vessels engaged was conspicuous. This vessel could not be brought into such close action as I endeavored to get her. Owing to the narrow channel and rapid current, she became partly unmanageable, and was twice forced to anchor to prevent her going ashore, once owing to her having come into collision with two of the monitors. She could not get nearer than one thousand yards. Owing to the condition of the tide and an unavoidable accident, I had been compelled to delay action until in the afternoon, and toward evening, finding no impression made upon the fort, I made a signal to withdraw the ships, intending to renew the attack this morning.

"But the commanders of the monitors came on board and reported verbally the injuries of their vessels, when without hesitation or consultation (for I never hold councils of war) I determined not to renew the attack, for in my judgment it would have converted a failure into a disaster, and I will only add that Charleston cannot be taken by a purely naval attack, and the army could give me no co-operation."

In reply to a complimentary letter from General Hunter, who had witnessed the action in a transport steamer, the Admiral said: "I feel very comfortable, General, for the reason that a merciful Providence permitted me to have a failure, instead of a disaster." Elsewhere he writes: "I attempted to take the bull by the horns, but he was too much for us. These monitors are miserable failures where forts are concerned; the longest was one hour, and the others, forty-five minutes under fire, and five of the eight were wholly or partially disabled."

COMPARATIVE FATALITIES

Notwithstanding that the Confederates fired, during the bombardment, 2,206 shots and consumed 21,093 pounds of powder, and the fleet fired 139 shots with the expenditure of nearly 5,000 pounds, and that during the 140 minutes of the engagement the heaviest fire occurred which had ever been delivered in so brief an engagement, the losses on both sides amounted to only one man killed and twenty-two wounded among the men of the fleet and four killed and ten wounded among the Confederates. Five men were wounded by fragments of masonry and wood in Fort Sumter, and three were killed and five wounded in Fort Wagner by the accidental explosion of an ammunition chest.

As to the physical damage to Fort Sumter, it was ascertained after the bombardment that its walls were struck by about thirty-four of the heavy shot from the fleet. Two 15-inch shells penetrated the eastern face near an embrasure of the second tier, one exploding in the casement and the other in the middle of the fort. One 11-inch shot also penetrated the wall. The carriage of a 10-inch columbiad was demolished and a 42-pounder was dismounted, both of which were promptly remounted and made ready for action.

By the 12th of April, the surviving monitors had been taken to Port Royal or sent north for repairs, and the *New Ironsides*, much damaged, was being repaired at her moorings on the blockading line outside the bar.

VICTORY OF FORTS OVER IRONCLADS

The brilliant victory of the forts over the much-dreaded ironclad fleet was celebrated on every hand and the gallant commanders of batteries, their officers and their men, were the boast and the toast of the day. The Legislature being in session at the time passed, amid much enthusiasm, a joint resolution of thanks to the officers and men for the gallant defense of Charleston "against the onset of the foe," and hailed their achievement as the bright harbinger of a still more glorious victory.

PERSONNEL OF CHARLESTON'S DEFENDERS

The forts and batteries engaged in the defense of Charleston, with their commanders and garrisons were as follows: Fort Sumter was garrisoned by seven companies of the First South Carolina regular artillery and its commander was Colonel Alfred Rhett. Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph A. Yates was in charge of the barbette guns and Major Ormsby Blanding, of the casement batteries.

Fort Moultrie was garrisoned by a detachment of the First South Carolina regular infantry, drilled as artillery and commanded by

Colonel William Butler; Major T. M. Baker, second in command. Five companies were engaged, including one battery of mortars.

Battery Bee was garrisoned by another detachment of the First South Carolina and commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Simkins, and Battery Beauregard was in charge of Captain J. A. Sitgreaves.

From the reports afterward made by the general officers identified with the defense of Fort Sumter, the following statements made by Major D. B. Harris, chief engineer, are illuminating: "Our batteries were admirably served by our skilled artillerymen. Much of the rapidity and accuracy with which the heavy guns were fired was due to the use of Colonel Yates's traverser, with the merits of which the general commanding has been fully impressed. * * * The sinking of the Keokuk and the discomfiture of the other ironclads have established their vulnerability to our heavy projectiles at a range, say, of from 900 to 1,200 yards."

"OPENED AN EPOCH" IN IRON-CLAD WARFARE

Says General R. S. Ripley, the commander of the district which embraced the Charleston district: "In this, the first trial of the Abolition fleet against brick fortifications and their first attempt to enter the harbor of Charleston, in which they were beaten before their adversaries thought the action had well commenced, they were opposed by 76 pieces in all, including mortars. While service in immediate action is that which is most conspicuous, after such a result as has been accomplished, the greatest credit is due to that long, patient and laborious preparation by which our works and material, never originally intended to withstand such an attack as has been encountered, have been so resecured as to enable our gallant and well-instructed officers and men to obtain their end with comparatively small loss. In that preparation, the late Lieutenant-Colonel T. M. Wagner contributed much on both sides of the channel, and Colonel Rhett, Lieutenant-Colonel Yates, Major Blanding and other officers of Fort Sumter, have been more or less engaged since the fort fell into our hands two years ago."

William Swinton, a singularly fair northern writer, who was an eye witness, quoting the remark of Sir Howard Douglass that "there is no telling what gun-powder can do," adds: "The Rebel artillery practice certainly drew on its resources to an extent hitherto unparalleled in warfare. * * * As one of the leading actions of the great rebellion the battle of Charleston harbor passes into history and takes its place there. As a contribution to the world's experience in the art of iron-clad warfare it passes into science and opens an epoch there."

FEDERAL AND CONFEDERATE RAIDS

For two months after the repulse of the Federal fleet from the harbor of Charleston, the operations of the Confederates were confined to surprise attacks upon the Union gunboats and pickets, and the movements of the Union forces, to raids up the river and the destruction of the property of the planters.

In April, 1863, Captain Stephen Elliott attacked and destroyed the United States steamer Washington, which was on the Coosaw river, and about the same time a Confederate force, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dargan routed some enemy pickets on Folly Island. One of the Union raiding parties steamed up the Combahee, on the 2d of June, burned four fine residences with all their valuable contents and

six rice mills, carrying off seven hundred negroes. Later in the month, a Union gunboat raid on Bluffton, on the May river, resulted in the burning of the larger portion of the town. These were known on the Union side as the Hunter raids and were actively conducted by Colonel Montgomery.

The prime objects of the Federal raids is succinctly described by General Hunter, commanding the department to the secretary of war, as follows: "This expedition is but the initial experiment of a system of incursions which will penetrate up all the inlets, creeks and rivers of this department, and to be used in which I am now having several of our light draught transport steamers supplied with bulwarks of boiler iron, etc. * * * Colonel Montgomery, with his forces, will repeat his incursions as rapidly as possible in different directions, injuring the enemy all he can and carrying away their slaves, thus rapidly filling up the South Carolina regiments in the departments, of which there are now four. * The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts regiment (colored), Colonel Shaw commanding, arrived today in good condition, and appears to be an excellent regiment, over 900 strong. They will soon have abundant and very important employment, as well as all other regiments, white or colored, that may be sent to reinforce this department."

SOUTH CAROLINA AT CHANCELLORSVILLE

Before the Federal fleet returned to the assault on Fort Sumter and the Charleston defenses, South Carolina troops were to play a leading part in one of the great Confederate victories of the war upon the blood-soaked soil of Virginia. The division of R. H. Anderson and the brigades of McGowan and Kershaw adding to their memorable record in the final assault of the great battle of Chancellorsville. South Carolinians were in the front line of battle when Stonewall Jackson made the initial advance against Hooker's right—one of those characteristic rushes which cost him his life.

"Jackson's front line," says one of the authors of the Military History, "was led by Rodes, and so impetuous was the attack and so complete the surprise, that the divisions of Howard were at once thrown into confusion and soon into rout. Rodes pressed up the road and through the forest, followed by Colston and then by Hill, the great Jackson directing the advance.

"It was known that the enemy had a fortified line at the Talley house and a second at Melzi Chancellor's house. Jackson's order was to carry the position at Talley's and to move right on against the second at Chancellor's. Both were carried and the entire right of Hooker's line defeated and driven back to the heights of Chancellorsville.

"Now, late in the day, General Jackson ordered A. P. Hill's division to relieve the divisions of Rodes and Colston at the Chancellor house. It was at this juncture, while Hill's division was taking position, that General Jackson—he and his staff being mistaken in the darkness for Federal cavalry—was fired upon and mortally wounded. General A. P. Hill was afterward mortally wounded, and the command of Jackson's corps devolved upon General Rodes for a time. General Stuart was then summoned and the night of the 2d was spent by that active soldier in arranging for the morning's attack."

* The black regiment from Massachusetts, noted as having arrived in South Carolina, was soon to make a notable record in the historic assault on Fort Wagner.

At dawn on the 3d of June, Stuart moved against the Federal position, finally united with Lee's left wing commanded by R. H. Anderson, and at about 10 o'clock A. M. the two wings united in a grand assault which swept Hooker's army from the heights of Chancellorsville. Kershaw's brigade on the right with McLaws's division, and McGowan's brigade on the left, with Stuart's, were in the front line of the onset, and carried themselves to the extreme limit of the great victory. This glory on the battle field was earned only at costly sacrifice, as more than 550 of the sons of South Carolina were killed and wounded at Chancellorsville and in the engagement at Salem church on the following day (June 4, 1863), by which Lee drove the Federals over the Rappahannock.

SERVICES OF ANDERSON'S DIVISION

In the eight fateful days of the "Chancellorsville Campaign" Anderson's division played a pre-eminent role. The only division commander mentioned by Genl. Lee in his report is thus characterized: "Major General R. H. Anderson was also distinguished for the promptness, courage and skill with which he and his division executed every order." Col. C. I. Walker, the biographer of General Anderson, thus summarizes the signal services of his division:

"Their checking Hooker's advance from Chancellorsville, April 30th, which gave General Lee time to concentrate his army to meet the Federal advance. This saved General Lee from disaster and possible defeat.

"Their driving the enemy back within a mile of Chancellorsville on May 1st—for they led the advance.

"Genl. Anderson's sending Wright's brigade to flank the enemy and thus make possible his and McLaws's advance.

"Their steadying holding the front against overwhelming odds, while Jackson was making his flank movement.

"Their gallant assault which drove the enemy from their fortified positions around Chancellorsville on May 3d.

"Their determined and effective support of McLaws's division at Salem church resulting in the complete defeat of Sedgwick and the relief of Genl. Lee from a seriously threatened rear attack, which had it been successful would not only have snatched victory from Lee at Chancellorsville, but, perhaps, had involved Lee and his army and, perhaps, the entire Confederacy in most serious trouble."

OPERATIONS IN MISSISSIPPI

About a month before Chancellorsville had been fought and won by the Confederates, General Beauregard had sent two brigades to Mississippi to relieve General Pemberton, who was already being pressed by Grant's army between Jackson and Vicksburg. They were commanded by Brig. Genls. S. R. Gist and W. H. T. Walker and to each a light battery was attached. These two brigades were composed of Georgia and South Carolina troops, the Fourth Louisiana battalion being attached to Walker's brigade. The troops from South Carolina kept together under Genl. Gist, did not reach Jackson, Miss., until May 13th, Genl. J. E. Johnston arriving there by the same train. The situation in Mississippi as described by Capers, was most critical. Genl. Grant's army, between Jackson and Vicksburg, was holding the railroad at Clinton where McPherson's corps was encamped. Sherman's corps was between Jackson and Raymond, with Mc-

Clermand's corps in supporting distance. Genl. Pemberton was at Edwards depot with 17,000 men and Johnston did not have more than 6,000. In criticising the unfortunate campaign of Pemberton, it should not be forgotten that Grant's three corps numbered 45,000 well-fed effectives—almost two to one.

AN ARMY CORPS AGAINST A BRIGADE

The details of the fights, the marching and counter-marching, are too involved even for bare outline here. Colquitt's little brigade of 900 Confederates at Wright's Farm, which included the 24th South Carolina under Lieut. Col. Capers, held its own from 9 A. M. until 2 P. M. against the attacks of the Federal Seventeenth Army corps composed of three brigades with four light batteries. The heaviest loss was in the Twenty-fourth South Carolina which held its position longest and lost 105 men and officers. Lieut. Col. Capers was wounded and Lieut. A. F. Cunningham of Company F was killed. The Twenty-fourth Regiment followed the remainder of the brigade in retreat and joined Genl. Johnston's little army on the Canton Road. Writing from Canton on May 25th, to Genl. Beauregard, Genl. Gist said:

"None of the troops from your department reached Jackson in time for the affair at Raymond, and only two regiments of Genl. W. H. F. Walker's brigade * * * arrived in time to participate in the skirmish and evacuation of the city. I got within six miles, and was ordered back by Genl. Johnston with the remainder of Walker's and my own brigade. The only troops of my brigade engaged at Jackson were those mentioned above. * * * The Twenty-fourth Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Capers commanding, particularly distinguished themselves."

The situation in Mississippi had become so serious that additional troops were ordered from South Carolina and on May 15th, Secretary of War Seddon directed Genl. Beauregard to send Evans's brigade with all dispatch to Genl. Johnston. President Davis believed that 10,000 of all arms were sufficient for the protection of Charleston and the coast, and Evans's brigade was sent west against the protests of Governor Bonham, Mayor Macbeth of Charleston and Genl. Beauregard. By the time Evans reached Mississippi, assigned to the division of Genl. French, the disastrous battles of Baker's Creek and Big Black had been fought and lost by Pemberton, and Grant was investing Vicksburg with a largely increased army.

THE FALL OF VICKSBURG

General Pemberton was finally shut up in Vicksburg and General Johnston, whose army included Gist's brigade (embracing the South Carolina regiments), hastened to relieve him, but Grant's superior numbers and strength of artillery prevented him from accomplishing that purpose. While Johnston was reconnoitering for any position from which he dare make an assault upon the Union forces, Vicksburg capitulated (July 3, 1863), about two weeks later was forced from his fortified line before Jackson. In all these movements, the South Carolina regiments participated with credit, although most of the operations under Pendleton were anything but successful.

THE WAR ON THE CAROLINA COAST

The names and deeds of many who fought in the War of Secession have been forgotten or are now only faint memories, "their

swords are dust;" but it is a relief even now, to the Southerner, fifty years later, to turn from the long array of bloody defeats in the west to the war in the east where the banner with the stars and bars though torn was still flying and "stormed like a thunder-cloud against the wind."

The failure of Admiral DuPont to make any real impression on Fort Sumter, or the defenses of Charleston, and of General Hunter, directing the land forces, to accomplish anything more than a marauding campaign against the planters of South Carolina, induced Washington to relieve them both. Rear Admiral J. A. Dahlgren displaced DuPont, and Brigadier-General Q. A. Gillmore succeeded Hunter, and plans were advanced by which the next attack upon the Charleston defenses should be based upon a co-ordination of the fleet and the land forces.

CAMPAIGN FOR MORRIS ISLAND

The approach to Fort Sumter by way of the coast islands was across Morris island, which lies for more than three miles along the main ship channel, its north end, Cummings point, being only three quarters of a mile south by east of Fort Sumter, the key to Charleston. It was a foregone conclusion shared by military leaders, whether Federal or Confederate, that if a frontal assault by the fleet was to give place to a combined investment by the land and sea forces, the first step must be the occupation of Morris island.

With the repulse of the Federal fleet in April, General Hunter had left a brigade of Union soldiers, with light artillery and some cavalry, on Folly island, south of Morris island. James island across an inlet and west of Morris, was occupied by a small force of Confederates, but the command on Folly island had been so cleverly concealed that its real strength was, at the time, unknown. Beauregard, who as early as March had commenced to fortify the extreme south end of Morris island, did not dare to risk an engagement with the Federals on Folly island, with the depleted forces at his command.

In view both of the inadequacy of manual laborers, as well as of soldiers, the work of putting Morris island in a state of defense, to resist even an attack on a small scale, progressed so slowly that General Ripley, toward the end of May, was calling attention to the fact with evident apprehension. And this, although neither Beauregard nor Ripley expected an attack other than by boat howitzers and rifle guns of light batteries, covering an advance by infantry landing in small boats.

COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF FORCES

In the meantime, General Gillmore was preparing for operations on quite a different scale. From his headquarters at Hilton Head, at the mouth of Port Royal sound, he dispatched two divisions of Federal troops to join the brigade on Folly island. The first landed on the 6th of July and the second, soon afterward.

The presence of this portentous force soon became known to General Beauregard, who telegraphed to President Davis, on the 9th, that thirty-eight Federal vessels and five monitors lay off the bar at the mouth of the Stono. At noon he notified both the President and Governor Bonham that "an attack on Sumter along Folly and Morris islands is evidently imminent." The various commanders of the military districts both in South Carolina and at Savannah were asked for support. News of the impending attack had been brought to

Beauregard through the gallant reconnoissances of Captain C. T. Haskell, who commanded a company of the First South Carolina Infantry, which was a portion of the weak force which had been organized by the Confederates at the south end of Morris island.

In comparison with the two Federal divisions and imposing fleet of transports and monitors organized by General Gillmore to assault Fort Sumter, the expression "weak" seems inadequate. More in detail, Beauregard had eleven guns in position, in detached batteries, with rifle pits in front, covering Oyster Point. The guns were manned by two hundred artillerists from the First Regulars under Capts. John C. Mitchell and J. Ravenel Macbeth. The infantry supports comprised four hundred men of the Twenty-first, under Major G. W. McIver, and the First South Carolina company commanded by Captain Haskell;—six hundred and fifty men in all!

There were also two batteries on Morris island. At Cummings Point opposite Fort Sumter was Battery Gregg, mounting the heaviest guns in the department. It was named in honor of Brigadier-General Maxcy Gregg. Three quarters of a mile south, across a narrow neck of the island was planted Battery Wagner (named after Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas M. Wagner). The battery mounted two heavy guns on the sea face and some dozen on the south and west faces. They were protected by a strong sand earthwork, which stretched from shore to shore for about 280 yards. The magazine was bomb-proof, well-built traverses protected the guns from the sea fire, and the salients of the works were flanked by both infantry and howitzer fire. The barbette guns of Sumter, a mile and a half distant, commanded the immediate approaches of Fort Wagner from the south, while from the parapet of Sumter with a good glass, Morris island for its entire length was in plain view.* It was evident that Fort Wagner was more the key to Sumter than Battery Gregg.

CONFEDERATES CONTEST FEDERAL LANDING

At daylight, on the morning of July 10, 1863, General Gillmore opened fire on the detached batteries and small supporting forces placed by the Confederates at the south end of Morris island. He had forty-seven guns in masked batteries, the guns on four monitors and a brigade of infantry with which to make the initial assault. The magnitude of the attack was an overwhelming surprise, but the eleven Confederate guns replied pluckily and, after withstanding two hours of a sadly unequal bombardment, those who were left to serve the few unmounted pieces of artillery bravely contested the landing of the Federal brigade.

Captain Haskell was killed, sword in hand at the head of his company; Captain J. R. Macbeth, of the First regulars, was badly wounded and taken prisoner, and Lieutenants John S. Bee and T. H. Dalrymple were both slain.

For the Confederates the contest was evidently hopeless, but for hours they waged it with determination, losing, in killed, wounded and missing—183 in the Twenty-first South Carolina, 12 in Captain Haskell's company and 100 in the artillery.

RETREAT TO FORT WAGNER

With the loss of the south end of Morris Island, Colonel Graham ordered a retreat on Fort Wagner, which was covered by Nelson's

* Ellison Capers's: "Confederate Military History."
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South Carolina battalion. In this retrograde movement, the Confederates were harassed by the four Union monitors which steamed along the shores of the island showering them with 15-inch shell and grapeshot.

General Gillmore then reinforced the Union forces who occupied the south end of the island, and with another considerable command made such a demonstration on James island as to make it doubtful for a time as to his ultimate purpose. The concentration of Federals became hourly more strong on Morris island, and during the night of the 10th Beauregard threw 1,000 infantry and 200 artillerymen into the garrison at Fort Wagner. These reinforcements included a number of Georgians under Colonel Olmstead. These were assembled for the defense of the fort:

Infantry: Twenty-first South Carolina, Major McIver; Seventh South Carolina Battalion, Major J. H. Rion; Company D First South Carolina Regular Infantry, Lieut. J. M. Horlbeck; four companies First Georgia, Col. C. H. Olmstead; four companies Twelfth Georgia Battalion, Lieut. Col. H. D. Capers; three companies Eighteenth Georgia Battalion, Major W. L. Bassinger.

Artillery: Detachments of Companies E, I and H, First South Carolina Regular artillery, Capt. J. C. Mitchel; Gist Guard, Capt. C. E. Chichester; and the Matthews Artillery, Capt. J. R. Matthews. Lieut. Col. Joseph A. Yates commanded the batteries, and Colonel Graham the fort.

FIRST ASSAULT ON WAGNER

At dawn of July 11, 1863, the assault on Fort Wagner was commenced by Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Maine troops, with two New Hampshire regiments in reserve. The Georgia troops were at the left of the supporting line, and opened the fire of the infantry upon the Connecticut men, who were in the advance of the assaulting column. The Connecticut troops broke before the fierce fire of canister and musketry which was poured into their ranks; the Pennsylvanians first fell upon their faces and then advanced to the center of the fort and the Maine boys gallantly charged. But all to no purpose. The entire attack was finally repulsed with a loss to the Federals of 8 officers and 322 non-commissioned officers and privates. Colonel Graham lost 1 officer and 5 privates killed and 1 officer and 5 soldiers wounded. Captain C. Werner, of the First Georgia, was the officer killed, and all the casualties in the fort were among the Georgia troops.

The day preceding the assault on Fort Wagner, Captain Langdon Cheves, its accomplished engineer and builder, was killed in the fort by the bursting of a shell thrown by one of the Union monitors lying in the channel a mile away.

FEDERAL RAIDING FLEET REPULSED

General Gillmore's attempt to cut the railroad at Jacksonboro, through Colonel T. Wentworth Higginson, commanding a regiment of recently enlisted negroes, was a failure, as one of the three armed steamers which had ascended the South Edisto for the purpose was surprised by a section of Confederate artillery and burned to the water's edge. All were turned down the river, the two which escaped being badly crippled. The loss to the expedition was several men killed and wounded and the destruction of the steamer, as noted,

and its net gain the capture of about a hundred negroes and several bales of cotton, as well as the burning of several barns and the pillaging of a number of residences.

BATTERY WAGNER STRENGTHENED

On July 14, 1863, when Colonel Graham had been succeeded in the Confederate command of Morris island by General W. B. Taliaferro, who had commanded one of Jackson's corps in northern Virginia, active steps were taken to defend Battery Wagner, at all hazards, against other Federal assaults. Two thirds of Morris island was now in possession of the enemy, but Beauregard held Batteries Wagner and Gregg, the outposts of Fort Sumter. Fresh and stronger troops were thrown into Fort Wagner, at night, the Confederate outposts extended, and the mortar batteries actively directed against the Union working parties who were throwing up intrenchments on the island, and the monitors anchored in the sea channel.

For three days the bombardment from the fleet did little damage to Fort Wagner, but on the morning of July 18th, the land batteries of the Federal troops in front and all the available guns of the Ironsides, five monitors and five gunboats, on the flank, opened a concentrated fire on the little fortress lying across Morris Island. Thirty-six pieces of the most powerful artillery of that day, 10-inch mortars and 10, 20 and 30 pounder Parrott rifles bombarded Fort Wagner from morning to night and other smaller guns joined in the chorus. Batteries Wagner and Gregg, those on James island, and the guns of Sumter and Moultrie replied, but the fire from the island and Moultrie was so far out of range as to be ineffective. The artillery duel was heaviest at about midday, and for nearly eight hours about one hundred guns were in action. The Charleston battalion under Colonel Peter C. Gaillard and Major David Ramsay, was especially marked for its fearless conduct. Genl. Taliaferro refers to their "heroic intrepidity never surpassed."

At about 7:45, as night was coming on, General Seymour formed his column of three brigades for the assault. The division was formed on the beach and moved to the front, its brigades being commanded by Brigadier-General Strong, Brigadier-General Stevenson and Colonel Putnam. The Federals comprised troops from New York, Pennsylvania, Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Ohio. Massachusetts was represented in the assaulting column by the famous negro regiment, the Fifty-fourth, commanded by a gallant white officer, Colonel Robert G. Shaw.

THE BRAVE BLACK REGIMENT IN FRONT

According to the official report of General Seymour, General Strong's brigade was to lead, with the Massachusetts regiment of colored troops in front; Colonel Putnam promptly to support General Strong "if it became necessary." Stevenson's brigade was held in reserve. The hour of twilight was selected "to prevent accurate firing by the enemy," and the bayonet alone was to be used by the assailants. General Seymour adds: "The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, a colored regiment of excellent character, well officered, with full ranks, that had conducted itself commendably a few days previously on James Island was placed in front. Then the First brigade launched forth. It had not moved far, before the fort, liberated somewhat from the presence of our fire, opened with rapid discharges of grape and

canister and its parapet was lit by a living line of musketry. More than half the distance was well passed when, present myself with the column, I saw that to overcome such resistance, overpowering force must be employed."

General Seymour was wounded early in the advance of Strong's brigade, which, as a mass, was obliged to retire, although detached portions of the Forty-eight New York and the Sixth Connecticut were endeavoring to scale the parapet and had even reached the interior of one of the salients. Volunteers from a North Carolina regiment and the Charleston battalion confined the brave Yankees there, and afterward a Georgia regiment made them prisoners.

THE FINAL REPULSE

These fragments of Strong's brigade being powerless, and the command as a whole having retired, General Seymour ordered up Colonel Putnam's supporting brigade. Although the fire from the fort also broke this assaulting column, its commander led its survivors against the left bastion, which, with about a hundred of his men, he finally entered. Here he was killed, most of his brigade retreating from the fort along the beach. It appears that General Stevenson, the third brigade commander, in spite of two orders, refused to follow Putnam, in the face of such fearful odds.

The final repulse from Fort Wagner is thus described by General Taliaferro, the Confederate commander: "As the enemy advanced, they were met by a shower of grape and canister from our guns, and a terrible fire of musketry from the Charleston battalion and the Fifty-first North Carolina. These two commands gallantly maintained their position and drove the enemy back quickly from their front with immense slaughter. In the meantime, the advance, pushing forward, entered the ditch and ascended the work at the extreme left salient of the land face and occupied it. I at once ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Gaillard to keep up a severe enfilading fire to his left, and directed the field pieces on the left of the fort outside the sally-port to direct their fire to the right, so as to sweep the ditch and exterior slope of that part of the work thus occupied, thus preventing the escape or reenforcement of the enemy at that point. The main body of the enemy, after a vain effort to pass over our field of fire, retreated under the fire of our artillery and the shells of Fort Sumter."

PLUCK OF WARLEY, MATHEWS AND PORCHER

Two notable events during the siege of Wagner illustrative of the pluck and daring of the Carolinians of the 60's were the capture of a Federal picket and an armed launch of one of the blockaders. Lieut. Commander Alexander F. Warley, of the Chicora, with a launch and crew, and Capt. M. H. Sellers with a detachment of the 25th South Carolina in boats, the whole under the guidance of J. Fraser Mathews, attacked and captured a picket post which Genl. Gillmore had established at the mouth of Vincent's Creek on the James Island side.

The night following, Lieut. Philip Porcher, C. S. N., on the unarmed steamer Juno, with a crew armed with rifles, was out along Morris Island reconnoitering the fleet. Encountering an armed launch of the Frigate Wabash, Porcher ran her down, attacked her crew with his rifles and received her surrender with most of the crew.

The launch was turned over to Commodore Tucker for his use in the harbor.

The gallant Porcher was afterward to go down on the *Juno* while en route to Nassau with a cargo of cotton for the Confederate Government.

CONFEDERATE AND FEDERAL OFFICERS KILLED

Among the Confederate officers killed in the defense of Fort Wagner were Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Simkins, chief of artillery, who was shot from the ramparts; Captain William H. Ryan, commander of the Irish volunteers of the Charleston battalion, who was killed while leading his men against the Connecticut and New York troops who had gained the southeast salient of the fort; Captain William T. Tatom, Major David Ramsay, a brilliant lawyer and scholar and grandson of the historian; and Captain Paul Hamilton Waring. Captains W. E. Stoney and H. D. D. Twiggs, members of General Taliaferro's staff, were severely wounded.

The total loss in the fort was 181 officers and privates killed, wounded and missing, and the Federals reported their total loss at 1,515 including the missing or captured. Major John Johnson estimating the total Federal loss at 2,000.

Among the slain on the Federal side were Brigadier-General G. C. Strong and Colonels H. S. Putnam (the brigade commander), J. L. Chatfield (colonel of the Sixth Connecticut) and Robert Gould Shaw (commander of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts regiment of colored troops).

Major Gilchrist describes the field of battle after the second costly assault upon Fort Wagner, designated, long afterward, by the colonel of the 104th Pennsylvania as "one of the strongest earthworks ever built" and which gave evidence "of the highest order of engineering ability." He says: "In the salient and on the ramparts they lay heaped and pent, in some places three deep. Among them Colonel Putnam, with the back of his head blown off; still the remarkable beauty of his face and form evoked from his victorious foes a sigh of pity. On the crest, with but a few of his 'sable troop' beside the flag he had vainly planted, was the corpse of the youthful Colonel Shaw."

Brevet Major General A. C. Voris thus concludes an address before the Ohio Commandry of the Loyal Legion in 1888:

"The blood that moistened that sterile, fever heated, historic island today cements in common brotherhood the heroism, devotion and national spirit that inspired the actors on both sides, all through that fearful but glowing tragedy."

PLUCK OF THE NEGRO UNDER WHITE LEADERS

When Colonel Shaw was killed at the assault on Fort Wagner, he was succeeded on the field by Captain Luis F. Emilio. Lieutenant-Colonel E. N. Hallowell, who succeeded to the permanent command, was badly wounded in the assault. Nearly thirty years afterward, Captain Emilio wrote a history of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry, which, at the insistence of the Boston publishers, was given the title, which the Confederates readily conceded as just, "A Brave Black Regiment."

Although not the first black troops to go into action, the Fifty-

fourth was the first regiment of colored soldiers raised in the northern states east of the Mississippi river, and its assault on Battery Wagner proved the metal of the negro soldier. The Black Regiment was faithful in other ways than in the thick of the assault. In the siege of Fort Wagner, the bombardment of Charleston, the investments of Morris and James islands, and the final reduction of the city by the sea, it acquitted itself with credit. In September, 1865, it was welcomed back to Boston with public demonstrations befitting its record.

As noted by the New York Tribune at the time, with the characteristic vigor and straightforwardness of Horace Greeley: "The true reason why Massachusetts singled out this regiment for particular honor is because it was the first colored regiment organized in the North, and was the one on whose good conduct depended for a long time the success of the whole experiment of arming black citizens in defense of the republic. It is not too much to say that if this Massachusetts Fifty-fourth had faltered when its trial came, two hundred thousand colored troops, for whom it was a pioneer, would never have been put into the field, or would not have been put in for another year; which would have been equivalent to protracting the war into 1866."

While the sack and destruction of Darien, Georgia (the "New Inverness" of Oglethorpe's time), and its conduct at Sumter during the march through South Carolina, are blots on the record of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, yet it may fairly be said that the conduct, in general, of the negro troops who fought in South Carolina during the War of Secession proved that, under white leadership, they make brave, dependable soldiers—especially good in the assault, or (as the phrase has been coined by the World War) as "shock troops."

GRADUAL INVESTMENT OF FORT WAGNER

After this signal failure of Union troops to carry Battery Wagner by storm, General Gillmore proceeded to lay siege to the fort by gradual approaches, or, as the process was known in War times, by "sapping," at the same time subjecting both Forts Wagner and Sumter to a continuous bombardment.

The records of Major Johnson, chief engineer at Fort Sumter, show that on July 20th, the fort was subjected to a combined attack by the batteries on land and water, and that three days later the Union sappers had opened their second parallel of underground trenches, or tunnels, to within 870 yards of Wagner. For the remainder of the month, the fort was subjected to incessant bombardment, and the working parties sent out by the Federals were shelled by the Confederate batteries at Gregg, Wagner, Sumter and James Island. By the 10th of August Gillmore's men had advanced their underground system to within 540 yards of Fort Wagner, and the fleet guns were brought into combined action against Sumter.

FEDERAL BATTERIES OPEN FIERCELY ON SUMTER

A week afterward, or August 17th, is designated as the "first day of the great bombardment of Fort Sumter," which, for weeks, had been greatly strengthened on its faces toward Morris island. That section of the fort was then a compact redan of sand, encased with brick, having a height of 40 feet and general thickness of 25 feet.

In a lesser degree, Batteries Wagner and Gregg were also under fire from the Federal land batteries and the guns of fourteen vessels. Thus the artillery assaults continued without ceasing, and on the 21st General Gillmore demanded the surrender of Fort Sumter and the immediate evacuation of Morris island, threatening to bombard Charleston, within four hours, in case his demands were not complied with. General Beauregard protested against this act of uncivilized warfare, and due time was accordingly allowed for the removal of women and children from the city, with the sick and wounded from the hospitals. It would seem, from events which subsequently transpired, that this radical step on the part of the Federal commander-in-chief in the Charleston investment was abandoned.

After several repulses from the ridge, which was the outer line of defense before Fort Wagner, the Federal troops captured it, the last of August.

EVACUATION OF MORRIS ISLAND

By the 1st of September, the bombardment of Fort Sumter by the monitors and the breaching batteries of the Federals had put all of her guns out of commission, and the work of saving as many of the guns as was possible from the ruins of the fortress, with their removal to the inner harbor, had been progressing for several days. Five days afterward the Union saps had so far progressed on the sea face of Fort Wagner as to enable a large force to move on its flank and gain its rear, while in front, the last parallel was within fifty yards of the works. Further, the fire of the Union fleet and Gillmore's mortar fire from the trenches, with incessant bombardment of the parapets by the land batteries, made it fatal work for the fort's sharpshooters and gun detachments. On the 6th of September, 1863, the total Confederate force present for the defense of Fort Wagner amounted to nine hundred; and that was the last day of the unequal defense and the fifty-eighth day of the Federal attack by land and sea.

On the memorable day mentioned, Colonel Lawrence M. Keitt, commanding Fort Wagner, after one hundred casualties had been suffered, reported to General Ripley that the situation was desperate and recommended its evacuation, at the same time offering to storm the enemy's works, "if our sacrifice be of benefit." About two hours afterward, or at 5 o'clock on the afternoon of September 6, 1863, General Ripley signaled Colonel Keitt to prepare to leave the fort at night. The details of the evacuation are not material.

The military reason for the stubborn defense of Battery Wagner is thus discussed in Major Johnson's work: "The hardships of defense in Wagner were certainly greater, while they lasted, than those endured in Sumter. After the 17th of August, when the breaching batteries of Morris Island were opened on Sumter and its demolition assured, the holding longer of the northern end of the island might appear to have been unnecessary.

"General Gillmore says truly: 'Neither Fort Wagner nor Battery Gregg possessed any special importance as a defense against the passage of the ironclad fleet. They were simply outposts of Fort Sumter. Fort Wagner, in particular, was specially designed to prevent the erection of breaching batteries against that fort. It was valueless to the enemy if it failed to accomplish that end, for the fleet, in entering, was not obliged to go within effective range of its guns.'

"Why then was it held? The answer is, General Beauregard esti-

mated it, if no longer an outpost of Fort Sumter, as indeed an outpost of the city of Charleston. He held it long enough to enable him to gain three weeks in perfecting the defenses of James Island and the inner harbor.

"On the 7th of September, 1863, Morris island was completely evacuated by the Confederates, and the way was cleared for the investment of Fort Sumter, which the Union army believed a defenseless mass of ruins. But the 'ruined' fort was to withstand the utmost assaults of an enemy of overwhelming, but not overpowering force, for a period of nearly a year and a half. Even as early as August 24, 1863, General Gillmore reported to General Rosecrans, commander-in-chief of the United States armies: "I have the honor to report the practical demolition of Fort Sumter as the result of our seven days' bombardment of that work. Fort Sumter is today a shapeless and harmless mass of ruins."

But before describing how that "harmless mass of ruins" stood against the bombardments of a powerful fleet for a period of seventeen months, the writer will set forth briefly the glowing military record of the South Carolina troops who were fighting on the battlefields of Virginia and Tennessee during that period of anxiety and desperation in the home State.

THE APPROACH TO GETTYSBURG

While General Lee was making his preparations to invade western Pennsylvania and perchance invest Harrisburg, the Army of Northern Virginia, which he handled with such consummate skill, included the following commands: General J. B. Kershaw's Brigade, a part of Longstreet's Corps and McLaws Division; the Palmetto, Brooks's and German batteries, with Hood's Division of the same Corps (the First); Gen. Micah Jenkins's Brigade, of Pickett's Division, also of Longstreet's Corps; McGowan's Brigade (then commanded by Col. Abner Perrin), of Hill's light Division, Third Army Corps (A. P. Hill's); also with the Third Corps, the Pee Dee artillery, and with the cavalry corps of Major-General J. E. B. Stuart, Hampton's Brigade and Hart's Battery.

* Thus it will be seen that there were two infantry regiments, five batteries and two cavalry regiments of South Carolina troops in the army of General Lee on this march into Pennsylvania. Evans's and Gist's brigades were in Mississippi with General Johnston, and Manigault's Brigade was with General Bragg's Army at Chattanooga. Attached to these commands or serving in the West, were the batteries of Captains Ferguson, Culpeper, Waties and Macbeth. Most of the South Carolina troops of all arms were engaged in the defense of Charleston and the coasts of the State, then being attacked by a powerful fleet and a Federal army.

The movements of Lee's army along the Rappahannock in his approach to the Potomac and the movements of Hooker to ascertain his real purpose are phases of the general history of the war. In these preliminaries, the cavalry of Hampton and Butler proved a fine shield for the advancing Army of Northern Virginia, the most important engagements of this period being those at Beverly Ford road and Stevensburg, on the Rappahannock. These engagements resulted in the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Hampton and Captains Robin Ap C. Jones and J. R. P. Fox.

* Ellison Capers's: "Confederate Military History."

The movements of the Confederate and the Union armies finally resolved themselves into a race for the Potomac, Lee concentrating his forces from the north and Hooker, from the south. The advance of Hooker's army crossed the Potomac the day before Lee's legions, and on June 26th they were both on the soil of Pennsylvania. On the following day, General Meade succeeded Hooker in command of the northern forces which were to do battle at Gettysburg. By the 30th, on the last day of the month, the South Carolina troops had reached Cashtown, eight miles from the town which was to give the name to "the decisive battle of the year, if not of the War."

FIRST BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG OPENS

The battle was opened early on the morning of July 1, 1863, at Willoughby run, near Gettysburg, by Heth's Division of Hill's Corps, with which was the Pee Dee artillery, and the battalion of McIntosh, which drove some Federal cavalry across the river. As the cavalry was supported by the First Corps of Meade's army, the engagement became severe. The Confederate divisions of Heth and Pender were checked at Seminary Hill, but with the reenforcement of Ewell's men, they finally swept the heights. Perrin's (McGowan's) Brigade, which was in Pender's Division, had the honor of driving the enemy through the town of Gettysburg. McGowan's veterans covered themselves with honor. The colors of the First South Carolina represented the first Confederate flag raised in Gettysburg.

The commanders of the regiments forming the brigade were: the Fourteenth, Lieutenant-Colonel J. N. Brown and Major Edward Croft; First, Major C. W. McCreary; the Twelfth, Colonel J. L. Miller, and the Thirteenth, Lieutenant-Colonel B. T. Brockman.

The brigade was in front of Cemetery Hill on July 2d, the Federal sharpshooters facing it on the Emmitsburg road. While leading a force to dislodge them, the heroic Captain William T. Haskell received a mortal wound and expired on the field.

The total loss in McGowan's Brigade at Gettysburg was 100 killed and 477 wounded, the heaviest casualties falling on the Fourteenth, two-thirds of its men being killed or wounded in the three days' engagement. Captain W. P. Conner, of the Thirteenth, was killed.

This is no fitting place to describe the vast military movements (for those days) and the heroic assaults and counter-assaults by both Lee's and Meade's armies. The South Carolina troops there engaged are what chiefly concern the writer, and none acquitted themselves more stanchly or heroically than the men of Kershaw's Brigade, who were operating in the great movements of Longstreet. It was at the famous "peach orchard" that the South Carolina Brigade set such a high mark of endurance under repeated and fierce assaults and irresistible dash in the offense.

But the losses of the brigade were sad and fearful—115 killed, 483 wounded and 32 missing. The separate commands were as follows: Second Regiment, Colonel Kennedy; Third, Major R. C. Maffett; Seventh, Colonel Aiken; Eighth, Colonel Menagan; Fifteenth, Colonel DeSaussure; Third Battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel W. G. Rice. In the fierce engagement at Peach Orchard, Colonel DeSaussure and Major McLeod (of the Eighth) were both killed and Colonel Kennedy, Lieutenant-Colonel Elbert Bland and other officers were wounded.

GREAT CAVALRY MOVEMENT

It is generally conceded that the failure of Pickett's charge lost the battle of Gettysburg to Lee. "While it was in progress," says Capers, "General Stuart, on the rear of General Lee's left, was fighting a great cavalry battle with the main body of General Meade's cavalry. Stuart had the brigades of Hampton, Fitzhugh Lee, Chambliss, W. H. F. Lee and Jenkins. In the battle much of the fighting was at close quarters and with pistol and saber as the charging lines came together. In one of these contacts, General Hampton was twice severely wounded.

"On the day previous, his having been the first of General Stuart's brigades to reach the vicinity of Gettysburg, he was just in time to meet a cavalry force moving from Hunterstown directly against General Lee's unprotected left. After a sharp engagement General Hampton defeated this force and drove it beyond reach. The arrival of Stuart on the 2d was a source of infinite satisfaction to the Confederate commander; indeed, if he had not come, the three divisions of General Pleasanton would have taken complete possession of General Lee's communications, and the battle of Gettysburg would have been a still greater disaster to the Southern army."

MAJOR-GENERAL R. H. ANDERSON

Nor can the services of Major-General Anderson be overlooked even in a resume of the leading events at Gettysburg, although the brigades of his division (Wilcox's, Perry's and Wright's), were not composed of South Carolinians. It is claimed by Colonel C. Irvine Walker that the ridge captured by Anderson's Division on the second day was "the same which Pickett's and Pettigrew's two divisions failed to carry the next day." Colonel Walker says: "If Anderson's brigades had been properly supported they would have held a crucial point of Meade's line, after having pierced and broken it and there never would have been a necessity for the galling assault of the third day's battle, the praise of which has rung down the annals of history as an evidence of the highest heroism of the Confederates."

SOUTH CAROLINA AT CHICKAMAUGA

The next great clash between the contending armies in which South Carolina troops participated—and it would be difficult to mention any critical battles in which Palmetto soldiers were not present and conspicuous—was on Chickamauga creek, a tributary of the Tennessee. Bragg, the Confederate commander, and Rosecrans, the Federal leader of the Army of the Tennessee, gradually converged from the middle of August to the middle of September, 1863, and at the latter date, Bragg's army, about 45,000 strong, was drawn up on the east side of the Chickamauga, and on the opposite shore were the Federal forces under Rosecrans, estimated at some 53,000, exclusive of his cavalry.

The crossings of the Chickamauga were by fords and two bridges and, as was customary, the Confederates took the initiative, forcing the creek on the 19th of September, and driving the Federal forces, as a whole, to the Chattanooga road which crossed that stream. Longstreet's army, comprising the left wing of Lee's forces in the second day's battle, did not arrive on the field until 11 o'clock on the 19th. Most of the South Carolina men were with Longstreet

in the divisions of McLaws and Hindman, although Gist's Brigade and Ferguson's Battery were with Walker's Corps of Polk's command. While the Confederate troops were getting into position for the battle of the 20th, General Gist commanded a division and General Kershaw two brigades.

The attack finally began between 9 and 10 o'clock A. M. and although Rosecrans was forced from the line of the Chattanooga road, Thomas made so firm a stand at Snodgrass Hill as to ensure a safe retreat of the Federal army on Chattanooga. Chickamauga was Bragg's victory.

General Kershaw commanded two brigades of McLaws's Division, and after Major-General Hood was wounded, he took the direction of his three brigades. Both the attacks of Kershaw and Manigault, which occurred about the same time, were successful, and brought the Confederate advance half a mile beyond the Chattanooga road and to Snodgrass Hill, where Thomas had made his stand and where occurred the heaviest fighting of the battle. This crucial assault was directed by General Kershaw, and though Thomas was not directly dislodged he withdrew the Federal army after nightfall. Rosecrans had given up the fight and had gone to Chattanooga to prepare for the battle which he felt must be fought there.

The loss of the South Carolina brigades had been fearful—a total of 1,196 in killed and wounded. Manigault's Brigade lost heaviest. Captain D. R. Huger, of General Manigault's staff, fell in front of Snodgrass Hill, and among the other officers killed were Lieutenant-Colonel Elbert Bland, Seventh Regiment; Major John S. Hard, his successor; Captain J. M. Townsend, Third Battalion; Lieutenant-Colonel Hoole, Eighth Regiment, and Captain W. A. Williams, acting major of the Third Regiment.

BEFORE KNOXVILLE AND AT MISSIONARY RIDGE

The nine months from the fall of 1863 to the summer of 1864, found the soldiers of South Carolina doing even more than their duty on the battlefields of Tennessee and Virginia, their campaigns including bloody engagements typified by Knoxville and Missionary Ridge in the west and the Wilderness and the siege of Petersburg in the east. In October, 1863, Jenkins's South Carolina Brigade attacked a Federal division at Lookout valley and lost heavily.

The South Carolinians made a gallant attack, and, Colonel Bratton reported, "drove the enemy through their camp, and entirely beyond their wagon camp."

Colonel Kilpatrick was shot through the heart and Captain Coker seriously wounded.

In the following month, the South Carolina brigades of Jenkins and Kershaw (Jenkins commanded two divisions) were in the advance in Longstreet's movement up the Tennessee valley to wrest Knoxville from Burnside. On November 18th, before Knoxville, General Kershaw's Brigade assaulted and carried the advance Federal line, Colonel Nance, of the Third, reporting that it "was the most desperate encounter in which the regiment was ever engaged." Lieutenant D. S. Moffett was mortally wounded and Major J. F. Gist was killed by a sharpshooter.

On November 20th, the South Carolina commands with Bragg on Missionary Ridge were the Tenth and Nineteenth, Major James L. White (Manigault's Brigade); the Sixteenth, Colonel McCullough, and the Twenty-fourth, Colonel Stevens (Gist's Brigade) and Ferguson's Battery.

WITH THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA

While their comrades were thus engaged in the west, the South Carolinians were giving a good account of themselves with the Army of Northern Virginia. Abner Perrin, who had been promoted to brigadier-general commanded McGowan's Brigade, and General Hampton (now major-general) commanded a division of the cavalry corps, while Brigadier-General M. C. Butler was in charge of his old brigade. At Bethsaida Church General Butler's Brigade under Col. P. M. B. Young, routed an entire division of Federal cavalry under General Kilpatrick.

GENERAL MICAH JENKINS KILLED

In the Wilderness campaign, the first battle of which occurred May 5, 1864, Brigadier-General Kershaw was in command of McLaws's Division, and Generals Jenkins and McGowan were leading their respective brigades. The South Carolina Cavalry Brigade was under General M. C. Butler. In the first fight of the campaign, McGowan's Brigade was hurried into action and at once made a successful charge. On the following day both McGowan's and Kershaw's commands were actively engaged. General Kershaw had ordered General Jenkins to combine his brigade with his own division for a combined attack upon the enemy, and was riding with him (Jenkins) at the head of the brigade, arranging the details, "when (says Kershaw) two or three shots were fired on the left of the road, and some stragglers came running in from that direction, and immediately a volley was poured into the head of our column from the woods on our right. By this volley, General Longstreet (who had come to the front) was prostrated by a fearful wound; Brigadier-General Jenkins, Captain Alfred E. Dody, my aide-de-camp, and Orderly Marcus Baum were instantly killed."

At this first battle of the famous Wilderness campaign, Kershaw's Brigade also lost Colonel James D. Nance, of the Third South Carolina and Lieutenant-Colonel Franklin Gaillard. Soon after General Longstreet was wounded and General Jenkins killed, General Robert E. Lee, the commander-in-chief appeared at the front.

McGowan's Brigade was a bright star among the Confederate troops at Spottsylvania Court House, May 12, 1864, and there its gallant and able general commanding was badly wounded, as was his successor, Colonel Brockman. Kershaw's Brigade, at Cold Harbor, where Colonel Keitt was mortally wounded, and Hampton's cavalry sweeping Sheridan's horsemen before them, are also pages of War history which South Carolinians read with patriotic emotion.

The South Carolina cavalry and horse artillery followed Stuart until that dashing and brilliant leader met death at Yellow Tavern, and then Hampton was awarded the promotion which was so eminently his due. In Hampton's successful battle with the redoubtable Sheridan at Trevelian, Butler's South Carolina Brigade opened the attack and was distinguished throughout.

At this time the approaches to Richmond were also being guarded by such South Carolina troops as Hagood's and Evans's brigades; and General Beauregard gives them repeated credit for staunch defense and offense. In these engagements such officers were killed as Colonel Olin M. Dantzler and Lieutenant-Colonel Dargan. By the middle of June, Grant had transferred his army south of the James in preparation for the siege of Petersburg.

BATTLE OF THE "CRATER," BEFORE PETERSBURG

In view of the limitations of this volume, it is not feasible to go into all the details of the movements of the South Carolina commands; as a part of Beauregard's army, they were to hold the defenses before Petersburg, which was considered as much the key to Richmond as Fort Sumter was to Charleston. They did their part like true soldiers, and were in the advance lines of trenches when the Federal mine was exploded with such appalling results early in the morning of July 30, 1864.

One account of this awful act of war which fell so heavily on South Carolina troops is well worth quoting: "On the 29th of July, Bushrod Johnson's Division was arranged in the works, with Ransom's North Carolinians on the left, Elliott's South Carolinians next, then Wise's Virginians, and Colquitt's Georgians on the right. A projecting part of the works known as Pegram's salient was occupied by Pegram's Battery, with the Eighteenth South Carolina on the left and the Twenty-second behind it and to the right. To the left of the Eighteenth were the Twenty-sixth and Seventeenth and to the right of the Twenty-second was the Twenty-third, all along the parapet. A second line of intrenchments, behind, Elliott did not have men enough to occupy. Upon these devoted South Carolinians in the parapets was to fall a tremendous blow, which was expected to open a way for Grant's army into Petersburg.

"About 4:55 on the morning of July 30th, after a moment's appalling rumbling and trembling, the earth burst like a volcano beneath them, and great masses were cast into the air. Mingled in this horrible eruption which followed the explosion of the Federal mine, were the bodies of men who fell nearly all of them lifeless, while scores of others were buried as the upheaval settled about the great 'crater,' nearly 100 by 150 feet and 30 feet deep.

"Five companies of the Twenty-second South Carolina were blown up with the left of the battery and four companies of the Eighteenth were thrown in the air or buried. The loss of the First Regiment was 170; of the latter, 43 killed, 43 wounded and 76 missing—buried or captured.

"Stunned by the shock of this explosion, both Federals and Confederates for a little while made no move, but when the torrents of dust had subsided the Federals were seen pouring into the breach, and at the same time there was another and more deafening outbreak—that of the Federal artillery all along the line, in a torrent of shot and shell and continuous reverberation surpassing any previous artillery fire in the War. But Lee's undaunted veterans held firm.

"First to meet the advancing enemy were the Twenty-third and Seventeenth South Carolina regiments and the survivors of the Eighteenth and Twenty-second. The remainder of the division hurried to the firing line, and Wright's battery and Major Haskell's mortar batteries came into action with terrific effect upon the crowded masses of the Federals. General Elliott fell dangerously wounded, and his place was taken by Colonel F. W. McMaster, Seventeenth, and Colonel Smith, Twenty-sixth, formed a line to the left and rear of the crater, composed of his regiment, part of the Seventeenth and the Twenty-fourth North Carolina. The Twenty-third, under Captain White, and the remnant of the Twenty-second, under Captain Shedd, held the trenches on the right.

"The South Carolina troops on that side,' said General John-

son, 'succeeded in placing a barricade on the side of the hill and, planting themselves in it and the sunken ways running to the rear, maintained their position within thirty yards of the crater for about five hours, during which the enemy never drove them a foot to the right, though they made several assaults and attempted several times to form a line in rear of our works, so as to move on the flank and rear of this gallant little band. In the events of the 30th of July there will perhaps be found nothing more heroic or worthy of higher admiration than this conduct of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third South Carolina regiments.'

"After Mahone's Division came up, Colonel Smith's line joined in a charge which cleared the enemy from part of the second line of intrenchments, and the final charge, which resulted in the complete rout of the enemy, was participated in by the Seventeenth, under Major Culp and Captain Shedd's line, which captured three flags and many prisoners. 'For every buried comrade,' General Johnson said, the South Carolinians 'took a two-fold vengeance on the enemy.' In the last charge, Sergeant J. W. Connelly, Twenty-second, captured the colors of the First Michigan Sharpshooters. The loss of Elliott's South Carolinians on that terrible day was 15 officers killed and 18 wounded; 110 men killed and 204 wounded; 14 officers and 337 men missing. Total, 698. This was the main part of the Confederate loss. The Federal return of losses was 4,400, but it was probably nearer 6,000, of which 1,200 were prisoners. The Confederate casualties amounted to 1,200."

CHAPTER L

TO THE EVACUATION OF CHARLESTON (1863-1865)

More than seventeen months of periodical bombardment of Fort Sumter, the forts guarding Charleston and the city itself by the guns of the Federal fleet and the land batteries, followed the announcement of General Gillmore that he had reduced the southern fortress to "a shapeless and harmless mass of ruins." History records no more heroic, stubborn or skilful defense, and no more ingenious or fearless acts of offense than is told by this absorbing tale.

Although more than fifty years have passed since the investment of Fort Sumter and Charleston, the temptation is almost resistible to expand this true story far beyond its assignable limits. Happily, libraries of literature have been written on the subject both by military experts and writers of the heroics, so that none need be denied all the stern facts and the thrilling details of the historic defense.

THE "RUINED" FORT SUMTER AGAIN BOMBARDED

It seems that nearly a week elapsed after the general commanding the Union forces of investment announced that Fort Sumter was no more, before he opened another bombardment in force. He found that the fortress was unresponsive and on September 1, 1863, two days afterwards, poured shot and shell into the ruined Sumter from six of his big monitors, assisted by the new ironsides. Although we know now that nearly all the guns of the fort were disabled, the little garrison was feverishly making repairs and receiving re-enforcements of men from Charleston. Major Elliott also relieved Colonel Rhett in command of the fort. For the time being Sumter could not reply, but Fort Moultrie, Johnson and other Confederate batteries, maintained an effective fire upon the enemy's works and fleet.

The Federal fire also damaged these outlying fortifications, a shell from one of the ironclads exploding a magazine at Fort Moultrie, on the 8th of September, 1863, killing sixteen and wounding twelve men of the First South Carolina regulars.

LAND ATTACK REPELLED

"About 1 o'clock on the morning of the 9th," according to the Confederate Military History,* an attempt was made by the Federals "to land a force at the foot of the ruins of Sumter and carry the position by storm. Major Elliott waited until the thirty or forty barges of the enemy were within a few yards of the southern and eastern faces, when he greeted them with a rattling fire of musketry, while hand-grenades and fragments of the ruins were thrown over on the advancing foe, completely demoralizing him. At the same time the

* It is only fair to the late General Capers to say that while Vol. V of the "Confederate Military History," the South Carolina volume, is nominally the work of that eminent soldier and divine, he did not write, nor was he responsible for the last five chapters, chapters XVII to XXI, inclusive.

gunboat Chicora, Fort Moultrie, the Sullivan's Island batteries and Fort Johnson, warned by signal, swept the skirts of the ruins and the water round about with a fire that nothing could survive. Elliott captured 5 boats, 5 stand of colors, 12 officers. Two heroic attempts were made by the Confederates to blow up the New Ironsides.

DARING FEAT OF CARLIN AND FICKLING

"On the night of August 20, Capt. James Carlin, a plucky Englishman commanding a Torpedo Ram with a guard of eleven men under Lieut. Eldred S. Fickling of the Regulars from Fort Sumter, attempted to explode a torpedo against the New Ironsides, at that time the most formidable fighting craft of its kind in the world. Carlin in his modest report to Gen'l Beauregard, tells how he lowered the torpedoes and ranged alongside of the leviathan, with five monitors in the near vicinity, and being hailed from the deck of the Ironsides answered that his little craft was the 'United States steamer Live Yankee from Port Royal.' The great ironclad was swinging to the ebb, Carlin's order to put the helm 'hard a-starboard' was not properly executed, and he soon saw that his daring scheme was thwarted and his only hope was of escape. Although the engine had caught upon the centre and there was a few minutes of delay, Carlin answered another hail from the enemy by saying that he would 'come on board.' Meanwhile the steamer began to move ahead slowly and the unsuspecting Federals withheld fire. Whereupon, Carlin making full steam steered for the city. The enemy afterward fired, 'sweeping the horizon,' and two shots passed on either side of the little craft, but she reached the city in safety without a casualty. Capt. Carlin reported that he was 'ably assisted by the cool, courageous bearing of Lieutenant Fickling' who commanded 'the force' stationed 'for defense.' " *

GLASELL TORPEDOES THE IRONSIDES

Another not less daring attempt was made on October 5th by Lieut. W. T. Glassell, C. S. N.; Assistant Engineers J. H. Tombs, Walker Cannon, a Charleston pilot, and James Sullivan, alias Stewart. The torpedo boat "David," submerged 6½ feet, exposing only about 10 inches above water approached the Ironsides at 9 P. M. at full speed, and when hailed, Glassell answered with a shot from a double-barreled gun mortally wounding Ensign C. W. Howard. The boat struck fairly under the star-board quarter, and the torpedo exploded over six feet below the surface, throwing up a great column of water which put out the fires on the little craft and almost sunk her. The attempt to sink the naval monster failed, probably because the charge (100 pounds) was too light to injure the heavy plates of the Ironsides materially, possibly because the torpedo was not placed low enough; but, the moral effect upon the blockading squadron was manifest. The Ironsides and monitors were soon provided with modern "hoop-skirts" as they were called to meet or incommode future visitations from torpedo boats, and the great ironclad went to Beaufort for a short time for examination and possible repair. Lieut. Glassell and "Sullivan" thinking the "David" doomed, jumped overboard and swam to a monitor nearby. They were made prisoners and sent North. Can-

* See "The Defense of Charleston Harbor, 1863-1865," by Maj. John Johnson.

non, the pilot, strange to say, could not swim; but, stuck to the little boat. Tombs the engineer, who had taken to the water, afterward joined Cannon, relit the fires, and the two steamed back safely to Charleston through storms of shot and shell. There they were received with great acclaim as was their due.

Glassell had the honor of conducting the "first successful attack ever made by a steam propelled torpedo boat upon an enemy's vessel."

Sergeant Jasper's name is on "fame's eternal bead-roll" for his heroism at Fort Moultrie in the Rebellion of 1776. More than twenty times the flag staff at Fort Sumter was shot away and replaced and several times at Battery Wagner, under hotter fire than the gallant Jasper had to face. Several instances were made subjects of Department General Orders; but "troops of heroes undistinguished lie," these names and deeds forgotten. The pounding of the Federal projectiles against Fort Sumter had also loosened a mass of pulverized masonry which had produced a steep exterior slope, making, in the opinion of Colonel Elliott, another assault out of the question.

In November (1863) the Federal bombardment of Charleston, which had begun in August, was resumed with more frequency. The radius of the shelling was from St. Michael's (the principal target), northeastwards to St. Philip's Church.

TERRIBLE EXPLOSION IN FORT SUMTER

The most fatal calamity in the history of Fort Sumter occurred December 11, 1863, by the explosion of its southwest magazine. The occupants of the adjoining rooms were killed or badly burned, and the flames, which spread rapidly, were not entirely extinguished for a week. As soon as the Federals observed the fire, they opened upon the fort with rifled shells and mortars. Colonel Elliott was wounded, Capt. Edward D. Frost and ten others were killed, and forty sustained more or less serious injuries.

Colonel Elliott's report, made at the end of the year 1863, indicated that since the preceding August nearly 27,000 projectiles had been fired at Sumter, of which 19,808 had struck. During that period 38 men had been killed and 142 wounded.

THE FORT STRONGER THAN EVER

By December, 1863, a complete system of interior defenses had been perfected at Fort Sumter, by the aid of which the garrison, in the event of being driven to take refuge in the casements and bomb-proof, could protect itself, while signaling for assistance from the surrounding Confederate batteries. Fort Sumter was stronger than ever, or as reported by Major Johnson, the engineer: "From having been a desolate ruin, a shapeless pile of shattered walls and casements, showing here and there the guns disabled and half buried in splintered wrecks of carriages, its mounds of rubbish fairly reeking with the smoke and smell of powder, Fort Sumter, under fire, was transformed within a year into a powerful earthwork, impregnable to assault, and even supporting the other works at the entrance of Charleston harbor with six guns of the heaviest caliber."

In January, 1864, the shelling of Charleston was vigorously continued, and Sumter's flagstaff was cut down again and again and the flag almost immediately raised.

HOW THE HOUSATONIC WAS TORPEDOED

On the night of February 17 (1864), the submarine torpedo boat built in Mobile in 1863, and known as the "fish boat," blew up the United States sloop of war Housatonic. Lieut. G. E. Dixon of the 21st Ala. Regt. and his crew of six perished in the attack. The Federal blockader was in shoal water and nearly all of her crew took to the masts and were rescued soon after. Her commander, Captain Pickering, was seriously bruised by the explosion and five others were drowned. In practicing in Mobile Bay her entire crew of nine men had been drowned. In Charleston harbor and neighboring waters she sank five times, Horace L. Hunley, her inventor, being one of the victims while making a practice dive in Stono River. Nothing perhaps illustrates more nobly the exalted courage of the defenders of Charleston than the readiness with which crew after crew volunteered to face almost certain death, not in the glory of battle, but "sealed up in a shell which had so many times become a grave." The names of more than fourteen of these heroes are unknown, not because their patriotic devotion is not appreciated, but because "absolute secrecy was essential to their success, and hence scant mention of them appears in the official communications, and none whatever in the newspapers of the time." * In the public garden adjoining "the Battery," the sea wall overlooking the scene of their heroism and death stands a granite drinking-fountain, with two spouting dolphins of bronze and a bronze tablet with this inspiring inscription:

In Memory of
The Supreme Devotion of those Heroic Men
Of the Confederate Army and Navy
First in Submarine Warfare
To Employ Torpedo Boats
1863-1865

Moved by
The Lofty Faith That With Them Died
Crew after Crew
Volunteered
For Enterprises of Extremest Peril
In the Defense of Charleston Harbour

Then follows the names of sixteen men known of "more than thirty men drowned in this desperate service."

About the middle of April, Colonel Elliott was relieved in command and ordered to Virginia. Capt. John C. Mitchel (son of the Irish patriot) succeeded in command of Fort Sumter, where he was 'ere long to meet death heroically.

In March, South Carolina was drained of most of its cavalry and several brigades of infantry were added to the depleted but still defiant armies of Virginia and the West. General Beauregard, at the same time, was assigned to command the department of Southern Virginia and North Carolina and Major-General Sam Jones succeeded him at Charleston. On the 4th of March, 1864, General Jones telegraphed to General Johnston: "I am sending off my last infantry brigade to Virginia."

* See article "Torpedo and Submarine Attacks on the Federal Blockading Fleet off Charleston During the War of Secession" in "Year Book City of Charleston for 1907," by Augustine T. Smythe, Jr.

In the circumstances, the fire brigade of Charleston was organized into military companies and other measures taken for the continued defense of the city.

In the summer of 1864, the aggregate forces present in General Jones's department were: First and Fourth districts, General R. S. Ripley, 3,177; Seventh district, General W. B. Taliaferro, 3,742; Second and Sixth districts, General B. H. Robertson, 1,280; Third district and district of Georgia, General McLaws, 3,600.

In June and July, 1864, a brisk correspondence occurred between General Jones and General J. G. Foster, the Federal commander of the forces on the coast of South Carolina, in regard to the exposure of Union prisoners at Charleston. On June 13th, General Jones addressed a letter to General Foster stating that five Union generals and forty-five field officers had been sent to Charleston as prisoners of war, and placed in comfortable quarters there with other non-combatants, most of whom were women and children, but that it was proper to inform him that "it is a part of the city which has been for many months exposed day and night to the fire of your guns." General Foster replied that Major-General Gillmore had notified General Beauregard that the city would be bombarded in August, 1863, and that the Confederate commander had assured him that the non-combatant population would be removed as soon as possible. General Foster then referred to the necessity of destroying the great stores of munitions of war, the foundries, arsenals, batteries and other military defences centering in Charleston, and concluded by saying that he had forwarded his (General Jones') communication to the President "with the request that he will place in my custody an equal number of prisoners of the like grades, to be kept by me in positions exposed to the fire of your guns as long as you continue the course stated in your communication." Accordingly a roll of Confederate prisoners of war was selected from Fort Delaware. They included Major-Generals Edward Johnson and Franklin Gardner, Brigadier-Generals J. J. Archer, G. H. Stewart and M. Jeff Thompson, and 46 colonels, lieutenant-colonels and majors. After further communications had passed as to exchanges of prisoners, without results, the Confederates were placed on Morris Island, under the fire of the Confederate batteries, the number being increased to about 600 officers of all grades and were there held until October, when they and the Federal prisoners at Charleston were removed.*

About this time the Federals inaugurated a combined attack of their land and naval forces, with the aim of capturing the batteries and forts on the islands in the Charleston neighborhood, as well as leveling Fort Sumter. Fort Johnson was an especial Union mark. Without following all the details, it is enough to say that the Federal attacks were all repulsed, General Taliaferro being prominent in warding them off.

From the 7th to the 31st of July, 1864, 7,000 shot and shell from the Federal guns took effect on Fort Sumter. During that period Commandant Mitchel was mortally wounded, while making an observation from the highest point of the fort, and Captain John Johnson, the engineer-in-chief, received serious injuries. "But in spite of this terrific bombardment and a new sort of attack—floating powder boats to explode in its vicinity"—the sentinels on Sumter still cried, "all's well." Captain Thomas A. Huguenin succeeded Mitchel in command, and remained in charge "until on the night of February 17,

* Ellison Capers's: "Confederate Military History."

WAR PRISON ON ASYLUM PROPERTY, COLUMBIA
Federal Officers Confined Here During the Last Two years of the War

1865, he went the rounds of the indomitable fortress for the last time, and abandoned it to the enemy who had never been able to enter its walls while a Confederate soldier remained on guard."

HOW CHARLESTON FOUGHT AND FELL

It would be interesting to quote the opinion of Lord Wolseley as to the value of the study of the siege of Charleston in its tactical features as compared with the siege of Sebastopol and other great naval attacks. All the world wondered at the marvelous success of the blockade runners, and the pages of history may be searched in vain for greater heroism than that displayed by Glassell, Dixon and others who first proved to the world the value of the torpedo in naval warfare; but let two sets of figures suffice:

GENERAL SUMMARY FORT SUMTER, FEBRUARY 1, 1865

Total number of projectiles fired against it.....	46,053
Total weight in tons of metal thrown (estimate) ..	3,500
Total number of days under three great bombardments	117
Total number of days under eight minor bombardments	40
Total number of days under fire, steady and desultory	280
Total number of casualties (52 killed, 267 wounded)	319

"The comments of a British officer and of two officers who served in the Federal army as to the extraordinary defence of Charleston are submitted:

"Col. H. Wemyss Feilden, colonel and chief paymaster (retired list), H. B. M. Army, says: 'We find a large commercial city, at the commencement of a great war defended by nearly obsolete works and with several unguarded approaches, rendered impregnable in a short time by the skill and genius of the general in command, supported by the indomitable valor, devotion and tenacity of its defenders, and by the unflinching spirit of all ages and both sexes in the community.'

VIEWS OF UNION MEN

"Quartermaster-General M. C. Meigs, U. S. A., in an adverse report to Secretary of War Stanton, in August, 1865, upon the petition of various merchants and wharf owners of Charleston, asking that their warehouses and wharves in the possession of the government be restored to them, says: 'Charleston was a hostile fortress. In its defence the merchants and property owners appear to have aided by all means within their power. Its defence ceased only when, after a siege almost unexampled since the invention of artillery, for duration and persistency, the approach of a powerful army from the Mississippi Valley rendered any further resistance entirely hopeless. Then the armed Rebel forces abandoned the town, destroying such stores as they could. There was no capitulation, no surrender by which any of the extreme rights of captors were modified or abated in the giving up of an equivalent. The place was defended to the last extremity, and the whole town is a conquest, and as such the property of the conquering Government. * * * The warehouses and wharves used

MAGNOLIA CEMETERY, CHARLESTON, WHERE MANY CONFEDERATE
SOLDIERS ARE BURIED

THE FAMOUS MAGNOLIA GARDENS, CHARLESTON

in the contraband trade, in violation of the laws and proclamations of the United States, have been used in aid of the Rebellion. * * *

To put an end to this use, to obtain possession of them, has cost the United States the lives of many thousand of patriotic citizens sacrificed in the skirmishes, assaults, battles and bombardments which have made the bloody record of this unexampled siege. Shells and torpedoes by land and by water, have destroyed our citizens. * * *

To restore this property, which cost the loyal people so much blood, and so much treasure, to the original disloyal owners would, it seems to me, give a shock to every earnest and loyal man. Far better give the property to the families and heirs of the victims of the massacre of Wagner, or of those who perished upon the monitors sunk by the agents of the Torpedo Bureau in Charleston Harbor.'

"It only remains to say that President Andrew Johnson did not share the views of Quartermaster-General Meigs and the property was restored to the claimants.

"Ex-Governor D. H. Chamberlain, formerly an officer in the Union Army, speaking to a representative young Virginian—a great-grandson of Chief Justice Marshall—in Charleston, said: 'When I walk the streets of this city of less than 60,000 inhabitants, and more than half of them colored, and when I see the poverty of its material resources as compared with the large and flourishing business centres of the North, and when I remember that the population of this city in 1861 was not over 41,000 of which not over 24,000 were white, I marvel at the blind confidence and fatuity of this people in inaugurating the most tremendous war of modern times; but when I walk along the sea wall of the 'Battery' and see in the distance Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie and other fortifications which, though often attacked, were never carried by storm, I begin to understand the wonderful spirit of this people. Charlestonians held this stronghold for four years against the most powerful fleet of war vessels ever seen up to that time on this hemisphere.'"

CHAPTER LI

THE MILITARY END OF THE WAR

In the year of Our Lord nineteen hundred and twenty, it is beside the purpose and beyond the scope of this history to describe in detail the campaigns and commemorate the gallant deeds of all the South Carolina soldiers, during the last period of the Civil war, on the battlefields of Tennessee, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia. Such a record would fill several volumes. They nobly fought and suffered with General J. E. Johnston in the Army of the Tennessee where Gist's and Manigault's brigades were always where the fighting was hardest. Col. Ellison Capers, historian, bishop and brave commander of the Twenty-fourth regiment (Gist's brigade) also proved his worth in the Atlanta campaign.

Resaca, Franklin and Peach Tree Creek fought against the overwhelming forces of Sherman's army, retarded but did not stay the Federal advance to Atlanta. On the afternoon of November 30, 1864, the hungry Confederate army under Hood, who covered Atlanta, crossed the Tennessee River and came upon the battlefield at Franklin, Tenn. It is a well known military maxim that "an army travels on its belly," and it is known how plentiful, almost luxurious, was the commissariat of our troops in the World war. It is almost impossible to believe that Hood's army could fight at all when one reads the report of Colonel Capers that "once during the campaign the men received as a ration three ears of corn to each man," and that a month before "twenty men of the 24th were absolutely barefooted." The attack was at once launched. The death of the gallant commander of Gist's brigade is thus described by Colonel Capers, of the Twenty-fourth: "Just before the charge was ordered, the brigade passed over an elevation, from which we beheld the magnificent spectacle the battlefield presented. Bands were playing, general and staff officers and gallant couriers were riding in front of and between the lines, a hundred flags were waving in the smoke of battle, and bursting shells were wreathing the air with great circles of smoke, while 20,000 brave men were marching in perfect order against the foe.

HOW GIST RODE TO DEATH AS TO A DANCE

"The sight inspired every man of the Twenty-fourth with the sentiment of duty. As we were pressing back the enemy's advance forces, Lieutenant-Colonel J. S. Jones fell mortally wounded in front of the right of the regiment. General Gist, attended by Captain H. D. Garden and Lieutenant Frank Trenholm, of his staff, rode down our front and returning ordered the charge, in concert with General Gordon. In passing from the left to the right of the regiment, General Gist waved his hat to us, expressed his pride and confidence in the Twenty-fourth, and rode away in the smoke of battle never more to be seen by the men he had commanded on so many battle fields. His horse was shot, and dismounting he was leading the right of the brigade when he fell pierced through the heart."

Gist's and Gordon's brigades charged on and, although every superior officer was either killed or wounded, they reached and held the Union works and on the parapet they planted the colors of the 24th South Carolina.

Strahl's and Carter's brigades went gallantly to the assistance of Gist and Gordon, Strahl and his entire staff were killed, and Carter mortally wounded, but there was no backward movement of the line. The whole of Gist's brigade held their position, against repeated attempts of the Federals to regain their works, until about midnight when the enemy retired leaving the Confederates in possession of the field.

THE BLOODY FIELD OF FRANKLIN

It was one of the bloodiest battles of the war Major Gen'l Cleburne, "the Stonewall Jackson of the West," and four brigadier generals being killed. General Hood reported the Confederate losses at 4,500, but it was probably larger. The Federal loss was 2,326. President Davis's comment was: "We had won a victory, but it was purchased at a fearful cost." General Stephen D. Lee reported "Brigadier General Manigault * * * was severely wounded while gallantly leading his troops to the fight, and of his two successors in command, Col. T. P. Shaw (19th South Carolina) was killed, and Colonel Davis wounded." Major B. Burgh Smith, who commanded the 16th South Carolina became the senior officer of his brigade, every superior officer being either killed or wounded. Lieut. James A. Tillman led his company and a few men from other commands in a charge over the Federal breast-work and captured the colors of the 97th Ohio infantry and forty prisoners.

But all of this courage and devotion were of little avail for Hood's army was to suffer disastrous defeat at Nashville sixteen days later.

The army in Tennessee was waging a futile fight against overwhelming arms and resources, and the final outcome at Nashville was hastened by the impetuous tactics of General Hood. Possibly the Fabian policy of J. E. Johnston might have prolonged the agony some months, but there can be little doubt that the result would have been the same. In the East the Army of Northern Virginia was more than a match for the Army of the Potomac, as proved by four years of almost continuous victory; but in the West the contending forces, Federal and Confederate, were men of the same fighting quality, and as the Union forces far outnumbered the Southern armies it was only a matter of time which army should win.

BACK TO VIRGINIA BATTLE FIELDS.

The scene shifts to the battle fields of Virginia, where South Carolinians under Kershaw, McGowan, Hagood, Elliott, Bratton, Hampton and Gary were fighting desperately with varying fortune under "the falling flag."

General Grant about the middle of August threw a large part of his force across the James at Deep Bottom and advanced toward Richmond. "It resulted in his repulse, but drew a large part of our force from Petersburg," says General Hagood, "and thus gave him an opportunity to strike at the Weldon Railroad within three miles of which his left then rested. Grant obtained possession of a considerable portion of the road but it cost him the loss of a thousand men. Several days later Colquitt and Chagman with their brigades and other troops

tried to dislodge the Federals and failed, but inflicted heavy loss upon the enemy and captured 3,000 prisoners. Grant could afford losses like that—there were plenty more troops where those came from.

The fight of the Confederates was renewed on Aug. 21st. Gen'l Hagood was ordered to bring his brigade from the Petersburg trenches. It had been shorn of two-thirds of its numerical strength and consisted that day of only 59 officers and 681 men. Hagood, in after years, wrote: "The brigade was itself only in the unconquerable spirit of the remnant which still clung to its banner." While on the march toward the enemy Hagood was accosted by Major Gen'l Mahone, who said: "Now you are upon the flank and rear of the enemy. I have five brigades fighting them in front and they are driving them. I want you to go in and press them all you can, * * * they are not entrenched."*

On they marched, while the enemy broke from their rifle pits and fled, but as the brigade continued forward they faced "a strongly entrenched line crowded with men and artillery extending so far right and left as we could see, and the five Confederate brigades supporting of which Gen'l Mahone spoke, being nowhere visible."

Some one had blundered!

The South Carolinians, in fact, were going into a re-entering angle made more by the vicious direction of their advance than by the actual construction of the enemy's works. Major Gen'l G. K. Warren of the Federal Army says in his report: "Hagood's brigade struck a part of our line where the troops were in echelon, and they found themselves almost surrounded, and every one thinking they had surrendered ceased firing."

INTO THE JAWS OF DEATH

Gen'l Hagood soon saw the hopelessness of such an assault and shouted again and again to his command to halt, but the crash of the artillery and the rattle of over two thousand rifles which had opened fire drowned his voice. Unable to stop his men Hagood determined to share their fate and so with his staff he joined them "moving forward with the steady tramp of double quick and dressing on the colors."

Gen'l Hagood was with Major Wilds who was cheering his men to renewed assault, (success now being the only hope of safety); when looking to the right he saw a Federal mounted officer with a regimental color in his hands and a parleying immediately around him that betokened approaching surrender. It was a critical moment demanding instant action. Hagood approached the Federal officer and demanded the colors and that he should go back to his own lines. The Federal (Capt. Dailey of General Cutler's staff†) argued the hopelessness of further struggle. Hagood demanded a categorical reply—yes or no. Dailey raised his head proudly and decisively answered "No." Upon the word Gen'l Hagood shot him through the body, and as he reeled from the saddle upon one side, sprang into it from the other. Orderly I. D. Stoney seizing the flag from Dailey's falling hands. There was no thought of surrender now. The yell from the brigade following the act, and ringing out above noise of battle told their commander that they were once more in hand and would go now

* "Memoirs of the War of Secession."—Johnson Hagood, Brigadier-General, C. S. A.

† Gen. Lysander Cutler, of Wisconsin, received one of his four Civil war wounds at the bloody fight at Weldon Railroad.

wherever ordered—whether to the front or rear. Hagood then shouting to them to face about, led them at a run against the line in his rear, Stoney holding aloft in the front the recaptured flag which he had torn from its staff.

After a frightful loss of men what was left of the brigade reached the shelter of the valley of the branch.

Sergt. W. V. Izlar in a published sketch of the Edisto Rifles, in describing the action at Weldon Railroad holds that "this charge of Hagood's Brigade does not suffer by the comparison" with the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava. He submits a table of figures, as to both commands, of which the following is a recapitulation:

	Engaged	Loss	
Light Brigade	607	406	201
Hagood's Brigade	740	448	292

It will be noted that Lord Cardigan lost about 66 per cent., while Hagood lost 61 per cent.

A pleasing aftermath of this bloody battle is thus related by Sergt. Izlar:

"Several years after the close of the war, when Gen'l Hagood was Governor of South Carolina, Capt. Dailey wrote him and stated that he was then making application to the United States government for a pension on account of the effects of the wound received on the 21st of Aug., 1864, from Gen'l Hagood's pistol shot, and asked him if he would sign the petition. This Gen'l Hagood readily and gladly consented to do, and also endorsed on his application: 'As brave and gallant man as he (Dailey) deserves all the reward and consideration he could get from his country.'" He also expressed his gratification at hearing from him, and his pleasure at knowing that his shot did not prove fatal, and that he was still living. Gen'l Hagood invited him to come down to South Carolina and pay him a visit. This invitation Dailey could not accept, on account of his physical condition.

HOW HAMPTON FED THE STARVING ARMY

One of the most notable of Hampton's services which does not have the glamor of battle's "magnificently stern array" and little of the "rapture of the fight," was his celebrated expedition to capture a herd of cattle. On Sept. 14th, Gen'l Hampton, taking with him the division of W. H. F. Lee, Rosser's and Dearing's brigades and detachments from Young's and Dunovant's Brigades under Lieut. Col. Miller of the 6th South Carolina, passed to the rear of Grant's army. Lee led one column and Dearing another, while Hampton with Rosser and Miller, moved directly on Sycamore church. Each column was successful in its attack early in the morning, though stubbornly resisted, and Rosser pushed on and secured the cattle, 2,846 in number, and everything was withdrawn before 8 o'clock. Though heavily attacked on his return, Hampton saved the much needed beeves, repulsed all assaults, captured 304 prisoners, and returned, after an absence of three days, with the slight loss of 10 killed, and 47 wounded. Among those complimented for their services were Sergeant Shadbourne, who furnished the information about the cattle and guided Gen'l Rosser; Sergt. Hogan, in charge of Butler's Scouts, and Sergt. McCalla, First South Carolina, the only scout who was killed.

EXPLOITS OF BRATTON'S BRIGADE

The attempt on Sept. 30th to recapture Battery Harrison by Bratton's brigade, which had been ordered to support Anderson's brigade,

was ineffectual and resulted in heavy losses. Bratton took into action 1,165 muskets and 129 officers and his loss in killed and wounded was 377. He reported: "My orders were obeyed, and my dead, close under the enemy's works, attest their honest efforts to achieve the object for which they were given."

On Oct. 7th, Bratton's brigade moved down the Darbytown Road and struck the enemy's outposts which Colonel Coward drove into the Federal works. Then with Anderson, Bratton drove the enemy from the works, capturing one piece of artillery, the other guns falling an easy prey to Gary's cavalry brigade (Hampton Legion: 7th South Carolina and 24th Virginia), which before the arrival of reinforcements had been doing heroic duty holding back the Federal advance.

Bratton then joined the division line, and advancing found the enemy near the New Market Road in heavy force and behind log breastworks. He could make no headway under the terrific fire and was compelled to fall back with a loss of 190 killed and wounded, nearly half in Walker's Regiment. Gen'l Bratton was wounded and disabled for several weeks, and Capt. Quattelbaum of the Sharpshooters, a most efficient officer was killed. In this engagement Haskell's Battalion took a conspicuous part, Major Haskell narrowly escaping death. At the beginning of 1865 Gen'l Bratton reported that he had entered the campaign with a total of 2,016, had lost 176 killed, 1,094 wounded, and 94 missing, and had present at the date of his report, a total of 1,820.*

Elliott's Brigade remained on the Petersburg lines through the fall and winter and had almost daily losses in killed and wounded. On Oct. 27th, at night, the enemy carried a part of the picket line of the Holcombe Legion, and Gen'l W. H. Wallace, then in command of Elliott's Brigade, immediately sent forward a force of 200 men from the Legion and the 18th Regiment, under Capt. Brown, who retook the line with 14 prisoners.

Gen'l Harry Heth and Hampton's Cavalry checked the enemy effectively at Hatcher's Run, and on the Vaughan and Squirrel Level Roads. In the latter fight Gen'l John Dunovant was killed leading the South Carolina Cavalry.

In a gallant charge at Burgess's Mill on Oct. 27th, by Butler's Division, Lieut. Thomas Preston Hampton fell mortally wounded, and Lieut. Wade Hampton of the General's staff, was severely wounded. Lieut. Col. Jeffords of the 5th South Carolina was killed while leading his Regiment and the gallant Major T. G. Barker was dangerously wounded. Kershaw's brigade, under Gen. James Conner, and later under Col. Kennedy, served bravely under Early in the Shenandoah valley. At the fateful battle of Cedar Creek, Oct. 19th, a day of victory and disaster, the brigade lost 205 men. Lieut. Y. J. Pope was desperately wounded and De Saussure Burrows killed. Among the captured were Col. E. M. Boykin and Lieut. Col. McMichael of the 20th South Carolina.

Fort Fisher finally fell in January, 1865, and the Confederate struggle to hold the defensive lines of the capital was at an end. In the concluding chapter of Appomattox, figured eleven regiments and four brigades of infantry and cavalry, with three batteries of artillery. In the cavalry under Fitzhugh Lee were the Seventh regiment, Colonel A. C. Haskell, and the Hampton legion, Lieutenant-Colonel

* "Confederate Military History."

R. B. Arnold, of Brigadier-General M. W. Gary's brigade, and they were the last troops to leave the capital of the Confederacy.

The great events which marked the military end of the Civil war in South Carolina were the evacuation of Charleston and the devastating march of Sherman's army through the state, and it is not an unrelated coincidence that the day that the faithful garrison at Fort Sumter bade farewell to its fortress home, and the evacuation of Charleston began, Sherman's army was crossing the Congaree to occupy Columbia. That historic date was February 17, 1865.

The military situation on the previous day is thus described by General Beauregard: "Our forces, about 20,000 effective infantry and cavalry, more or less demoralized, occupy a circumference of about 240 miles from Charleston to Augusta. The enemy, well organized and disciplined and flushed with success, numbering nearly double our forces, is concentrated upon one point (Columbia) of that circumference."

When the Confederates had become convinced that Sherman's army planned an advance into South Carolina by way of Savannah, Georgia, preparations were made to block it. Working toward this end, even before the arrival of Sherman at the Georgia path and gateway, Major General John G. Foster, with a combined Federal force of nearly 6,000 infantry, artillery and marines, moved by boat from Hilton Head to Boyd's Neck, south side of Broad River and along the most feasible line of march to Charleston. After landing, Brigadier General J. P. Hatch was put in command of the expedition, with orders to push southwestward and cut the Charleston & Savannah Railroad.

COL. COLCOCK AT HONEY HILL

General Hardee sent General Gustavus W. Smith's division of Georgia State troops from Savannah toward the same locality and on November 30, 1864, Smith entrenched his Confederates upon rising ground called Honey Hill, near the bank of a small stream about three miles south of Grahamville. There on that date, was fought the first battle of the last campaign on South Carolina soil, and resulted in a victory for the Confederacy. Gen. Smith recognizing the ability of Col. C. J. Colcock, who knew every inch of the surrounding country, with rare courtesy requested him to remain in command of the battle-line, and move his headquarters a little in the rear of that line, so that he could be readily consulted in case of need. The morning after the battle, upon being congratulated upon his victory, Gen'l Smith, pointing to Colonel Colcock, said: "Congratulate that gentleman; he was the active commander on the field, placed the troops, and is entitled to the honors he has won."

THE BOY BATTALION AT TULLIFINNY

The young cadets of the South Carolina Military Academy ("The Citadel" in Charleston and latterly "The Arsenal" in Columbia) received their baptism of blood, seven days later, at Tullifinny, where they had been sent to protect the railway trestle. Major J. B. White, the commander of the boy battalion, says: "December 7th I was directed by Col. Edwards to take company 'A' of the Battalion, with other troops and advance upon the enemy in order to ascertain his exact position. * * * The entire line of skirmishers soon became engaged with those of the enemy, but advanced steadily, driving them

back upon their entrenchments, in front of which the line was halted, and after accomplishing all that was desired, fell back in perfect order. During this skirmish, which lasted about three hours, Company 'B' relieved Company 'A,' (its ammunition having been exhausted), so that the entire battalion became engaged. This was the first time the battalion of cadets met the enemy, but their conduct was such as to excite the commendation of the veteran troops, by whose side they fought and to call forth the approval of the commanding general as well as the colonel commanding the expedition. Every cadet acted with conspicuous gallantry, and showed that the discipline of his academy has made him a thorough soldier for the battle-field. The privations of the succeeding months proved him as well prepared for hardships of the march and the camp." Capt. W. K. Bachman heard an old soldier who served several years in Virginia express his admiration of the cadets in the Tullifinny fight in these words: "Them fellers fight like Hood's Texans."

Col. John Peyre Thomas, the historian of the South Carolina Military Academy, shows from the records that of the 240 alumni from 1846 to the close of the war in 1865 nearly every graduate was engaged in military service; one, E. M. Law,* rose to be major general; three, Hagood, Jenkins, and Capers, became brigadiers, while several, among them C. C. Tew and James D. Nance, were on the eve of reaching that rank when death in battle arrested promotion. Since the death of General Law, in 1920, Col. Asbury Coward is the Ranking Confederate officer among South Carolina survivors.

For three or four weeks, while awaiting the advance of Sherman, the Federal commander of the expedition made Boyd's Neck his headquarters, while Major-General Samuel Jones, in command of the military district, established his headquarters at Pocotaligo. Several engagements were fought, with varying successes, the chief efforts of the Confederate troops being to protect the railroad between Savannah and Charleston, which Colonel Colcock had mainly guarded for three years. Finally on December 21, 1864, Sherman's army evacuated Savannah and commenced its famous or infamous march through South Carolina.

† General Hardee, then at Charleston, six days after the Union army began to move as a body, was advised to make "silently and cautiously all necessary preparations for the evacuation of Charleston should it become necessary." General McLaws was instructed to assume command of all troops between the Savannah River and Pocotaligo, and on the last day of the year, 1864, Beauregard was,

* Evander McIver Law, who died at Bartow, Florida, October 31, 1920, was then the ranking surviving officer of the old Confederate army. He was born in Darlington, South Carolina, in 1836; graduated from the South Carolina Military Academy when twenty years of age; taught at King's Mountain Military School, York, and in 1860 moved to Tuskegee, Alabama, where he established a military school himself. He went into the service as lieutenant colonel of the Fourth Alabama Regiment, was wounded at First Manassas, promoted to colonel in the Peninsula campaign, commanded a brigade at Second Manassas and Antietam, was a brigadier general at Fredericksburg, was brevetted major general on the field at Gettysburg, commanded a division there, as well as at Chickamauga and through the closing campaigns of Lee and Johnston, and concluded his active military career as General Johnston's chief of staff, and a full major general in command of the cavalry division formerly commanded by Gen. M. C. Butler. General Law came to Florida in 1893, and conducted the South Florida Military Institute (which he established) and a local newspaper at Bartow until his retirement from active life in 1915. He was eighty-four years old at the time of his death.

† Ellison Capers's: "Confederate Military History."

at his own request, relieved of the general command of the department. He instructed General Hardee that while the fall of Charleston would be a terrible blow to the Confederacy, the loss of its garrison would be still more fatal, and that preparations should be made for evacuation as well as for defense.

Although a Federal brigade crossed the Savannah river into South Carolina on January 1, 1865, Sherman himself declares that the real march of his army did not begin until the 1st of February. On the following day, a conference was held at Green's Cut station, Georgia, by Generals Beauregard, Hardee, D. H. Hill and G. W. Smith, at which it was estimated that the Confederate forces available to meet Sherman's army of 60,000 men numbered 33,450. These included Lee's corps of the Army of Tennessee which had lately arrived, and Cheatham's and Stewart's, then on the way; Hardee's command of regular infantry, militia and reserves, artillery and cavalry (Butler's and Wheeler's). Later Wade Hampton reported for duty and was placed in command of all the South Carolina cavalry.

Sherman's army was organized in two wings. General O. O. Howard commanded the right wing, which comprised the corps of John A. Logan and Frank P. Blair, and General Slocum was in command of the left wing, the corps of which were under Jeff C. Davis and A. S. Williams. The cavalry, numbering about 4,000, was under General Judson Kilpatrick.

General Howard's wing was sent ahead in transports to Beaufort, whence he was to advance northward to the Charleston & Savannah railroad near Pocotaligo. The advance of the Slocum wing, all overland, with which was General Sherman himself, was slower than that under Howard. Before and after they united, every impediment was thrown in their way by Wheeler's cavalry and McLaws's forces, and there were several brisk engagements. The numerical superiority, better equipment and greater concentration and momentum of Sherman's army, however, was irresistible, despite the gallant fight, all along the line, displayed by the scattered forces of the Confederacy.

On the 11th of February, McLaws's skirmishers on the south side of the North Fork, before Orangeburg, made a gallant resistance at the bridge, which was partially burned. They were turned by a flanking movement below that town, however, when Orangeburg was abandoned. The work of destroying the railroad was then begun, and while Blair's corps of Howard's wing marched up the line toward the Congaree, engaged in that work, Sherman, with the remainder of his army, turned toward Columbia, where General Hampton was in command of the Confederate troops. Hampton evacuated the State capital on the 17th of February, 1865, as the corps of Slocum and Logan, of Sherman's army, occupied it. The commander-in-chief crossed into Columbia on a pontoon bridge and was met by Mayor Goodwyn who surrendered the city and asked for its protection from pillage. The tragedy which followed the punishment meted out to South Carolinians, has occasioned much contention.

Since the war hundred of articles have been written describing the burning and pillage of Columbia by Sherman's army. How far he was personally accountable for the destruction of property and the personal suffering thus caused is still discussed—all South Carolinians being of one mind. The most carefully collected testimony presented to the public with the sanction of official authority was that published by the committee of citizens in May, 1866, and of which ex-Chancellor J. P. Carroll was chairman. More than sixty depositions and statements in writing from as many individuals, were placed in the hands

THE OLD STATE HOUSE BURNED BY SHERMAN'S SOLDIERS
(From an Old Lithograph)

of the committee. "The array of witnesses," says the report, "is impressive not merely because of their number, but for the high-tone and elevated character of some of them, the unpretending and sterling probity of others, and the general intelligence and worth of all." The testimony of such witnesses was simply presented, but by the terms of the resolution appointing them, the committee did not "feel authorized to deduce any conclusions, or pronounce any judgment, however warranted by the proof, as to the person responsible for the crime."

"The forces of General Sherman's command while in Georgia," continues the report, "seem to have anticipated that their next march would be through South Carolina. Their temper and feeling towards our people, a witness (Mrs. L. Catherine Joyner) thus describes: 'The soldiers were universal in their threats. They seemed to gloat over the distress that would accrue from their march through the State. I conversed with numbers of all grades belonging to the 14th and 20th corps. Such expressions as the following were of hourly occurrence: "Carolina may well dread us; she brought this war on and shall pay the penalty. You think Georgia has suffered? Just wait until we get into Carolina—every man, woman and child may dread us there."'

"General Sherman himself, the same witness informs us, in addressing himself to a lady of his acquaintance, said to her: 'Go off the line of railroad, for I will not answer for the consequences where the army passes.'

"The threats uttered in Georgia were sternly executed by the troops of General Sherman, upon their entrance into this State. For eighty miles along the route of his army, through the most highly improved and cultivated region of the State, according to the testimony of respectable and intelligent witnesses, the habitations of but two white persons remain. As he advanced the villages of Hardeeville, Grahamville, Gallisonville, McPhersonville, Barnwell, Blackville, Midway, Orangeburg and Lexington were successively devoted to the flames. Indignities and outrages were perpetrated upon the persons of the inhabitants; the implements of agriculture were broken; dwellings, barns, mills, gin-houses were consumed; provisions of every description appropriated or destroyed; horses and mules carried away, and sheep, cattle and hogs were either taken for actual use or shot down and left behind. The like devastation marked the progress of the invading army from Columbia, through the State to its northern frontier, and the towns of Winnsboro, Camden and Cheraw suffered from like visitations by fire. If a single town or village or hamlet within their line of march escaped altogether the torch of the invaders, the committee have not been informed of the exception. The line of General Sherman's march, from his entering the territory of the State up to Columbia, and from Columbia to the North Carolina border, was one continuous track of fire.

"The devastation and ruin thus inflicted were but the execution of the policy and plan of General Sherman for the subjugation of the Confederate States. Extracts from his address at Salem, Illinois, in July, last (July, 1865), have appeared in the public prints, and thus he announces and vindicates the policy and plan referred to: 'We were strung out from Nashville, clear down to Atlanta. Had I gone on, stringing out our forces, what danger would there not have been of their attacking this little head of the column and crushing it? Therefore, I resolved in a moment to stop the game of guarding their cities and to destroy their cities. We were determined to produce re-

sults and now what were those results? To make every man, woman and child in the South feel that if they dared to rebel against the flag of their country, they must die or submit.'

"The plan of subjugation adopted by General Sherman was fully comprehended and approved by his army. His officers and men universally justified their acts by declaring that it was 'the way to put down rebellion, by burning and destroying everything.'

"Before the surrender of our town, the soldiers of General Sherman, officers and privates, declared that it was to be destroyed." (Statement supported by testimony of several witnesses.) On the morning of February 16, 1865, some of the forces of General Sherman appeared on the western side of the river and "without a demand for surrender, or any previous notice of their purpose, began to shell the town then filled with women and children and aged persons, and continued to do so at intervals throughout the day."

The committee's report continues: "The Confederate forces were withdrawn and the town restored to the control of the municipal authorities on the morning of the 17th of February. Accompanied by three of the aldermen, the mayor, between 8 and 9 o'clock A. M., proceeded in the direction of Broad River for the purpose of surrendering the city to General Sherman.* Acting in concert with the mayor, the officer in command of the rear guard of the Confederate cavalry, Gen. M. C. Butler, forbore further resistance to the advance of the opposing enemy, took effectual precautions against anything being done which might provoke General Sherman or his troops to acts of violence or severity towards the town or its citizens.

"The surrender of Columbia was made by the mayor and aldermen to the first general officer of the hostile army whom they met, and that officer promised protection to the town and its inhabitants until communication could be had with General Sherman and the terms of surrender arranged.

SACKING THE CITY

"By 11 o'clock A. M. the town was in possession of the Federal forces, the first detachment entering being the command of the officer who had received the surrender. They had scarcely marched into the town, however, before they began to break into the stores of the merchants, appropriating the contents or throwing them in the streets and destroying them.

"As other bodies of troops came in, the pillage grew more general and soon the sack of the town was universal. Guards were in general sent to those citizens who applied for them, but in numerous instances they proved to be unable, or unwilling to perform the duty assigned them. Scarcely a single household or family escaped altogether from being plundered. The streets of the town were densely filled with thousands of Federal soldiers, drinking, shouting, carousing and robbing the defenseless inhabitants, without reprimand or check from their officers, and this state of things continued until night.

"In some instances guards were refused. Papers and property of great value were in the vaults of one of the city banks, while the apartments above and in the rear were occupied by women and children with their food and clothing. For a guard to protect them application was made by one of our worthiest and most respectable citizens, Mr. Edwin J. Scott, first to the general officer who had received the sur-

* This spot is now marked by a granite boulder, with a bronze plate suitably inscribed.

render of the town (Colonel Stone) and then to the provost marshal (Major Jenkins). The response made to the applicant by the former officer, though standing idle in the crowd, was that he 'had no time to attend to him,' and the answer of the latter was 'I cannot undertake to protect private property.' Between 2 and 3 o'clock P. M. General Sherman in person rode into Columbia, informed the mayor that his letter had been received and promised protection to the town. Extraordinary license was allowed to his soldiers by General Sherman.

IN THE HANDS OF HIS FRIENDS

"In the afternoon of the 17th of February, 1865, and shortly after his arrival in Columbia, the mayor of the town at the request of General Sherman, accompanied him on a visit to a lady of his acquaintance. While proceeding to her residence General Sherman began to express his opinion very freely upon the subject of our institution of slavery. In the midst of his remarks he was interrupted by the sudden and near report of a musket. Immediately before them, in the direction they were going, they observed a group of Federal soldiers seeming to be excited and upon approaching they saw a negro lying dead directly in their path, being shot through the heart.

"General Sherman," the mayor, Dr. T. J. Goodwin narrates, 'asked of the soldiers "How came the negro shot?" and was answered that the negro had been guilty of gross insolence to them, and that thereupon General Sherman remarked: "Stop this, boys; this is all wrong. Take away the body and bury it." General Sherman,' continues the mayor, 'then stepped over the body of the negro, and observed to this deponent that in quiet times such a thing ought to be noticed, but in times like these it could not be done. General Sherman resumed his conversation in relation to slavery. No arrest was ordered or any censure or reprimand uttered by him except as above stated. About sundown as the mayor deposes, General Sherman said to him: "Go home and rest assured your city will be as safe in my hands as if you had controlled it." He added that he was compelled to burn some of the public buildings, and in so doing did not wish to destroy one particle of private property. 'This evening' he said, 'was too windy to do anything.'

"An esteemed clergyman, the Rev. A. Toomer Porter, testifies that the same afternoon, between 6 and 7 o'clock, General Sherman said to him: 'You must know a great many ladies. Go around and tell them to go to bed quietly; they will not be disturbed any more than if my army was one hundred miles off.' He seemed oblivious of the fact that we had been pillaged and insulted the whole day. In one hour's time the city was in flames.'

"Meanwhile the soldiers of General Sherman had burned that afternoon many houses in the environs of the town, including the dwelling of General Hampton, with that of his sister's, formerly the residence of their father and once the seat of genial and princely hospitality.

THREATS AND WARNINGS

"Throughout the day, after they had marched into the town, the soldiers of General Sherman gave distinct and frequent notice to the citizens of the impending calamity, usually in the form of direct and fierce threats, but occasionally as if in kindly forewarning. A lady of rare worth and intelligence and of high social position, Mrs. L. S. McCord, relates the following: 'One of my maids handed me a paper

left, she told me by a Yankee soldier; it was an ill-spelled, but kindly warning of the horrors to come, written upon a torn sheet of my dead son's note-book, which, with private papers of every kind; now strewn my yard. It was signed by a lieutenant of what company and regiment I did not take note. The writer said he had relatives and friends at the South and that he felt for us; that his heart bled to think of what was threatened. "Ladies," he wrote, "I pity you; leave this town—go anywhere to be safer than here." 'This was written in the morning; the fires were in the evening and night.'

"One of our citizens of great intelligence and respectability (Wm. H. Orchard) was visited about 7 P. M. by a squad of some six or seven soldiers to whose depredations he submitted with a composure which seemed to impress their leader. Of his conversation with this person the gentleman referred to testified as follows: 'On leaving the yard he called to me and said he wished to speak to me alone. He then said to me in an undertone: "You seem to be a clever sort of a man and have a large family; so I will give you some advice. If you have anything you wish to save take care of it at once, for before morning this ——— town will be in ashes, every house in it." My only reply was "Can that be true?" He said "Yes, and if you do not believe me you will be the sufferer. If you watch, you will see three rockets go up soon, and if you do not take my advice you will see h—l."'

SIGNAL ROCKETS AND DISABLED FIRE HOSE

"Within an hour afterwards three rockets were seen to ascend from a point in front of the mayor's dwelling. But a few minutes elapsed before fires in swift succession, broke out and at intervals so distant that they could not have been communicated from the one to the other. At various parts of the town the soldiers of General Sherman, at the appearance of the rockets, declared that they were appointed signals for a general conflagration. The fire companies, with their engines, promptly repaired to the scene of the fires and endeavored to arrest them, but in vain. The soldiers of General Sherman with bayonets and axes pierced and cut the hose, disabled the engineer and prevented the citizens from extinguishing the flames. The wind was high and blew from the west. The fires spread and advanced with fearful rapidity and soon enveloped the very heart of the town.

"The pillage began upon the entrance of the hostile forces, continued without cessation or abatement, and now the town was delivered up to the accumulated horrors of sack or conflagration. The inhabitants were subjected to personal indignities and outrages. A witness, Capt. W. B. Stanley, testifies that several times during the night he 'saw the soldiers of Sherman take from females bundles of clothing and provisions, open them, appropriate what they wanted and throw the remainder into the flames. Men were violently seized and threatened with the halter or the pistol, to compel them to disclose where their gold or silver was concealed.'

"The revered and beloved pastor of one of our churches, the Rev. P. J. Shand, states that 'in the midst and during the progress of the appalling calamity, above all the other noises might be heard the demoniac and gladsome shouts of the soldiery.' Driven from home by the flames, with the aid of a servant he was bearing off a trunk containing the communion plate of his church, his wife walking by his side, when he was surrounded by five of the soldiers, who re-

quired him to put down the trunk and inform them of its contents, which was done. The sequel he thus narrates: 'They then demanded the key, but I not having it, they proceeded in their efforts to break the lock. While four of them were thus engaged, the fifth seized me with his left hand by the collar, and pressing a pistol to my breast with his right, demanded of me my watch. I had it not about me, but he searched my pockets thoroughly and then joined his comrades who, finding it impracticable to force open the lock, took up the trunk and carried it away. These men,' he adds, 'were all perfectly sober.'

"By 3 o'clock A. M. on the night of the 17th of February, 1865, more than two-thirds of the town lay in ashes, composing the most highly improved and entire business portion of it. Thousands of the inhabitants, including women delicately reared, young children, the aged and the sick, passed that winter night in the open air, without shelter from the bitter and piercing blasts. About the hour mentioned, 3 o'clock P. M., a highly esteemed clergyman, Rev. A. Toomer Porter, personally known to General Sherman, was at the corner of a street conversing with one of the officers on horseback, when General Sherman, in citizen's attire, walked up and accosted him. The interview is thus described:

"In the bright light of the burning city General Sherman recognized me and remarked: 'This is a horrible sight.' 'Yes,' I replied, 'when you reflect that women and children are the victims.' He said: 'Your governor is responsible for this.' 'How so?' I replied. 'Who ever heard,' he said 'of an evacuated city to be left a depot of liquor for an army to occupy? I found one hundred and twenty casks of whiskey in one cellar. Your governor, being a lawyer or a judge, refused to have it destroyed as it was private property, and now my men have got drunk and have got beyond my control, and this is the result.' Perceiving the officer on horseback he said: 'Captain Andrews, did I not order that this thing should be stopped?' 'Yes, General,' said the captain, 'but the first division that came in soon got as drunk as the first regiment that occupied the town.' 'Then, sir,' said General Sherman, 'go and bring in the second division. I hold you personally responsible for its immediate cessation.' The officer darted off and Sherman bid me good evening. I am sure it was no more than an hour and a half from the time that General Sherman gave his order before the city was cleared of the destroyers.'

"From that time until the departure of General Sherman from Columbia (with, perhaps, one or two exceptions) not another dwelling in it was burned by his soldiers, and during the succeeding days and nights of his occupancy perfect tranquillity prevailed throughout the town. The discipline of the troops was perfect, the soldiers standing in great awe of their officers. That Columbia was burned by the soldiers of General Sherman—that the vast majority of the incendiaries were sober—that for hours they were seen with combustibles firing house after house without any affectation of concealment and without the slightest check from their officers, is established by proof full to repletion and wearisome from its very superfluity.

"After the destruction of the town, his officers and men openly approved of its burning and exulted in it. 'I saw,' deposed the mayor, 'very few drunken soldiers that night. Many who appeared to sympathize with our people told me that the fate and doom of Columbia had been common talk around their camp-fires ever since they left Savannah.'

"It was said by numbers of the soldiers that the order had been

given to burn down the city. There is strong evidence that such an order was actually issued in relation to the house of General John S. Preston.

THE URSULINE CONVENT BURNED

The Ursuline Convent was destroyed by the fire and the proof referred to comes from a revered and honored member of that holy sisterhood—the Mother Superior—and it is subjoined in her own words:

"Our convent was consumed in the general conflagration of Columbia. Ourselves and pupils were forced to fly, leaving provisions, clothing and almost everything. We spent the night in the open air in the churchyard. On the following morning General Sherman made a visit, expressed his regret at the burning of our convent, disclaimed the act, attributing it to the intoxication of his soldiers and told me to choose any house in town for a convent and it should be ours. He deputed his adjutant general, Colonel Ewing, to act in his stead. Colonel Ewing reminded me of General Sherman's offer to give me any house in Columbia we might choose for a convent. "We have thought of it," said we, "and of asking for General Preston's house which is large." "That is where General Logan holds his headquarters," said he, "and orders have already been given, I know, to burn it on tomorrow evening; but if you say you will take it for a convent I will speak to the General and the order will be countermanded." On the following morning, after many inquiries, we learned from the officer in charge (General Perry, I think), that his orders were to fire it unless the Sisters were in actual possession of it, but if even a detachment of Sisters were in it, it should be spared on their account. Accordingly we took possession of it, although fires were already kindled near, and the servants were carrying off the bedding and furniture, in view of the house being consigned to the flames.'

GRATIFYING THE GENERAL

"Although orders for the actual burning of the town may not have been given, the soldiers of General Sherman certainly believed that its destruction would not be displeasing to him. That such was their impression we have from the authority of a personage not less distinguished than the officer of the highest rank in the army of invaders next after the commander-in-chief himself. The proof is beyond impeachment. It comes from the honored pastor of one of our city churches (the Rev. P. J. Shand), to whom reference has already been made, and it is thus expressed in his written statement in the possession of the committee:

"As well as I recollect, November, 1865, I went in company with a friend, to see General Howard, at his headquarters in Charleston, on matters of business. Before we left the conversation turned on the destruction of Columbia. General Howard expressed his regret at the occurrence and added the following words: "Though General Sherman did not order the burning of the town, yet somehow or other, the men had taken up the idea that if they destroyed the capital of South Carolina it would be peculiarly gratifying to General Sherman." These were his words in the order in which I set them forth. I noted them down as having great significance, and they are fresh in my memory as they were immediately after they were spoken. My friend (whose recollection accords fully with my own) and myself, on our

GENERAL JOHN A. LOGAN'S
CHICORA

W A BUILDING OF THE
FEN .

Originally built by Ainsley Hall, a Columbia merchant who died in 1825; afterward occupied by General Wade Hampton (of the Revolution) by the Prestons, by Governor Franklin J. Moses, Rev. J. Stuart Dodge, the Ursuline Sisters and Rev. W. R. Atkinson who in 1890 there established the College for Women.

way home, talked the matter over, and could not but be struck by the two following facts: First, that although General Howard said that General Sherman did not order the burning, he did not state that General Sherman gave orders that the city should not be burned. Second, it was surprising, if General Sherman was opposed to the burning, that his opposition should have been so disguised, as to lead to the conviction on the part of his soldiery, that the act, so far from incurring his disapprobation or censure, would be a source to him of peculiar gratification.

THE "BURNING COTTON" MYTH

"The cotton bales in the town had been placed in the center of the wide streets in order to be burned, to prevent their falling into the possession of the invaders. But upon General Hampton suggesting that this might endanger the town, and that as the South Carolina Railroad had been destroyed the cotton could not be removed, General Beauregard, upon this representation, directed General Hampton to issue an order that the cotton should not be burned. The proof of this fact is to be found in the written statement of General Beauregard himself. Accordingly, and in due time, the order forbidding the burning of the cotton was issued to General Hampton and communicated to the Confederate troops. The officer then acting as General Hampton's adjutant (Captain Rawlins Lowndes) speaks as follows:

"Soon after General Hampton assumed command of the cavalry, which he did on the morning of the 17th of February, he told me that General Beauregard had determined not to burn the cotton, as the Yankees had destroyed the railroad, and directed me to issue an order that no cotton should be fired. This I did at once, and the same order was extended to the cavalry throughout their march through South and North Carolina."

"The general officer commanding the division forming the rear guard of the Confederate cavalry (General M. C. Butler) deposes: 'That he was personally present with the rear squadron of this division; that Lieutenant-General Wade Hampton withdrew simultaneously with him with a party of this deponent's command, and that General Hampton, on the morning of the evacuation and the day previous, directed him that the cotton must not be set on fire; and this order,' he added, 'was communicated to the entire division and strictly observed.'"

And much more testimony to the effect that not one bale of cotton had been fired by the Confederate troops when they withdrew from Columbia, and that all their commanders had even warned soldiers and civilians of the danger from the very presence of the inflammable stuff. The only building on fire at the time of the evacuation was the depot of the South Carolina Railroad which had caught fire accidentally from the explosion of some ammunition; and this inconsequential fire burned out without extending to other buildings.

On this point, the committee's report continues: "Shortly after the first detachment of General Sherman's troops had entered the town, and whilst the men were seated or reclining on the cotton bales in Main Street, and passing to and fro along them with lighted cigars and pipes, the row of cotton bales between Washington and Lady streets caught fire, the bales being badly packed with the cotton protruding from them. The flames extended swiftly over the cotton and the fire companies with their engines were called out and by 1 o'clock P. M. the fire was effectually extinguished." Other fires among the

cotton bales, in the jail and elsewhere were extinguished during the day, and the general conflagration did not commence until midnight. "The cotton," it is testified and proved by Mr. F. J. Scott, "instead of burning the houses was burned by them."

Other testimony than that already given was adduced to the effect that both Generals Sherman and Howard claimed their men got beyond their control because they had been supplied with whiskey, but no reference was made to the firing of the cotton bales as a cause of the general conflagration.

On the day after the fire, deposed the mayor, "General Sherman sent for me. I went to see him about 1 o'clock. He met me very cordially, and said that he regretted very much that our city was burned and that it was my fault. I asked him how? He said in suffering ardent spirits to be left in the city after it was evacuated. Saying, 'Who could command drunken soldiers?' There was no allusion made to General Hampton, to accident or to cotton."

"On the succeeding day," continues the report, "Sunday, 19th Feb-

PRESENT DAY RUINS OF MILLWOOD

ruary, 1865, the mayor and six of the citizens visited General Sherman in order to obtain food for the subsistence of the women and children, until communication could be had with the country. General Sherman, upon that occasion, talked much. 'In the course of his discourse,' deposes one of the gentlemen (Mr. Edwin I. Scott) 'he referred to the burning of the city, admitting that it was done by his troops, but excusing them because, as he alleged, they had been made drunk by our citizens, one of whom a druggist, he said, had brought a pail full of spirits to them on their arrival.' * * *

"As evidences of the general distress and suffering which resulted from the sack and burning of our city, and the desolation of the adjoining country, the committee refer to the fact, established by unimpeachable testimony, that for about three months daily rations, consisting generally of a pint of meal and a small allowance of poor beef for each person, were dealt out at Columbia, to upwards of 8,000 sufferers."

"Within a few miles of Columbia," says another narrative, "from two to five miles, it was girdled by beautiful country seats, such as those of the Hampton family—Millwood—a place famous of yore for its charm and elegance of society, its frank hospitality and the lavish bounty of its successive hosts. The destruction of this family

seat of opulence, and grace, and hospitality, will occasion sensation (written in 1865 for the *Columbia Daily Phoenix*) in European countries, no less than in our own, among those who have enjoyed its grateful privileges, as guests, in better days.

"The beautiful country seats of Mr. Secretary Trenholm, Dr. John Wallace, Mrs. Thomas Stark, Colonel Thomas Taylor, Captain James U. Adams, Mr. C. P. Pelham (Mill Creek) and many more, all shared the fate of Millwood. All were robbed and ruined, then given to the flames; and from these places were carried off all horses, mules, cattle, hogs and stock of every sort; and the provisions, not carried off were destroyed."

It has since been ascertained by careful investigators and local historians that the destruction occasioned by the fire, which continued until the following Monday, involved eighty-four out of one hundred and twenty-four blocks or squares, and these contained over five hundred edifices, including five churches, five banking houses, two hotels, the convent, foundries, factories and depots. Throughout the whole extent of Main Street, north of the State House, an uninterrupted succession of ruins appeared. The government armory, powder mills and other property of the city and State, the old State House; the cotton cord, stocking and sword manufactories, the gas works and the buildings at the Fair Grounds were all in ruins. Among the losses to the reading and artistic world were the Legislative Library of twenty-five thousand volumes, and the priceless collections of manuscripts, books, paintings and statuary of the Drs. O'Connell and Robert W. Gibbes, stored at St. Mary's College and in the mansion of the last named. Dr. Gibbes's historical collection was particularly rare and rich.*

In his *Memoirs* (Vol. II, p. 287), published in 1892, General Sherman denies that the fire which burned Columbia was deliberately planned and executed. "This is not true," he continues, "it was accidental and, in my judgment, began with the cotton which General Hampton's men had set fire to on leaving the city (whether by his orders or not, is not material), which fire was partially subdued early in the day by our men; but, when night came, the high wind fanned it again into full blaze, carried it against the frame houses, which caught like tinder, and soon spread beyond our control.

"This whole subject," continues General Sherman, "has since been thoroughly and judicially investigated, in some cotton cases, by the mixed commission on American and British claims under the Treaty of Washington, which commission failed to award a verdict in favor of the English claimants, and thereby settled the fact that the destruction of property in Columbia, during that night did not result from the acts of the General Government of the United States—that is to say, from my army. In my official report of this conflagration, I distinctly charged it to General Wade Hampton, and confess I did so pointedly, to shake the faith of his people in him, for he was in my opinion boastful, and professed to be the special champion of South Carolina."

The "Home Letters" of General Sherman, published at a comparatively recent date and long after his death, with the sanction of surviving members of his family, do not contain a single communication from South Carolina, or references to Columbia. Its burning and

* See pamphlet issued by John D. Caldwell, secretary Columbia Board of Trade in 1871.

the devastation of South Carolina, excepting a single reference to an incident at Cheraw, near the North Carolina line, are dropped from the record, although they comprise the most dramatic and fiercely-discussed feature of his entire march through the Southern States.

That letters reached the North from correspondents in the Federal Army is beyond question, the great New York newspapers contain many such communications, as anyone can readily discover by a visit to the library of Columbia University. Surely if newspaper correspondents could communicate with the great metropolitan dailies, the General of the Army could communicate with his family! Who is responsible for this "break," from Georgia to North Carolina—the general when he was alive, or the family, after he passed away?

GEN. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON, COMMANDER OF LAST CONFEDERATE ARMY

Sherman's march northward to Winnsboro, Florence, Chesterfield, Cheraw, with skirmishes and delaying engagements, largely between the cavalry of Butler and Kilpatrick, were events in the ravages committed in the up-country by the enemy for about two weeks after the Federals burned Columbia. Continuing his march northward, Sherman's left wing reached Fayetteville, N. C., on the 11th of March.

The South Carolina troops hung about the skirts of the invading army in North Carolina.

AVERYSBORO

Sherman spent three days at Fayetteville and then beginning to fear serious trouble from the concentration of the Confederate forces in his front under Johnston, he began a movement toward Goldsboro, ordering Schofield to join him there. Hampton steadily resisted his advance on the 15th (March) and the next day Hardee was encountered at Averysboro. Hardee tried to check Sherman's advance so as to give Johnston time to concentrate his army.

On the first of Hardee's two lines was posted Col. Alfred Rhett's brigade of regulars from the defences of Charleston, supported by a battery of light artillery and some of Hampton's cavalry.

* "After repulsing with slaughter two attacks and maintaining the front line for several hours, the command fell back to the second line, which General Hardee held, driving back the enemy. Our loss was computed at 500. That of the enemy according to prisoners' accounts amounted to 3200."

Colonel Rhett was captured by the enemy; Capt. Henry R. Lesesne and Lieuts. Oscar La Borde and Henry M. Stuart † were killed.

BENTONVILLE, THE LAST GREAT BATTLE

Immediately after the battle of Averysboro, Hardee's command was hurried on to join Johnston's Army, and on the 19th, three days

THE BENNETT HOUSE, WHERE THE SURRENDER OCCURRED

later, was fought the battle of Bentonville, the last great battle of the war. "Elliott's Brigade, which with Rhett's Brigade composed Talliaferro's division, struck the Federal line of battle bristling with men and artillery. It was subjected to terrific fire which caused it to break in confusion and retreat through Rhett's Brigade of regulars. "It was then," says Capt. Charles Inglesby, "that the splendid discipline of the brigade of regulars most signally showed itself. The officers sprang in front of their companies, commanding, 'Steady, men!' As soon as the field in front was clear, the brigade advanced in line of battle to the charge. Three times did this little brigade advance over this field strewing it with their dead and wounded until, a mere handful, they were ordered by their division commander to fall back." "What

* "Military Operations of General Beauregard."—Roman.

† A bronze tablet with a portrait in bas relief of this gallant young officer has been placed in the library of the University of South Carolina.

might not have been the result of the battle of Bentonville," asks Col. Roman, Gen. Beauregard's biographer, "if to Bragg's and Hardee's forces and to the small portion of the Army of Tennessee there present, had been added two corps of the Army of Northern Virginia; or, if, without them, Gen. Johnston's forces had really amounted to 49,868 men as General Badeau asserts in his 'Military History of Ulysses S. Grant!'" In the defense of Wilmington, N. C., and of Kinston, Hagood's and Manigault's South Carolina brigades fought with their accustomed valor against hopeless odds.

At length, surrounded on all sides by overpowering numbers, cut off alike from continued supplies of ammunition, food and clothing, the ragged, hungry, but still proud army, under General Joseph E. Johnston, was surrendered to Sherman at Greensboro, North Carolina, on the 26th of April, 1865, upon the same terms as those agreed upon between Lee and Grant at Appomattox.

DR. JEKYLL AND MR. HYDE

It is worthy of note that the terms of the Sherman-Johnston convention of April 18th were the most liberal and generous offered by any Federal commander during the War of Secession, and Sherman would have complied with them to the letter, had not his action been disapproved by the government at Washington. It is hard to reconcile the two Shermans, one the proud leader of one of the most barbarous marches in modern history, and the other a great generous leader who was more than merciful to a fallen foe.

For a week previous to the surrender, at Greensboro, of the last Confederate army in the East, President Davis had been journeying southward accompanied by his family and some of the members of his cabinet, and General Wade Hampton endeavored to get into touch with the head of his government. He offered to continue the war and reorganize an army west of the Mississippi River.* But, for several days, efforts to communicate with each other were futile. Finally they met at Charlotte, North Carolina, and President Davis approved the plan of the brave South Carolina general.

"Having received this authorization from his commander-in-chief," continues Wells, "Hampton returned to Hillsboro to carry out the plan agreed upon, arriving there at 11 o'clock P. M., April 26th, and found that the army had surrendered. This defeated the plan, for Hampton, of course, recognized that the convention entered into by Johnston and Sherman included his command—the entire cavalry corps present. He then informed General Johnston that, being absent at the time under special orders from the commander-in-chief, he did not consider himself embraced in the surrender, and that he would at once endeavor to join Mr. Davis, but would take none of his command with him. Learning that a large part of his men had refused to surrender and had left the camp, he sent a courier after them with orders to halt until he could come up with them, and at twelve o'clock midnight left his headquarters accompanied by several of his staff and seventeen scouts and couriers. At sunrise he came up with the men to whom he had sent orders to halt, and besought them to prove themselves then, as they had done throughout the war, good soldiers, by obeying the command of General Johnston by whom they had been surrendered as part of his army. He assured them, in most affecting words, that he knew they were ready to share his fate, but that this

* See Hampton's letters to President Davis in "Hampton and Reconstruction," by Edward L. Wells.

LAST MEETING OF THE CONFEDERATE CABINET, MAY 4, 1865

LAST CONFEDERATE TREASURY, AT ANDERSON

they could not honorably do, as they had been surrendered with the army, but that he himself was acting under the orders of the commander-in-chief and could therefore join him. The writer was not present, but has been informed by those who were there, that it was a most impressive and pathetic scene—old soldiers, with tears streaming down their faces and many sobbing like children, the General's eyes wet and his voice shaking with emotion.

"After having thus taken leave of his old comrades, many of whom had been with him since the beginning of the war, Hampton pushed on toward Charlotte, accompanied only by the men attached to his headquarters originally following him from camp, expecting to find Mr. Davis at that place, but on reaching there in the evening it was discovered that he had left for Yorkville, South Carolina, about thirty-five miles distant. Leaving his escort, whose horses were tired out, at Charlotte, Hampton procured a fresh horse and at once pressed on to Yorkville, swimming the Catawba River during the night and arriving at Yorkville at two o'clock A. M., only to find that Mr. Davis was reported gone to Abbeville, S. C. Thus disappointed in overtaking Mr. Davis and not knowing his plans of route, Hampton dispatched a letter to him by General Wheeler, whom he met at Yorkville, and also sent two couriers with communications for him, but all these failed of reaching him.

"Thus faithful to the last, but hearing nothing further from Mr. Davis, General Hampton eventually accepted a parole in accordance with General Lee's views that resistance was to cease, and from that moment there was no man, South or North, more sincere in accepting the legitimate results of the war, or in using his influence more conscientiously to bring about a Union restored in good faith and fraternal feeling."

With the desertion of Richmond as the capital of the Confederacy, its treasury was temporarily established at Anderson, in the extreme western part of the State. When Sherman learned that President Davis was escaping toward the southern, through upper South Carolina, his cavalry commands were instructed, if possible to intercept him. It was finally ascertained that he had reached Abbeville, and on its way toward the Savannah River to capture the former president of the Confederacy a Federal force of cavalry swept into Anderson. There, on May 1, 1865, the money printing presses of the Confederacy were captured, with a large number of notes. The clerks were dismissed, dispersing to every state in the South.

When both the clerks and the soldiers of the Confederacy finally reached their homes, they found General Gillmore dominating their beloved State and issuing his commands from Hilton Head. Governor Magrath was a prisoner of war in Fort Pulaski, Savannah, and all civil authority was, for the time, overshadowed by the military force of the Federal government.

CHAPTER LII

SOUTH CAROLINA WOMEN OF THE CONFEDERACY

While the Confederate soldiers fought with unflinching valor on many great battlefields of the Civil War, their wives, mothers and sisters labored unceasingly, in the long hours of waiting and dread, to do their utmost in upholding the Southern cause.

Carlo Botta, the Italian historian in his "History of the War for Independence," pays a tribute to the Carolina women of the Revolution of 1776 which applies, without the change of a word, to their descendants in 1861-65. Botta said: "In that fierce struggle, the War of the American Revolution, the women of Carolina presented an example of fortitude more than manly. I know not the history, ancient or modern, which has recorded a story of devotion exceeding or equaling that exhibited by these heroic beings to their American country. Far from considering the epithet a reproach, they gloried and exalted in the name of Rebel women. * * * Their example was inspiring, and it is owing principally to the firmness of these patriotic Carolinians that the name, as well as the love of liberty, was not extinguished in the Southern States."

VARIED ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN

In none of the Southern States did the women—and in this class is included many who, in years, were girls only—enter into the work of physical alleviation and moral inspiration with more zest or unwavering loyalty than those of South Carolina. The act of secession was still in its early infancy when the Women's Relief Associations, Hospital Associations, sewing circles, and scores of other organizations were organized throughout the State, and as the war advanced and demands from the battlefields from stricken soldiers poured in upon them, in the midst of their tears they were stimulated to greater and greater labors of love.

It should not be forgotten that no "Sanitary" or "Christian Commission," heavily endowed by leading capitalists and supplied with government funds, brought nourishing food and medicine to the wounded or fever-stricken Confederate. Not in South Carolina alone, but south of the Potomac it was the mission of woman to attempt and in hundreds of thousands of cases to successfully perform this self-imposed and unprecedented task.

During the last of the war when South Carolina had scarcely an able-bodied man in civil life, it was the women who upheld the morale of the soldiers in the field long after many of the stronger sex knew, in their hearts, that the Southern cause was lost.

AN APPEAL TO ENGLAND FOR HELP IN 1864

The spirit of the women of South Carolina is well shown in a circular dated May 31, 1864, and signed by Mrs. John Fisher, of Columbia, Mrs. M. A. Snowden, of Charleston, and other ladies

prominent in such work, appealing to Southern sympathizers in England for help in support of a bazaar proposed to be held in the State capital. The paper is addressed "to the friends of the cause of the Confederate States" and, after some opening statements, continues thus: "To those abroad under whose eyes this appeal shall fall, and who may not possess that local knowledge necessary to a correct understanding of our social and political conditions, a few words of explanation may be necessary.

"It will be borne in mind that the whole male population of the Confederate States between the ages of 18 and 45 is in the army. That the States from which they are drawn embrace an area larger than Europe; that the armies of our invaders are hurled against our entire border from Northern Virginia to Texas, from the Atlantic Ocean to the slopes of the Rocky Mountains. That in every section battles have been fought which, in frequency and numbers engaged, and in the loss of life, are without parallel. In this vast theatre of the exhibition of passion and of suffering, it will be perceived that great numbers of wounded soldiers must necessarily be continually passing to and fro on our railroads to their homes and in every stage of suffering and distress. This is especially true, as at the day of this writing, when great battles have just been fought. And, unfortunately, such periods are not rare. They follow each other with such fearful rapidity that it is not uncommon to meet with youths under twenty years of age who have passed through a greater number of battles than the veterans of Marlborough or Napoleon.

"The pressure of such sad realities impose upon the people through whose States these soldiers pass the duty to provide as far as possible for their relief. Wayside homes and hospitals have, therefore, been established where their wounds are dressed, food and lodging are provided, and everything possible is done for their comfort. These establishments, dispersed throughout our extensive country, require large outlays of money, and especially a supply of many comforts, such as groceries, bedclothing, etc., which it is difficult to procure in the Confederacy.

"The Navy constitutes another demand upon our services. Though less exposed in battle, the seamen are frequently much in want of shoes and clothing, which are not supplied by the Government. Their wants it is our anxious desire to supply as far as lies in our power."

The appeal was not made in vain and thousands of dollars worth of goods of all sorts was sent from England and successfully "ran the blockade" at Charleston and Wilmington, and the devoted women held the last "Bazaar" in Columbia late in January, 1865—though weeks before the torches of Sherman's men left the beautiful city of Columbia in ruin and desolation.

TYPICAL WOMEN OF THE CONFEDERACY

Where all were so faithful and brave, it seems an act of injustice to individualize. Those named are instanced as illustrative of the general record of their sex—women, further, who had an unusually wide acquaintance, were intelligent, energetic, resourceful and broad of sympathy. Besides Mrs. Jane Fisher of Columbia and Mrs. M. A. Snowden of Charleston, there were Mrs. D. J. McCord, Mrs. Campbell Bryce, Mrs. F. H. Elmore, the Misses Stark, Mrs. Thomas Taylor, Mrs. George Howe, Miss Kate Hampton, Mrs. J. P. Adams, Mrs. Macfie, Mrs. John McKenzie, Miss Isabel Martin, Mrs. John Le Conte and Miss Lucy Green of Columbia; Mrs. A. M. Mani-

gault, Mrs. D. E. Huger, Miss Laura Porter, Mrs. Sallie F. Chapin, Miss Annie Simpson, Miss Hester Drayton, Mrs. H. W. Conner, Miss Blamy, Mrs. George Robertson and Miss E. P. Hayne of Charleston, and women of the same type in every town and village of South Carolina.

Mrs. McCord, a brilliant woman whose mind was of masculine cast, became widely known for her numerous activities and power of organization.

The Sisters of Mercy and other Catholic orders accomplished much commendable work in the way of nursing sick and wounded soldiers, both in South Carolina and at the battle fronts in other states. There are those still living who remember the tender heart, the winning personality and the good management of Mother Theresa (Mary Theresa Barry), superioress of the Charleston Convent of Our Lady of Mercy. At one period of the war she, and five other Sisters under her, were called to Virginia to care for disabled Confederate soldiers. Mother Theresa lived until 1900 and was a much beloved character.

TWO UP-COUNTRY WOMEN

Of the representative women outside of the large cities who bravely and persistently sustained the cause were Miss Mary Ann Buie and Mrs. Sarah K. Rowe. Miss Buie, who was a North Carolina woman, spent the four years of the war in Aiken and Edgefield counties. Although she was a woman of considerable means she spent all she possessed in alleviating the sufferings of the soldiers, when they returned sick or wounded, buying and raising supplies to send to the front. She was a poor woman in 1865. Being well educated, after the war she opened a seminary at Edgefield, where she died of some infectious disease, and, as stated, by one of her biographers "was buried in the darkness of night" in the Methodist Church yard there.

Mrs. Rowe, of Orangeburg, was of an old Virginia family and was the wife of Donald C. Rowe. The Orangeburg district was intensely patriotic, and the Rowes (including two daughters) were prominent in all the relief movements of the war. They lost all their property soon after the war closed, and Mrs. Rowe also died a poor woman. Her death occurred at Orangeburg, in 1884.

Miss Buie and Mrs. Rowe were particularly active in the establishment and maintenance of wayside homes and hospitals, and were familiar figures to all the railroad men of the State, traveling, as they did, up and down all the lines (when in operation) in their efforts to relieve any traveling soldiers who might need their services.

A SOUTH CAROLINA MOLLY STARK

Hundreds of stories are in print, showing how the women of the Confederacy completely sunk themselves in the cause. Many are pathetic; some have the element of humor. The Columbia South Carolinian of—sometime in 1863—tells the story: "Every school boy knows the history of the Revolutionary heroine who tore up her flannel petticoat to make cartridges; but Molly Stark has her rival.

"A few days ago a number of wounded soldiers arrived at Chester, S. C., and, as our women always do, they bestowed upon them every attention, gave them food, rest, and rebandaged their wounds. It appears, however, one day all the bandages were exhausted before

MAIN STREET, COLUMBIA, SHOWING MEMORIAL IN FOREGROUND

all the soldiers were supplied, whereupon Mrs. Margaret Gaston (whose noble husband, Captain Lucius Gaston, had given his life for the cause), with a combination of ingenuity, patriotism, impulse and generosity common to the gentler sex, stepped aside, loosened her petticoat, which fell to the ground, lifted her pretty feet out of it and, tearing it into strips, deliberately proceeded to replenish the supply of bandages."

THE WOMEN PAY TRIBUTE TO THE MEN

With the typical generosity and self-forgetfulness of her sex, the fires of the war had not long cooled before the women of the State felt called to pay formal honor to the soldiers of the Confederacy, who, in the order and passion of battle had given their lives to the cause. One of their many memorials to the soldiers of South Carolina stands on the northern plaza of the State House grounds. The beautiful inscriptions which it bears were prepared by William Henry Trescot, a native of South Carolina, an exquisite prose stylist and a well known American diplomat and historian of American diplomacy, who died in 1898. It was found, after he had perfected the proposed inscriptions for three sides of the memorial, that only two could be used.

This inscription appears on the north side of the granite monument surmounted by a Confederate soldier: "This monument perpetuates the memory of those who, true to the instincts of their birth, faithful to the teachings of their fathers, constant to their love for the State, died in the performance of their duty; who have glorified a fallen cause by the simple manhood of their lives, the patient endurance of suffering and the heroism of death, and who in the dark hours of imprisonment, in the hopelessness of the hospital, in the short, sharp agony of the field, found support and consolation in the belief that, at home, they would not be forgotten."

The bronze plate on the south side of the monument bears the following inscription: "Let the stranger who may in future times read this inscription, recognize that these were men whom power could not corrupt, whom death could not terrify, whom defeat could not dishonor, and let their virtues plead for just judgment of the cause in which they perished. Let the South Carolinian of another generation remember that the State taught them how to live and how to die, and that from her broken fortunes she has preserved for her children the priceless treasure of their memories, teaching all who may claim the same birthright that truth, courage and patriotism endure forever."

The following are the lines which had to be omitted, but published as a part of the history of the memorial: "Those for whom they died inscribed on this marble the solemn record of their sacrifice, the perpetual gratitude of the State they served, the undying affection of those whose lives the separation of death has shadowed with an everlasting sorrow. Scattered over the battlefields of the South, buried in remote and alien graves, dying unsoothed by the touch of familiar and household hands, their names are graven here to recall to their children and kinsmen how worthily they lived, how nobly they died; and with what tender reverence their memory survives."

THE MEN HONOR THE WOMEN

So many years have passed since the Confederate War and its consequent sufferings and tragedies that for the younger generation

of South Carolinians those times had become a chapter of historic memories and traditions or mere records. Yet the living Confederate veterans had passed along their admiration and gratitude to their descendants for the countless gracious acts of the women of war times. Long after the women had erected the memorial to the Confederate soldier, the men reared a monument to the South Carolina women of the Confederacy, a superb bronze statue, by Ruckstuhl, on the south side of the capitol grounds. It was not unveiled until April, 1912.

The inscriptions upon the monument were from the gifted pen of William E. Gonzales and read as follows:

"In this monument generations unborn shall hear the voice of a grateful people testifying to the sublime devotion of the women of South Carolina in their country's need. Their unconquerable spirit strengthened the thin lines of gray. Their tender care was solace to the stricken. Reverence for God and unfailing faith in a righteous cause inspired heroism that survived the immolation of sons, and courage that bore the agony of suspense and the shock of disaster. The tragedy of the Confederacy may be forgotten, but the fruits of the noble service of the daughters of the South are our perpetual heritage.

"When reverses followed victories, when want displaced plenty, when mourning for the flowers of Southern manhood darkened countless homes, when government tottered and chaos threatened, the women were steadfast and unafraid. They were unchanged in their devotion, unshaken in their patriotism, unwearied in ministrations, uncomplaining in sacrifices. Splendid in fortitude they strove while they wept. In the rebuilding after the desolation their virtues stood as the supreme citadel with strong towers of faith and hope, around which civilization rallied and triumphed.

"At clouded dawn of peace, they faced the future undismayed by problems and fearless of trials, in loving effort to heal their country's wounds, and with conviction that from the ashes of ruin would come the resurrection of truth with glorious vindication."

CHAPTER LIII

REMINISCENCES OF THE WAR OF SECESSION

By J. F. J. Caldwell

When we brigade officers lost our commissions by the transfer of State troops to Confederate States service, I enlisted as a private soldier in the Third South Carolina Infantry Regiment, then in Virginia, and next on duty as orderly to the Colonel. Our democratic usages, however, enabled me to have quarters in the tent of Major James M. Baxter and mess with the field and staff officers.

HAZY RECOLLECTION OF BULL RUN

That regiment was not engaged in either of the battles of the 18th and 21st of July. My only recollection of the last of the two is that I heard the early cannon firing and later musketry along Bull Run; that, despite the raging fever that kept me at the wagon train, I staggered out several times to an open eminence near by and watched the smoke and dust of battle; and finally, while the tide was still against us, flung myself in utter despair on the ground in the little fly-tent provided for me, and fell into the sleep of exhaustion. When aroused later and told of the Confederate victory, I was too puzzled for some time to comprehend the story. About ten days later, at Flint Hill, Major Baxter handed me a paper certifying that I had been discharged from the service. To my question how this had come about, he laughed, and said, "Oh! Dr. Ewart" (the surgeon of the regiment) "and I were unwilling to have you die on our hands."

MILITARY SECRETARY OF FIRST SOUTH CAROLINA

In March, 1862, being in pretty good health, I prepared to go back to Virginia and enlist again. But when nearly ready to start, I received a letter from my cousin, John Caldwell McLemore, conveying an invitation from Col. D. H. Hamilton, of the First South Carolina Infantry, to come to him, act as his military secretary, bring my horse (which he would forage), and take quarters with McLemore, the adjutant. Colonel Hamilton afterwards told me that, while interested in me from accounts of me by McLemore and others, the chief element leading to the invitation was his affection for my father, Chancellor Caldwell, then twelve years deceased. I at once procured a horse and joined the good Colonel and my bosom friend McLemore, early in April, in the vicinity of Fredericksburg, Virginia.

GREGG'S BRIGADE

The brigade of Brigadier-General Maxcy Gregg, of South Carolina, formed about the first of June, consisted of five South Carolina regiments, the First, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Orr's Regiment of Rifles. While our regiment and the Rifles moved to join our

three comrade bodies, a balloon, like a great yellow eye, seemed to inspect us. A shot from "Long Tom," a gun captured at First Manassas, soon caused a very rapid descent to earth.

Our brigade, with the rest of A. P. Hill's division, moved out of camp early in the night of the 25th of June, arrived just across the Chickahominy River from Mechanicsville about dawn, and lay there till three or four o'clock in the afternoon of the 26th, awaiting Stonewall Jackson's arrival on the enemy's right flank, on the other side of the river. We grew very impatient, most of us sweating under a burning sun and hearing no battle on the other side of the river, and no tidings of Jackson. Finally, A. P. Hill moved us across the river and engaged the enemy. I have never been able to see why Jackson did not strike the enemy's flank. As it was, we saw nothing of him until towards noon the next day, when he introduced himself to us by an artillery fire on our own front and flank while we pursued Porter's retiring forces. Our brigade was not actually engaged in Hill's fruitless assault of the Beaver Dam intrenchments.

AT GAINES'S MILL

Description of the great battle of Gaines's Mill on the 27th is not within the scope of this article. Just after the artillery fire above mentioned, I saw both General Lee and Stonewall Jackson for the first time. They were conversing. I rode as close to them as I dared, but could hear nothing said by either of them. General Lee's movement of his hands, however, indicated the movements to be made by A. P. Hill and Jackson, respectively; ours to be southeastward, about parallel with the Chickahominy, and Jackson's northeastward. We were soon engaged. I may be permitted to mention the exceptionally fine fighting of our Rifle regiment, then in its first battle. Sent to capture or drive off an annoying battery of artillery, it struck and beat two lines, and then fought desperately a third line of New York Zouaves. Of 537 men carried into action, 81 were killed and 234 wounded, in about half an hour. A member of the Zouave regiment wrote me, years ago, that the issue between it and the Rifles was in much uncertainty for some minutes.

UNACCOUNTABLE STAMPEDE NEAR ORANGE COURT HOUSE

Our division was added to Jackson's corps just before his brief campaign terminating in the battle of Cedar Mountain. The South Carolina brigade was not engaged, being employed as guard of trains. We had, however, an unusual experience after the close of the campaign, when we were retiring to Orange Court House. About midnight, while we lay in bivouac on the roadside, there was a stampede of troops in the road. Many of our men, awakened by men running over them, joined in the flight through the woods. When I rose to my knees, I was knocked down by a gun carried at the trail, and then a man trod on my right hand, and imprinted with the tacks in the heel of his shoe marks which I carried for many weeks. Not a gun was fired. The only noise I heard, except the rush of feet and jostling of bushes, was much inarticulate exclamation. We never could account for the panic, but I could now understand better than formerly the flight of the Persians at Marathon, that of the Gauls of Brennus, and that of Federal troops at first Manassas.

When we were resting near Manassas Junction Station, on 27th of August, after getting between John Pope's army and Washington,

and some Federal prisoners were marched past us, a man in our column sprang up and caught one of the prisoners by the collar. Instantly a storm of indignant denunciation burst from the lips of our men about them, and the rude assailant let loose the prisoner, and slunk away.

REMARKABLE COHESIVE QUALITIES

I observed, in the battle, two days later, as in several battles later, the commendable quality of our men to stay together in a reverse. The tide at Second Manassas, swayed forth and back in our charges, but in the six charges of the enemy reported by Gen. A. P. Hill, there was never among us a dispersion, such as I saw at Gaines's Mill, at Sharpsburg, at Chancellorsville, at Gettysburg and perhaps elsewhere, among Federal soldiers. There seemed to be in our brigade, and in some others, a cohesion almost impossible to dissolve. This element rendered it easier to renew attack or defense, and much easier to rally the men. The French, so far as I have read, have been the only soldiers with at all an equal record.

JACKSON'S PRONENESS TO ARREST

I regret to relate that Jackson put A. P. Hill under arrest when we were in Maryland, because of his failure to march his division at a gait acceptable to the corps commander. Was such a thing ever done elsewhere? And this reminds me of the same corps commander putting the colonel of one of our regiments under arrest because a man of that regiment, while its commander rode at the head of his marching column, ran out from the rear of the regiment to a well close to the road—a thing impossible for the colonel to see unless he rode backwards, and also had very sharp eyes.

RESPECT OF PROPERTY RIGHTS BY TROOPS

We should note the careful respect of Confederate troops, in our marches in Maryland, for the persons and property of the inhabitants. I saw where whole brigades marched through orchards, where thousands of fine, ripe apples hung at arm's reach; yet there was not a core, or a peeling on the ground, or a stripped or broken bough of a tree, or any other evidence that the fruit had been touched. And I never saw, or heard of, an injury or affront to a citizen.

JACKSON CHEERED BY FRIEND AND FOE

On the 15th of September, after the surrender of Harper's Ferry, and while our division and the 11,000 prisoners whom we guarded lay along the turnpike, General Jackson came riding alone along the road, from the Potomac side. Our prisoners rushed over us, ran to the edge of the road, and joined vociferously in our cheering. Jackson saluted several times, pulled down his hat over his eyes (he had left off his old stained and faded cap), and putting spurs to his lean sorrel horse, galloped at some speed past us. Some prisoners intimated that if they had only "had him," their and our respective situations would have been reversed."

ANTIETAM AND A "HANDSOME" ADVANCE

The battle of Sharpsburg, or Antietam, was not a very trying one for our brigade. Arriving on the right of Lee's front, at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, after a rapid march from Harper's Ferry,

we pretty soon beat off the attacking enemy lines, our casualties being only 28 killed and 135 wounded out of somewhat less than 800 men actually engaged.

Two days later, at Shepherdstown, or Boteler's Ford, after recrossing into Virginia, the six brigades of our division, in two lines, made, across open ground, the handsomest advance I ever saw under fire. As I have written elsewhere, "Sometimes a shell burst right in the ranks, tearing and mangling all around it. In Pender's brigade, I saw a man lifted clear into the air. But all in vain. The men closed up at once, and the advance was continued without a falter." McClellan's pursuit failed.

JACKSON A SEVERE DISCIPLINARIAN AND RELIGIONIST

The next day, when we went into bivouac near Martinsburg, Colonel Hamilton did not execute as quickly as desired by General Jackson the order of the latter to fire off rifles; and was put under arrest. Possibly, the Colonel was about five minutes slow: but he did not seem to me to lose one minute. The consequence was a very angry controversy, in which our brigade commander, General Gregg, took a vigorous part in defense of his gallant subordinate. The two generals were never quite reconciled with each other until General Gregg lay dying of his wound at Fredericksburg, on the 13th of December following.

And while recalling General Jackson's discipline, I am reminded of an occurrence while we were in winter quarters, a few months later, some miles east of Fredericksburg. An officer of the brigade received, one Sunday morning, a telegram from his home in South Carolina, announcing the serious illness of his wife and urging him to get leave of absence, to visit her, if practicable. His brigade commander and his division commander promptly approved his application, each expressing sympathy with him. General Jackson approved also, but instead of sympathy gave him a lecture on the proper observance of the Sabbath day. Stonewall Jackson was a great general, and a very religious man: but he had rather a peculiar kind of religion.

Captain William Farley, of General J. E. B. Stuart's staff, told me that, in his hearing, Jackson expressed great anxiety, after Burnside's repulse at Fredericksburg, to attack the Federals and "drive them into the river yonder." General Lee thought differently.

BECOMES MCGOWAN'S BRIGADE

Colonel Samuel McGowan, of the Fourteenth South Carolina Regiment, was appointed and commissioned brigadier-general, and assigned to the command of our brigade about the first of February, 1863.

MAJOR CALDWELL BECOMES BRIGADE HISTORIAN

Just before this, Colonel Hamilton, with the help of Gen. A. P. Hill, procured for me from the War Department a commission as second lieutenant, for some good work which they thought I had done on June 27, 1862, in the battle of Gaines's Mill. General McGowan assigned me to duty on his staff as ordnance officer of the brigade. Now, in winter quarters, I had little to do, and had very agreeable society at brigade headquarters. Really, about the only worries I had were that General McGowan *would* go to sleep whenever I read to

him my reports and suggestions (Rochefoucauld has well said that we can forgive those who bore us, but not those whom we bore); and frequently he actually importuned me to write the history of the brigade. My post there I knew to be of very uncertain duration, for I could not obtain an examination for admittance into the ordnance department, and might be returned to duty in the line, at any moment. And serving in a company, in the line, I should have no facilities for writing, and no means of preserving what I wrote. The General could not see the force of my objections to undertaking the work, and sometimes we almost quarreled. He was resolved to have the history written, and written during the war, and for some reason, or reasons, thought me the man for the work. About the first of April, a regularly commissioned officer in the ordnance department was sent to us, and I went on duty with a company of the First Regiment.

CHANCELLORSVILLE AND THE CARD SUPERSTITION

Soon came the Chancellorsville campaign. My last sight of Stonewall Jackson (unless I saw him after he was wounded) was soon after sunrise in the morning of May 2nd, just before we started on our march around Hooker's position at Chancellorsville. He rode rapidly along our front, to the right. Soon our artillery opened fire; and then we were marched into the wilderness of woods.

In the afternoon I observed palpable manifestation of men's superstition. Thousands of playing cards were scattered in and near the plank-road along which we marched in column, following our two lines of battle driving the enemy. I remarked that this was waste, because these cards would be gathered up by sutlers and soon sold to their former owners. But more than one man protested that it would not do to carry cards into battle. Presently, during a brief halt, and our men's investigation of the pockets of dead Federals lying in the road, I saw a mutilated book taken from a breast-pocket. On examining it, I saw that it was a New Testament, shot through by a rifle ball, and an examination of the dead man's body disclosed that he had been shot in the breast. I remarked, that a good pack of cards in that pocket might have saved his life; but nobody agreed with me.

Not long after dark, while we were still along the road, and after a sudden fire of musketry on the front line, several persons came from the front bearing a man on a litter. They answered our inquiries by saying merely that he was a Confederate officer. We afterwards thought that this officer may have been General Jackson, brought back from his fatal reconnoissance.

FIERCE ASSAULTS OF NEW YORK ZOUAVES

I am not expected to describe our great battle on the 3rd of May. But it may be as well that I bear testimony to the fierce and persistent assaults of the New York Zouaves on the line of works to which our brigade retired for a time during the forenoon of that day. The monument which commemorates their heroic efforts was fully earned. General McGowan, I think, received his wound while standing, before that, on these works, cheering our then advancing line, and bidding us "give them"—something very hot.

After this campaign, when we went back to our post near the Rappahannock and our picket occupied the south bank of the river, with the Federal picket posted on the north bank, we and they grew to be quite friendly with one another. We now treated the formerly

resented designation of Rebel as a joke, and answered cheerfully to the hail, "Hello, Johnnie Reb," or usually "Johnnie," as they did to our call, "Hello, Yank!" Nor was this very strange. The organization of patriotic seekers for reform, in the Netherlands, in the 16th century, formally adopted the name of "beggars" (Gueux) applied to them by Count Berlaymont in speaking to Margaret of Parma—"Ce n'est qu'un tas de gueux." And it is probable that the name Christian, of which we are proud, was invented by the people of Antioch in derision of the disciples.

GETTYSBURG TURNED THE TIDE

Before long came the Gettysburg campaign. I am glad that I am not expected to narrate the history of that woeful disappointment—the tale of brightest hopes blasted; of skill, and effort, and valor wasted; of thousands of our best men slain or disabled. We fought well many times thereafter, and the struggle continued for twenty-one months longer; but on the 4th of July, 1863, when Pemberton surrendered his army at Vicksburg, and Lee went back from Gettysburg, the tide set in against us, and never again was turned, or materially stayed.

In this battle I had a surprising experience with Henry Butler, the free negro who served our company officers' mess and who insisted that he must accompany me. Even after we got under fire, I had much difficulty in driving him back, and after I was wounded and prostrated on the ground, he it was who first came to me and literally carried me to the field hospital.

LEE'S ARMY VALOROUS AND CONSIDERATE

Lee's army gained additional fame for valor in this campaign; but they made an even nobler record for magnanimity and virtue, in studiously avoiding any ill treatment of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania or Maryland, and refraining from destroying or appropriating their property. When the town of Wrightsville, in Pennsylvania, was set on fire by the burning of a bridge by its inhabitants to prevent capture by Gordon's men, as soon as they obtained possession of the town the Confederates assisted vigorously in staying the progress of the flames. How different this from the conduct of Federal troops under Hunter and Sheridan in the Valley of Virginia, and that of Sherman's men in Georgia and South Carolina!

BREASTWORKS IN DANGER

The only bad thing I have heard told against a Confederate soldier was his speech to the young Pennsylvania woman who made display of a Union flag on her bosom, and employed belligerent language. "Miss," cried he, "you'd better take off that thing. You know we Rebels are hell on chargin' breastworks!"

EXPEDITION AGAINST MEADE'S ARMY

The expedition of the two corps of Hill and Ewell against Meade's army, in October—Longstreet's corps being then in Tennessee—was more a diversion than a campaign for our brigade. We fought no battle; and it was a relief to be once more in motion. At its close the First South Carolina Regiment, of Hill's corps, and the Twelfth

Georgia, of Ewell's, were sent to the mountains to capture deserters and conscript dodgers, who were said to be there in considerable numbers; the Georgians to sweep the valley, or western side, and we, the eastern. The Georgians captured about a hundred men; we, a few less. Our operations, however, were cut short in a few days by order from superior authority in consequence of the reported advance of a body of Federal cavalry too large for us to cope with. A majority of the men we took were more or less intoxicated—some of them very drunk. Their women, wives, or concubines, talked quite savagely, but nobody was hurt on either side.

MCGOWAN'S BRIGADE AT THE WILDERNESS

I am not to attempt a history of the battle of the Wilderness, on the 5th and 6th days of May, 1864. But McGowan's brigade received some attention from General Lee in the early morning of the 6th, which I feel it my duty to mention. I passed it by with only a brief reference in my history of the brigade, because at the time of its publication (in 1866) I had seen no mention of it in any publication. But since that year, General E. P. Alexander, of the Army of Northern Virginia, has given a version of the matter in his *Memoirs*, or *Reminiscences* (I am not sure of the title), which is not correct, and is not just to us. He states that the brigade came "pouring down the road" (Plank Road) past the open field where General Lee stood among some small pines, and that the general called to General McGowan, "My God! General McGowan, is this splendid brigade of yours running like a flock of geese?" Now, we were not in the road; we were not running; we were not passing or approaching General Lee, but were stationary, dressing our line of battle.

LEE'S REGRETTABLE WORDS

General Lee rode up to us from the rear, and his words were, "I am sorry to see this gallant brigade run like a parcel of geese." I stood less than forty feet from him, when he spoke; and the words burned themselves into my memory. We had been in line fronting the enemy on the west of the plank road. They moved against our front. Their long line overlapped Thomas's brigade, on the right of the road, turned his right flank, doubled up his men and forced them to retire on that side of the road, and in it. Continuing, they came upon our flank; and thus we were assailed on both our front and our right flank, the force on the flank being closest to us. Under this pressure, we officers concurred in the decision to move back to the artillery, less than two hundred yards in our rear.

I remember General McGowan, coming from a little distance in the rear and not having seen the ground, did not understand the situation, and called to me, "Caldwell, can't you hold your company?" I replied, "General, I can hold this company wherever they ought to stand; but I do not propose to have them murdered by a flank fire." He said no more that I heard. If any man of the brigade ran, I did not see him. We walked, and hardly at quick time, halted as soon as we reached the artillery, and in five minutes were ranged in line of battle.

Then it was that General Lee galloped up to us from the rear, wholly ignorant of our case. General Lee proceeded to chide the officers, especially file-closers. General Hill, who joined us just as we reached the artillery, employed no reproach or blame, but only

urged that we should lose no time; and he quickly ordered us to cross the road and support Kershaw's brigade now engaged. General Lee had a hot, combative temper, as was shown, the same day, by his offer to lead a charge, and by like action on the 12th of May, and shown on a larger scale at Malvern Hill in 1862 and on the third day at Gettysburg. But he was always ready to make reparation. General McGowan told me that he expressed regret for his language and manner to us on this 6th day of May, 1864.

AT SPOTTSYLVANIA'S "BLOODY ANGLE"

The brigade was at "the bloody angle," at Spottsylvania, from about ten o'clock A. M., on the 12th of May until shortly before dawn on the 13th. Reports soon after the battle gave as our casualties 86 killed, 241 wounded, and 124 missing, out of about 1,200 engaged. But it was afterwards learned that a large proportion of those reported missing were either killed or disabled, and left behind us on our retirement in the night.

The tree, whose stump, eighteen inches in diameter, has long been in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, and which was shot down by rifle balls, stood about forty feet from where I spent the night, and fell about midnight. There was very absurd blundering, in the afternoon of the 12th, a number on each side fancying that the men on the other side wished to surrender. It was difficult to get our men to resume firing after the suspension of fire on both sides and a sort of parley in which almost everybody talked, and hardly anybody listened. Men are unlike women, who can talk and listen at the same time.

FIRST AND LAST CONVERSATION WITH GENERAL LEE

In June, 1864, I had my first and last conversation with General Lee. On the rapid march during a very hot day, I had just been discharged from the hospital, and still sick, had stopped for a short rest, when I was overtaken by the General and some of his staff. Learning from me to what command I belonged, he informed me that he hoped I would join my comrades very soon. I expressed my concurrence in his wish, and he rode on.

FRIENDLY EXCHANGES OF MILITARY ENEMIES

I was severely wounded on August 16th, at Fussell's Mills below Richmond, and did not return to the front until about the middle of November. The brigade then lay in trenches some four or five miles south of Petersburg. Our picket line and that of the enemy there were usually about two hundred yards apart. The pickets were on friendly terms, conversing pretty often during the night, and by day exchanging newspapers and trading Confederate tobacco for Yankee coffee. The pickets of some of our regiments, there being no wood near us elsewhere, were permitted to get their fuel within the Federal line. Once, when I accompanied a detail from the picket under my command, I was met and made welcome by the officer in command on that side, and invited to join him in the breakfast just brought to his tent. I felt it my duty to decline; but I must admit that the duty was painful to me, for he announced, as his menu, whiskey, for an appetizer, then coffee, bread, butter and some meat—I think, beefsteak. But of course it would not do for me to sit down to a feast under the very noses of men

living on a pound of corn meal a day. Poor, brave, starved, ragged, faithful fellows! When in command of a large detail of men constructing entrenchments about two miles beyond our quarters, I found that many of them could hardly throw a spadeful of earth to the height of five feet. Yet they performed their duties with cheerfulness and alacrity, were always ready for a fight, sang their plantation melodies in their smoky cabins, joked even in storms of rain or snow. Thus they were, even when they knew that our cause was fast tottering to its fall.

THE MAJOR BOUND AS BRIGADE HISTORIAN

In the last days of the year, or at the opening of 1865, General McGowan took me as aide-de-camp, and deprived me of all excuse for not writing the history of the brigade. I had written three-fourths or more of the work when the campaign opened in the last days of March. It was very pleasant at brigade headquarters, at the Boisseau house. We had visits from General Heth, General Wilcox, General McRae and others of that rank, and had frequent visits from officers of the brigade. General McGowan was a hearty, genial, entertaining host; and he could get more fun into a game of whist than I had imagined it possible to inject into that serious recreation. In the absence of books, we frequently entertained one another with recitals from the poets and dramatists. General McGowan led in this, having committed to memory many passages of Milton, Shakespeare and others. I learned Wilde's "My Life is Like the Summer Rose" from his recital.

FOUR BAPTIST DESERTERS SHOT

Desertion now became a serious evil. We lost by it 104 men—a smaller number than most brigades suffered. Almost all the men went, or at least started, to their homes. Only five of the deserters from the brigade were captured. These were tried, convicted and condemned to death within twenty-four hours after their capture. One, a mere boy, and the son of another captured, was respited. The remaining four were shot by a detail from the First Regiment, to which they belonged, and in the presence of the brigade. These four having been reared under Baptist influence, they requested to be immersed before execution. This was rather difficult to arrange. Our couriers could not find a Baptist chaplain, and the Presbyterian ministers about us prayed to be excused. I could not blame them, for the rite could not be administered except by wading thirty yards or more into a pond of ice-cold water with a muddy, miry bottom. But we secured, at last, the services of a Methodist chaplain: whereupon General McGowan exclaimed "Hurrah for the Methodists!" Then the men were shot.

THE PETERSBURG CAMPAIGN

Our next battle was at Gravelly Run, seven or eight miles from Petersburg, on the 31st of March, when our brigade and the brigade formerly known as Gracie's, of Alabama men, numbering, combined, not more than two thousand soldiers, fought the three divisions of Warren's corps, until near sunset. Those divisions embraced close to 14,000 men, as appears by the testimony on the trial of General Warren's case after the war—Ayres's, 3,308; Crawford's, 4,618; and Grifins's (commanded that day, I think, by General Chamberlain), 5,985. The only assistance sent us was Wise's and Hunter's brigade, of about

2,000 men. The two first named divisions we routed; and the third we kept busy for two hours, or longer.

The rupture of Lee's lines defending Petersburg was completed on the morning of April 2, 1865. Then McGowan's brigade, with three others, fell back to the vicinity of Sutherland Station, on the Southside Railroad, and there resisted, with only piles of rails for defense, General Miles' division of, it has been said, 12,000 men. Our force was not more than 3,000. After repulsing two formidable charges in front, we were finally broken and scattered by simultaneous attacks on front and left flank. I had charge of our skirmish force on our left, and had cause to be very proud of the men in the hard, hopeless struggle. We were there only to delay the enemy as long as possible, to enable artillery and wagon trains to pass in our rear.

A GENEROUS UNION FOE

At the risk of appearing boastful of myself, I feel it my duty to mention the magnanimity of Union soldiers in this battle of Sutherland Station. Perceiving a strengthening of forces opposed to our left, and inferring that an effort would be made to turn that flank, I thought it my duty to report the case to General McGowan, who was in the middle of the brigade line at the distance of about a hundred yards. This was after the repulse of the enemy's regular charge against the brigade, and while there was slow sharp-shooting by them. I did not think that there was much danger in galloping along the line; but I should be in great danger when I reached the general, and had to stand still while talking with him. I confess that I hesitated. When I started, several rifle balls passed very near me. But it occurred to me that something in the nature of an appeal to the generosity of our foes might avail me. I therefore lifted my hat, and reversed it. After this, no ball seemed to come within thirty or forty feet of me, although, after the termination of my ride to him, I stood and talked with the General for several minutes. I lifted my hat again in salute when I started back to my post on the left, and enjoyed the same absence of balls in my vicinity, although the sharp-shooting continued along the rest of the line. I could not doubt that magnanimous foemen forbore to fire upon me because of their sympathy with me in my effort to discharge a duty. History records very few instances of like nobleness of heart.

The remaining days before the surrender of Lee's army at Appomattox were spent by the brigade in short marches, occasionally collisions hardly to be called battles, and vigils by day and by night. We appreciated the magnanimity of Grant's army in refraining from demonstrations of exultation over our disaster.

CHAPTER LIV
SIGNAL CORPS OF THE CONFEDERATE ARMY IN THE
DEFENSE OF CHARLESTON
(1862-1865)

*By W. A. Clark, Former Member Signal Corps, C. S. A.
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That branch of the Confederate Army known as the Signal Corps took such an active part in the defense of the City of Charleston against the combined efforts of both the army and navy of the United States that even a short history would prove unsatisfactory without giving at least a brief outline of the system. This will prove interesting, as viewed both from the operations of the United States Army as well as that of the Confederate Army, or the offensive as well as the defensive.

The war between the United States forces and the Confederate States forces, now popularly known by several distinctive names, but for the purpose here we speak of it as the War of the 60's, developed many distinctive methods of warfare of which none are more remarkable than that of the Signal Corps. It is interesting just here to note that not only the signal service as adopted and used by both of the contending forces, but the submarine, the torpedo boat and the battleship (the combination of the iron clad and the turreted monitor) were all, as branches of modern warfare, the product of the War of the 60's. Neither, however, is the United States army, nor the Confederate States army entitled to a monopoly of the credit for these new inventions of modern warfare. They were rather the combined conceptions of the two armies.

All are foreign to the subject of this article, save the signal corps as used by the two armies, and I may even say, as confined in its operations to the defense of the City of Charleston against the combined efforts of the land and naval forces of the United States.

ORIGIN OF THE SIGNAL SERVICE

In undertaking to give even a hasty review of this service it would not be out of place to review briefly its history. The purpose of this branch of modern warfare is suggested by the name, viz.: the transmission of intelligence by means of signals.

It has become an important branch of service in modern warfare, since the success of military operations largely depends upon the rapid concentration of forces at any one given point. Napoleon declared that the art of war is the art of concentration. Not only so, but the necessity of keeping each portion of the army fully apprised of the operation of the other arm: to keep the right of an army fully apprised of the operations of the left: to aid in rapidly concentrating the entire arm, or the greater portion of it, upon the weak point of the enemy. Not only so, but possibly as important, if not more important, to keep the army advised of the operations of the enemy by interpreting signals given by the enemy and therefore keeping fully advised of what is being

done, or what is proposed to be done by the other. During the war referred to, the system used was simple and confined mainly to transmitting information by signals given with flags during the day time and by signals given by torch lights during the night time. To this may also be added signals given by rockets and colored lights which were also largely used. The operation of that branch of the army, as now known, has been greatly enlarged and includes not only the transmission of messages by signals, but combines the operations of the telegraph and telephone systems, and even those of the aeroplane for the purpose of reconnoitering.

MAJOR ALBERT J. MYER, THE PIONEER

The system of signals used in 1862-65 by both the armies and that upon which has been built the more elaborate system of the present day, was the work of Major Albert J. Myer of the United States Army, of whom it has been said that in the early 50's, and shortly after his graduation at the Medical College, his attention was called to the subjects of signals for military and naval use and after considerable study, he worked out a method both simple and practicable for the use of the army. After practicing his profession for a few years he received a commission as assistant surgeon of the United States Army and was sent to New Mexico. It is said that seeing some Comanche Indians making signals to another group of Indians on a neighboring hill by waving their lances from right to left, it occurred to him that such motions might be utilized for communicating information by signals from adjacent military posts, or from detached parts of the army when in active operation. He devoted much of his time while in the discharge of his duty as surgeon in the further development of the system and finally worked out the plan of signals which plays, both by day and by night, such an important part in modern warfare. This became the basis of the code used in both the United States Army and the Confederate States Army during the war. In this work, Lieutenant A. P. Alexander, hereafter mentioned as a distinguished officer in the Confederate States Army, was associated.

THE PRINCIPLES AND METHODS

It is still further interesting to note in this connection the principles and methods used. It will, however, be impracticable to do more than give a very brief outline, but we will endeavor to give so much as will allow the reader to form an adequate conception of the duties imposed upon the operator in the open field and more especially as connected with our army in the defense of the City of Charleston.

The principle underlying Major Myer's system, as well as all other known systems, was that of having a certain number of arbitrary, simple signs, or symbols, easily distinguished the one from the other, being made to appear separately or in combination. The principles upon which all signals are based are fixed and unchangeable. The application of these principles can be limited only by limitations of human skill and human ingenuity. Signaling is conveying ideas by means of symbols, or conversing at a distance, and signaling as practised by the Signal Corps is, for the most part, a method of conveying ideas by means of flags by day, and torch by night, or by some corresponding or equivalent means.

THE SIGNAL APPARATUS

As used by our armies the signal apparatus was simple and, in fact, for the Confederate army, extremely crude. There was a staff

twelve feet in length, to which was attached for day service a flag four feet square, or for night service, a torch. The flag was usually white with a red square in the center, to distinguish it from the flag of truce, or black or dark blue. The color used was such as to render it better seen according to the background against which it was worked. The torch was a copper tube eighteen inches in length and two inches in diameter, in which was placed a bulky wick and turpentine used as the fluid to be burned.

Except in cases of fog or rainy weather signals could be easily read through a telescope or spy glass at a distance of eight or ten miles, and in very bright or clear weather at a much longer distance.

SIGNALING LETTERS AND NUMERALS

Now with such a flag or torch in the hands of the signal operator signs were made by a wave to the right or to the left. With combination of such waves the regular alphabet was constructed, and by a dexterous operator could be used almost with the swiftness of the telegraph operator.

I do not undertake here to give in exact terms the signs used by either of the armies above referred to, but to express them in very simple terms which can be understood by the ordinary reader. One wave to the right followed by one to the left would be a symbol of a certain letter. A wave to the left, then to the right would be a symbol of some other letter. A wave to the right, then to the left, then to the right, would be a symbol of another letter. A wave to the left, then to the right, followed by a wave to the left and another to the right, would be the symbol of another letter; still further, two waves to the right, followed by one to the left, a symbol of another letter, and two waves to the left, followed by one to the right a symbol of another letter; and so on—with various combinations of these different motions until the twenty-six letters of the alphabet were constructed. Not only so, but a wave of the flag directly to the front of the operator had also its significance. The numerals, one to ten, were also made by certain combinations of motions of the flag to the right and to the left.

In addition to these, and for the purpose of expediting the transmission of messages, a number of abbreviations were adopted, and so the work of transmitting messages was greatly facilitated.

Now with the alphabet thus composed and familiar to the operator and, with the machinery described, the mode of sending messages was simple. Thus a motion to the left and returning to vertical position was indicated as the numeral one; or a like motion of the flag to the right indicated the numeral two; and so on. The various motions to the right and to the left would be symbolized as 1-2 or 2-0-1 or 1-2-1 or 2-1-2, each of these representing, as already stated, a letter by which words would be spelled and sentences constructed, using, of course, as large as practicable the abbreviations referred to.

SIGNAL STATIONS AND OPERATORS

For operating our system, either from fortifications or the open field, we had, as already stated, the complete alphabet, a set of numerals and a number of abbreviations. The machinery was simple—a staff, with flags, for use by day and a torch for use by night. In addition, to make the equipment complete, each station was furnished with the necessary spy glasses or telescopes, and at least one

to be supplied each station with which the local station would be expected to communicate. As a rule, the station was fixed upon an elevation ranging from fifty to one hundred feet according to the conditions.

The number of signal men at each station varied from two to three according to the volume of business, for they were supposed to be on duty both day and night. In addition to the signal men, there were a detachment of not less than two soldiers detailed from the nearby camp who would be constantly on duty watching through the glasses in order to call attention whenever the station was signalled. These watchmen were presumed to examine each glass which bore upon the station with which communication would be had as often as once every two minutes, and so whenever a station was called by the signal it would be reported to the signal officer. Until the signal officers became expert, they would work in couples; one would repeat the signal and the other record; but they would rapidly become so expert that instead of taking down the signals as given they would, like expert telegraph operators, read the message as sent, which would then be recorded and put in a permanent record book. In bright, clear weather the method was quite simple and rapidly operated. In rainy or foggy weather, however, it was difficult and at times impracticable.

SIGNAL CORPS, UNITED STATES ARMY

It would be quite inadequate and even unsatisfactory to undertake to write a history of the Signal Corps in the defense of Charleston without at least a brief account of the Signal Corps of the United States Army along the coast of South Carolina, and engaged upon the other side in the siege. As we shall hereinafter show, the signal service was used in the Confederate army as early as July, 1861, at the battle of First Manassas, but was not introduced as a separate branch of the Confederate army until May, 1862. Nor was the service put in operation, in and around Charleston, until the month of October, 1862. This service was, however, introduced as a coordinate branch of the United States Army and put in general operation at a much earlier date, and a camp of instructions for the purpose of training signal men was established at Georgetown, D. C., as early as August, 1861.

IMPORTANCE OF BLOCKADING CHARLESTON HARBOR

As soon as the United States Government decided to coerce the States which had seceded from the Union, President Lincoln adopted, as one of the most efficient modes of warfare, a blockade of the ports of entry of each of the seceding States. In fact, it has been recognized by writers that but for the blockading of the ports, which eventually cut off the Confederate States from the outer world, the United States Government would never have succeeded in their efforts to reestablish the Union. At that time Charleston was the most important port of the Confederacy. Its proximity to Nassau and certain cities of the Bahama Islands rendered its communication with the outer world most efficient, and so a most strenuous effort was made by the United States Government to make the blockade of that port effectual. A blockading squadron was therefore established at the outer bar of the Charleston harbor as early as the summer of 1861.

REDUCTION OF PORT ROYAL

To render this most effective, at a very early day it was decided to establish a base of operation along the coast of Carolina, and so during the later days of October, 1861, an expeditionary force was organized for that purpose, the army being under the command of General Thomas W. Sherman and the navy, under Admiral DuPont. The forces thus organized sailed from Annapolis October 19, 1861, and after a very boisterous voyage appeared off Port Royal bar on the 4th day of November. Accompanying this expedition and regarded as quite an important arm of the service, was a strong detachment of signal men. On the morning of the 7th of November, 1861, the navy entered Port Royal harbor and after a bombardment of one hour dismantled the two forts erected for the defense of that port. The one located on Hilton Head was called Fort Walker and the other, upon Bay Point, just opposite but three and one-half miles distant, known as Fort Beauregard. An interesting feature of that battle may here be mentioned. General Thomas F. Drayton, a distinguished citizen of South Carolina, was in command of the Confederate army at Fort Walker. His brother, Commander Percival Drayton, was in command of the Federal war vessel, *Pocahontas*, and participated in the bombardment of the fort of which his distinguished brother was in command. While such a divided household was almost unprecedented in South Carolina, it was a very common thing in the bordering States, and therefore the cause of severe family estrangements and bitterness.

As soon therefore as the navy had demolished these forts the army, under General Sherman, was landed and possession taken of the coast of Carolina. Port Royal was used as the base of operation against Charleston and, in fact, against the entire State.

BASE ESTABLISHED FOR U. S. SIGNAL CORPS

At once stations were established at various points in and about the harbor of Port Royal, and communications opened between the army and the navy. In this connection, it was stated by the commanding officer that the duty performed by the Signal Corps, up to the time of establishing its base, was of a most important character, and practically demonstrated the great superiority of this system over any other method known to the military world.

In referring to the operations of the Signal Corps of the United States Army, I extract frequently, and at length, from that valuable contribution prepared by an organization known as "The United States Veterans Signal Corps Association," under the title of "Signal Corps, U. S. A., 1861-1865."

The first prominent station established was upon the roof of a large plantation house at the extreme northern point of Hilton Head Island, Port Royal Bay; another was established at the fort at Bay Point just opposite Hilton Head, but three miles distant; another at Drayton's plantation, also three miles from headquarters, thus forming a triangle.

Within the next few weeks, the line was established to Braddock's point at the southern end of Hilton Head Island. Just here the writer of that interesting volume makes reference to a fact in which he is in error. He states: "A station was erected upon the plantation house formerly owned and occupied by the noted South Carolina nullifier, John C. Calhoun, and in full view of Fort Pulaski at the mouth of the Savannah. The service rendered by this means of communication between the outpost and headquarters of the little army

under General Thomas W. Sherman, and the navy, under Commodore (later Rear Admiral) S. F. DuPont, was of the highest character and of inestimable value to each. They discovered its eminent practicability for the transmittal of messages of any kind and upon any subject, day or night, and that the information obtained by signal officers and men could always be relied upon."

TRIBUTE TO EFFICIENCY OF U. S. SIGNAL SERVICE

The very evidence of the efficiency of that branch of service will appear from a letter addressed to Major Albert J. Myer, the signal officer of the entire Federal Army at Washington, by General Isaac I. Stevens, brigadier general commanding the Second Brigade at Beaufort, S. C. The letter is as follows:

"Dear Sir:—I desire to express my great confidence in your code of signals from my actual experience on the field of battle, and to call your attention to the great skill and merit of the signal officers of my command—Lieutenant Tafft and Lieutenant Cogswell. In my official report of the affair at Port Royal Ferry on New Year's day, I have stated that the signalling was a perfect success. It was, indeed, an extraordinary success. So far as I am advised, this is the first time it has been tested in actual battle.

"It gives me great satisfaction to be able to give this testimonial, from the circumstances that I had faith in your code from the beginning, as you will remember, and lent my humble name in favor of your appointment to your present position.

"Truly your friend,

"Isaac I. Stevens,

"Brig-Gen. Commanding."

SIGNAL CODE FIRST USED BY CONFEDERATES

In this letter the writer falls into an error when he states "This is the first time it has been tested in actual battle," and is corrected by the author who inserts the following foot-note, viz: "This, of course, is an error, as the same code, essentially, was used by the Confederates five months before, at Bull Run, with marked success."

ENEMY CLOSING AROUND CHARLESTON

Thus a prominent base for the invasion of South Carolina, and more especially for rendering the blockade of Charleston effective, was established at Port Royal. At that time General Robert E. Lee was in command of the Confederate forces of the South Atlantic, with headquarters at Charleston. In the month of January, 1862, he was transferred to Virginia and General John C. Pemberton assumed command of the South Atlantic forces as his successor. The best military authorities have always agreed that a proper base for advancing upon Charleston was either the North Edisto or the Stono River. General Lee had fortified Cole's Island which lay at the entrance of Stono inlet; also Battery Island, some five miles higher up the Stono River. General Pemberton, upon assuming command, issued an order on the 12th day of May, 1862, whereby the defense of Cole's Island and Battery Island was abandoned. This order on the part of General Pemberton was at the time deemed very unwise by military authorities, because it exposed the Stono River to the unobstructed occupation of the enemy.

Another interesting incident happened just as this time. Robert Smalls, a colored man, who had been for many years pilot on board the steamer "Planter," which had been used by the Government as a transport, availed himself of the opportunity offered at the quiet hours of the night, and slipped out from Charleston on the night of the 13th of May, turning the Planter over to the blockading squadron and then giving information to the enemy that Cole's Island had been abandoned. Robert Smalls remained in the service of the Federal forces during the rest of the war and, during the Reconstruction period, became a very prominent politician. At one time he was sent as a representative to Congress and also served as collector of the port at Beaufort. As soon as the commanding officer at Beaufort learned these facts, he at once sent a fleet of gun boats under the command of Captain Percival Drayton, already referred to, and on the 20th of May, 1862, entered the Stono River. He at once reported to the Admiral, his commanding officer, as follows: "We are in as complete possession of the river (Stono) as at Port Royal, and can land and protect the army wherever it wants."

THE SIGNAL CORPS AT SECESSIONVILLE

This gave the entire coast of Carolina from the Stono River to the Savannah, a distance of seventy-five or eighty miles, into the possession of the enemy. From that point, as a base, the siege of Charleston was commenced in earnest and the part taken by the Signal Corps of the Confederate Army thenceforth became a large factor in this siege. The Federal Army at once took possession also of Folly Island which extended from Stono inlet northward to Light House inlet, a distance of about ten miles. This was in the spring of 1862.

From that time an effort was made to take Charleston by way of James Island and on the 16th day of June, 1862, the battle of Secessionville was fought which proved disastrous to the Federal forces. General Stevens in his report, as he terms it, of "the unfortunate engagement at Secessionville," speaks of the signal service as follows: "My signal officers, Lieutenants Taft and Howard, are worthy of honorable mention. Lieutenant Taft took his station in an advanced and exposed part of the field, kept constantly in communication with Lieutenant Howard at the gunboats and Lieutenant E. H. Hickok at the battery, and was perfectly efficient and self-possessed under the heavy discharges of grape and cannister from the enemy. In the latter part of the action he carried my orders and aided in the formation of movements."

BASE OF OPERATIONS AGAINST CHARLESTON ADVANCED

With the exception of a few movements on James and Johns islands, which proved as feints against Charleston, there was no other well defined effort on the part of the enemy that year. It is, however, stated that the Signal Corps was in every minor movement that year and participated in every engagement. It seems as if the Federal forces, both army and navy, then decided that Charleston must be taken by way of the Charleston harbor and Fort Sumter. To this end the northern end of Folly Island was strongly fortified, and on the morning of the 10th of July, 1863, the batteries thus erected were displayed, and under a terrific fire, aided by the blockading squadron,

large Federal forces were transferred from Folly Island to the southern end of Morris Island; and so the base of operation against Charleston was advanced still farther.

From that date until the 6th day of September, efforts were made to reduce Forts Wagner and Gregg, which defended Morris Island and Fort Sumter. At that time the fortification at Wagner was greatly reduced by terrific and constant fire from land forces under General Gillmore, and naval forces under Commodore Dahlgren, so that it was necessary to evacuate the island, which was done on the night of the 6th. This gave the enemy complete possession of our forts from Morris Island, which lay at the entrance of the Charleston harbor, to Port Royal, the original base of operation.

UNION AND CONFEDERATE SIGNAL STATIONS CONTINUOUS

A line of signal stations, more than nine in number covering a distance of about fifty-five and one quarter miles was established from Hilton Head to Headquarters on Morris Island, and thus constant communications were kept up, not only between the army of occupation from these several points, but between the army and navy occupying the waters of Port Royal, Stono Inlet and the Blockading Squadron. This, however, brought the stations of the enemy within sight of the stations already established by the Signal corps of the Confederate army, and so it was found necessary to resort to ciphers whenever important messages were being sent in the presence of the enemy.

SIGNAL CORPS INDISPENSABLE MILITARY BRANCH

On the 22nd of December, 1863, General Seymour in command of the army at Hilton Head, writes to the officers of the Signal Corps at Washington as follows:

"In reply to your communication of the 10th inst., I have to state that my position as sometime chief of staff to General Hunter, commanding this department, gave the best and fullest opportunity of studying the system of communication practiced by the Signal Corps, since it was entirely by this system that prompt connection was had by headquarters with the contiguous naval and military stations along the coast.

"The general efficiency of the corps was always admirable and there were very few circumstances (and those due to exceptional conditions of the atmosphere) under which the intent of the system could not be fully carried out.

"In this department, such a system is strictly indispensable, and the long distances that separate its posts are rapidly and successfully annihilated. The facility with which essential information is conveyed on the field of battle is one of the most valuable points to be considered, and few, if any, commanders can now afford to dispense with such assistance.

"Briefly, I cannot conceive how large operations can be conducted without the Signal Corps. It has become inseparably a part of every superior command."

With these brief accounts of the Signal Corps of the Federal Army then occupying the entire coast of South Carolina lying to the south of Charleston harbor, we are in position to take up the history of the Signal Corps of the Confederate Army and more especially as to its service rendered in the defense of Charleston.

THE SIGNAL CORPS OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES ARMY

As stated, service by signals had already been used in the Confederate Army as early as the First Battle of Manassas, July 21, 1861; but as a distinct branch of the army the Signal Corps was not organized until the act passed by the Confederate Congress, May 12, 1862. Nor was the service put in actual operation at the various points of defense, in and around Charleston, until October, 1862.

An interesting account of the Signal Corps of the Confederate States army has been written by one member of that service, Edward H. Cummins, and published in "The Confederate Soldier in the Civil War," by Ben LaBree. From this account I must take the liberty of quoting frequently and at length. "The beginnings of the Signal Service in the Confederate Army were about simultaneous in the peninsular command of General John B. Magruder and in the Army of Northern Virginia, under General Beauregard. Captain Norris, a member of General Magruder's staff—a gentleman of scientific education and of some nautical experience—called the attention of the general to the advantages to be derived from a system of signals connecting his outposts and his headquarters at Norfolk. Magruder forthwith gave Captain Norris the necessary authority to establish the service, and appointed him Signal Officer to the command.

"The signals used by Captain Norris were similar to the marine signals in use by all maritime nations. Poles were erected on which were displayed flags and balls, the combination of which indicated various phrases, such as were conceived to be most in demand to express the exigencies likely to arise.

"Captain Norris (hereinafter to be spoken of as Major William Norris, chief of the Signal Corps, Confederate States Army) caused to be made copper stencils, from which colored plates of the combinations were made, and upon the same page of the book which contained the plates were written the meanings of the combinations. These plates were colored by Miss Belle Harrison of Brandon, and Miss Jennie Ritchie, of Richmond. The system was from time to time improved by Colonel Norris, and this was one of the beginnings of the signal service in the Confederate States Army.

"The other was at Beauregard's headquarters at Manassas Junction, at or about the same time—in the summer of 1861. Captain (afterwards General) E. P. Alexander, attached to the staff of General Beauregard, was one of the officers who had been detailed by the secretary of war (United States) to test and report upon the signal system of Dr. (Brigadier-General) Myer, and was consequently complete master of the system. He organized it efficiently, and thoroughly instructed a number of men selected from the ranks for their intelligence and good character. Most of these men afterwards became commissioned officers in the Signal Corps.

IN FULL OPERATION AT BULL RUN

"The service was in full operation at the time of the first conflict at Bull Run, and the third shot from Ayers's battery in front of Stone Bridge went through one of Alexander's signal tents, in front of which the flags were being actively plied.

"General Alexander, in reply to a letter asking for information respecting the service rendered by the signal men under his direction, writes as follows: 'Perhaps the most important service rendered by

the Signal Department in the first year of the war was at the battle of Bull Run, and was in a great measure accidental. Very early in the morning of the 21st, I was on the hill by Wilcox's house, in the rear of our right, and watching the flag of our station at the Stone Bridge, when, in the distant edge of the field of view of my glass, a gleam caught my eye. It was the reflection of the sun (which was low in the east behind me) from a polished brass field-piece, one of Ayres's battery, and, observing attentively, I discovered McDowell's columns in the open field, north of Sudley's Ford, crossing Bull Run and turning our left flank, fully eight miles away, I think—but you can look at the map—from where I was. I signalled Evans at once, "Look out for your left, your position is turned." Just as he got my message his pickets made their first report to him of cavalry driving from Sudley's Ford. At the same time I sent a message of what I had seen to Johnston and Beauregard, who were at Mitchells Ford, on receipt of which, Bee, Hampton and Stonewall Jackson were all hurried in that direction, and the history of the battle tells how they successfully delayed McDowell's progress, till finally the tide was turned by troops arriving in the afternoon."

In the early days of 1862 and before Congress had passed the act authorizing the organization of the Signal Corps as a branch of the army, the importance of the Signal service had been already recognized by each of the commanding generals in the respective armies. They did effective service in the army of the West and especially along the Mississippi River.

Extracts from official sources show that though under manifold disadvantages the Signal men gave good accounts of themselves in the first struggle for the possession of the Mississippi River. In his report of the attack on Battery No. 1 of Commodore Foote's fleet, the attempt to destroy it by overwhelming superiority of fire March 17, 1862, by General Trudeau, commanding the Confederate States Artillery, says: "At 9 o'clock P. M. Captain Cummins, of the Signal Service, went to Battery No. 1 and established there a signal station, which proved of great service during the various engagements." Further on in his reports the General says: "Besides the officers already mentioned, who were conspicuous for their bravery and coolness under a galling fire, I will mention: Signal officers E. Jones and S. Rose who never left their posts one minute. While shot and shell were tearing everything to pieces, Signal Officer E. Jones had his flag-staff shot from his hands; he coolly picked up the flag and continued to communicate his message."

"Captain (afterwards General) Ed. Rucker, commanding the battery says: 'E. Jones and Samuel Rose, of the Signal Corps, were engaged with me the whole day in defense of the redan, and bore themselves with great coolness and gallantry. Signal Officer Jones having the staff of his flag shot away thrice during the engagement, seized the flag in his hand, without looking around to listen to exclamations, and continued his important message to headquarters.'

"Two more brief extracts are quoted to show that the service of the Signal Corps was not that of carpet knights. Colonel Brown of the Fifty-fifth Tennessee Volunteers, writes: 'The enemy's heavy shot and shell poured an almost incessant volume upon our meager earth-work, riddling the parapet in front of our guns, plowing up the earth in every direction and tearing down immense trees in a manner baffling description. The scene was the most terrific conceivable.'

"General Trudeau also says: 'It (the redan fort) presented the

most appalling picture of ruin and desolation. The parapet was plowed up in every direction and torn to pieces. Trees were hacked down and torn to shreds by the heavy shells and the rifled cannon!

"The Signal men at Battery No. 1 had no protection whatever—not even that of the parapet behind which the gunners squatted when not firing; for their position was in the rear of the guns, where fell, as Captain Rucker says, 'many shot and shell.'"

Although it has been shown that the Signal service was in active and useful operation on several theatres of war in the East, in 1861, and early in 1862, in the West, it was not until April 19, 1862, that the act was approved organizing the Signal Corps as a distinct branch of the Confederate Army.

That Act is as follows:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT AND INSPECTOR-GENERAL'S OFFICE

"Richmond, May 29, 1862.

"Special Orders No. 40: The following Act of Congress, and regulations in reference thereto, are published for the information of the army, viz:

"An Act to Organize a Signal Corps.—Section I. The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That the President be and is hereby authorized, by and with the advice and the consent of the Senate, to appoint ten officers in the Provisional Army, of a grade not exceeding that of a captain, and with the pay of corresponding grades of infantry, who shall perform the duties of signal officers of the army. And the President is hereby authorized to appoint ten sergeants of infantry in the Provisional Army, and to assign them to duty as signal sergeants. The Signal Corps above authorized may be organized as a separate corps, or may be attached to the department of the Adjutant and Inspector General, or to the Engineer Corps, as the Secretary of War shall direct.—Approved April 19, 1862.

"Section II: The Signal Corps, authorized by this act, will be attached to the Adjutant and Inspector-General's Department; and officers of that department may be instructed in and assigned to signal duty.

"Section III: A Signal Officer will be attached to the staff of each general or major-general in command of a corps, and of each major-general in command of a division. These signal officers will each be assisted by as many signal sergeants, and instructed non-commissioned officers and privates, selected from the rank for their intelligence and reliability, as circumstances may require, and as many lance sergeants as are required may be appointed. Such non-commissioned officers and privates may be detailed for this duty by the generals in whose command they are serving. Before being instructed they will each be required by the signal officer to take an oath not to divulge, directly or indirectly, the system of signals, the alphabet, or any official message sent or received thereby. Non-commissioned officers, while on signal duty, and privates on this duty, will receive forty cents per day extra pay.

"Section IV: Commissioned Officers of the Signal Corps, or officers serving on signal duty, will be entitled to the forage and allowance of officers of similar rank in the cavalry. Non-commissioned officers and privates on signal duty will be mounted by the quartermaster, on the order of the commanding general.

"Section V: Requisitions for flags, torches, glasses, and all the material required, will be made on the quartermaster's department or

they may be purchased by the quartermaster of any division, on order of the major-general commanding.

"Section VI: On the order of the general commanding the Corps, other officers or privates than those regularly on signal duty may be instructed in the system of signals, after having taken the oath prescribed above. Whenever it is practicable, it is specially recommended to all general officers to have their assistant-generals and aides-de-camp instructed.

"Section VII: Whatever is prescribed herein for a division, or for a major-general, will be observed in the case of each brigade which constitutes a separate command.

"Section VIII: All officers and non-commissioned officers accepting appointments to the Signal Corps will forward with their acceptance the oath prescribed above, sworn to before a magistrate, notary public, or commissioned officer of the Corps.

"Section IX: Quarterly returns of Signal property will be made by all officers having it in charge, to the quartermaster's department, and the senior signal officer of each separate army in the field will report quarterly to the adjutant and inspector-general of the number and organization of the Signal Corps of the Army and its general operations during the previous quarter.

"Section X: It will be the duty of the Signal Officer of every division in the field to instruct the adjutant of each regiment in the division in the system of signals in use in the army.

"By command of the Secretary of War

"S. COOPER,

"Adjutant and Inspector-General."

The Signal Corps as thus organized consisted of one major, ten captains, ten first lieutenants, ten second lieutenants and twenty sergeants. The signal operators were always detailed from the ranks of some near-by regiment and trained for that purpose.

CONFEDERATE SIGNAL CORPS OF CHARLESTON DISTRICT

Under orders from the War Department at Richmond, some fifty or more men were detailed to supply the stations in and around the city of Charleston. Captain Joseph Manigault, of Charleston, one of the captains appointed under the act above referred, was sent to Charleston in the month of October, 1862, to organize the Corps for service in all of the fortifications and other points of defense in and around that city. On November 6th, Captain Manigault addressed the following letter to the commanding general:

"Signal Office, Charleston, Nov. 6, 1862—Brig.-Gen. Thomas Jordan, Asst. Adjutant-General and Chief of Staff.—General: I have the honor respectfully to submit for the consideration of the general commanding the following suggestions: The material of the Signal Corps, formed as it is of educated and reliable men, affords the opportunity of employing them to advantage as magnetic telegraph operators, the duties of which position are strictly germane to their present occupation as signalmen, and could be acquired with comparative ease and celerity.

"With a corps of men thus thoroughly instructed in all the scientific methods for the early transmission of information, the general commanding would have at hand the means of taking possession of any telegraphic line already constructed, of attaching any portable apparatus to any points of such line, near which his troops may be

operating, and of constructing new lines or ramifications of lines, to points either of strategic value, or value as lookouts.

"An operator under these circumstances would be always within reach, and being under military supervision, could be more relied upon as being at his post when required. In point of economy it will also recommend itself to the general, as the operator will receive but his pay as signal-master which is less than half that of the civil operator. The use of the galvanic battery would also tend to fit some of the corps for the responsible duty of igniting such torpedoes or other marine explosives to be fired by the electric spark as may be in contemplation; also the management of the electric lights.

"If this suggestion should meet with the approval of the general, two portable apparatus, and a teacher for the manual operation, would be required.

"JOSEPH MANIGAULT,
"Assistant Adjt.-Gen. and Chief Signal Officer,
"Dept. of S. C., Ga., and Fla."

CHARLESTON AS THE CENTER OF THE CONFEDERATE SIGNAL CORPS

As already mentioned, Charleston as a seaport on the South Atlantic, was of great importance to the Confederacy and therefore the importance of keeping it open as a port of entry and departure, as against the blockading squadron, was of vital importance, both for the purpose of shipments of cotton and supplying the Confederate Government with munitions from abroad.

A brief description of the city and the surrounding islands would aid in forming a proper conception of the value of the Signal Corps to the troops occupying the fortifications and those keeping the harbor open as a port.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE LOCALITY

The city is built on a peninsula between the Cooper and Ashley rivers, which unite at its lower extremity, forming a capacious harbor lying to the south and east of the city. It is bounded on the northern line by the mainland and upon the south by James Island. The latter is accessible from the sea on the opposite side and through the Stono inlet, a river which divides it from John's Island on the south, admitting vessels to the rear of Charleston. Between Stono inlet and the entrance of the harbor, a distance of about twelve miles, there are two long, low, narrow and sandy sea islands, known as Folly and Morris, separated by a narrow inlet from each other. Large extending marshes, about two miles wide, separate these islands from James Island towards the north.

Morris Island is nearly four miles in length. Its northern extremity, at Cummings Point, is the boundary of the harbor on the south. Sullivan's Island forms the northern boundary, as it emerges into the sea. These two points determine the entrance of the harbor and are about 2,700 yards apart. Fort Moultrie is located on the southern portion of Sullivan's Island and this fortification, with batteries Wagner and Gregg on Morris Island, and Fort Sumter located about one-half mile further towards Charleston and nearly in the middle of the harbor entrance, defend the city.

PRINCIPAL DEFENSES OF CHARLESTON

The principal fortifications which constitute the defenses of the city are as follows: Fort Sumter as above described, located about

the middle of the harbor entrance, and almost equally distant between Gregg on the extreme north end of Folly Island and Fort Moultrie on the south end of Sullivan's Island. The latter island is further defended by the following batteries: Battery Bee on the extreme western end of the island and Forts Beauregard (not Fort Beauregard referred to at Bay Point, Port Royal) and Marshall towards the east of Fort Moultrie; on Morris Island, Battery Gregg on the extreme northern end, and Battery Wagner, located about one mile south of Battery Gregg, constituting the principal defense of this island.

On James Island were the following fortifications: Fort Johnson at the extreme east end and about one mile west of Fort Sumter; Fort Pemberton, which constituted the defense of the Stono River and upon the extreme western end of the island, which, however, was abandoned when the fortifications were advanced and Battery Pringle established in lieu of it. Also Secessionville, a strategic point on the southern point of the island and rendered distinguished by the battle of Secessionville June 16, 1862. Between Pringle, on the Stono River, and Secessionville on the sound south of the island, were erected a series of batteries which constituted the defense of the island.

POINTS OF OPERATION OF SIGNAL CORPS

With this brief description of the city and the surrounding territory, we can better understand the location and points of operation of the Signal Corps.

Just opposite the foot of Meeting Street, about one hundred feet from the seawall on South Battery, stood out in the waters of the harbor a large building which in anti-bellum days was used as a bathing house. The location of this building, which was about the center of the circumference constituting the defenses, rendered it most suitable as a nucleus for sending and receiving messages. It was, therefore, made the headquarters of the Signal Corps and from it, as a center, various stations spread out like a fan reaching every strategic point in the defenses of the city.

In all, there were about fourteen stations in and around the city, and also a lookout in the steeple of St. Michael's Church; a very dangerous position, because this steeple was the target for the invading forces in their bombardment of the city.

In addition to the stations at these points already referred to, there was one look-out at a point known as "Headquarters," on the northern end of Johns Island, and another at Haulover Cut, on the southern end of the island. This latter station was intended for the purpose of intercepting the messages sent by the enemy through their station at Botany Bay, located about midway between Morris Island and Port Royal. Messages were intercepted daily by the signal men at that station and sent up by courier to the Headquarters station on Johns Island, and thence transmitted to Headquarters at Charleston.

And so the commanding general of the department, with headquarters at Charleston, was kept daily informed of the movements of the Federal army and navy along the entire coast of Carolina, from Morris Island to Port Royal.

HEADQUARTERS SIGNAL STATION

The importance of this station will be shown by reference to a brief account given by Professor George H. Stone, a member of the Signal Corps, U. S. A., in his pamphlet entitled "Signals at Siege of Charleston." He writes:

"Early in February, 1864, our forces made a raid on the southeastern part of Johns Island. They advanced so rapidly that they surprised the Confederate Signal station and the officer was compelled to retreat before he could carry away with him his record of messages. This book was found to contain all of the United States messages which had been sent by Botany Bay station, one of the line of stations which had been extended from Hilton Head on Morris Island. Strict orders were at once issued to send all messages in cipher, and it is believed that from and after that date the opposing signal corps never gained any important information by reading our signals."

In this, however, they are mistaken; for our Corps continued to intercept and interpret their messages sent even by cipher up to the time of the evacuation of the city.

The Signal Corps, thus located at all these points of defense, were at first engaged mainly in sending and receiving messages from headquarters in Charleston and from the defenses around the city.

As already stated, as early as the 10th of July 1863, the enemy had established themselves upon the southern end of Morris Island, and thence had an unbroken line of communication between that point and their headquarters at Port Royal. Communications were also had between the army of occupation then under General Gillmore and the blockading squadron, under Admiral Dahlgren. Afterward the office of the Signal Corps was greatly enlarged. The duties of its members were not confined to taking and receiving messages from the Confederate army, but they had already acquired the code used by the United States Signal Corps, and so intercepted the messages which were sent between the army and navy of the enemy.

CONFEDERATE SIGNAL CORPS COMMANDERS AT CHARLESTON

As already stated, the first commander of the Signal Corps assigned to duty at Charleston was Captain Joseph Manigault. He was subsequently sent to Savannah and Lieutenant Frank Markoe, a native of Maryland who had espoused the cause of the Confederacy and had received his commission as second lieutenant in the Signal Corps, was sent to Charleston as the successor of Captain Manigault. He was an expert signal officer and contributed largely to the success of the signal corps in the defense of the city.

CAPTAIN MARKOE'S REPORTS ON THE CONFEDERATE SERVICE

It will be interesting here to make some extracts from Captain Markoe's reports during the year 1863 to the department at Richmond. The Signal Corps was nowhere more useful than where the defense and operations were conducted in a field in which water occupied a large place in the topography. Such were Charleston, South Carolina, and Mobile, Alabama. Lieutenant Markoe, in his reports, showed that during the siege thousands of messages were sent from one post to another and from outpost to Headquarters, which could have been sent in no other way and were of great importance. In his reports he says: "During the month (July, 1863) my corps has been at work day and night. At Cummings Point (Battery Gregg) Lance Sergeant Edgerton and Privates DuBarry, Lance Huger, Martin and Grimbail, have gallantly worked their post with untiring zeal and ability, constantly under heavy fire of the enemy's fleet and land batteries. Fortunately, I have no casualties to report, although their station has

suffered from the enemy's fire and is full of holes. As there was no other means of communication with Morris Island, their labors have been very heavy. They have sent over five hundred messages, and at least a third of them under fire. As they are completely exhausted, I have relieved them and sent the men from Sullivan's Island to Battery Gregg. I have read nearly every message the enemy has sent, many of them of great importance. We were forewarned of their attack on the 18th, and were ready for them, with what success is already a part of history. The services rendered by the Corps in this respect have been of the utmost importance. But I regret to state that, by the carelessness of the staff-officers at Headquarters, it has leaked out that we have read the enemy's signals. I have ordered all my men to disclaim any knowledge of them whenever questioned. My men have also been actively employed in guiding the fire of our guns and have thus rendered valuable service."

In his August report, Captain Markoe says: "At Fort Sumter, H. W. Rice was twice injured by bricks. At Battery Wagner, I. P. Moodie was shot in the thigh by a musket ball; J. D. Cresswell was struck in the face by pieces of shell, and I received a slight flesh wound in the side by a piece of shell. These are all the casualties, I am glad to say. The work done has been very large, as the telegraph line has been constantly out of order for days at a time. We have continued to read the enemy's signals, and much valuable information has been obtained. I have temporarily changed the signals, as we intercepted a message from the enemy as follows: 'Send me a copy of Rebel Code immediately, if you have one in your possession.' I make the men, moreover, work out of sight as much as possible and feel sure that they can make nothing out of our signals."

In his next (September) month's report Captain Markoe continues: "Morris Island was evacuated by our forces on Sunday night, the 6th of September. I brought off my men and all the signal property on the island. Lance Sergeant Lawrence, and Privates Clark and Legare were stationed at Battery Gregg, and Privates Grimball and Hatch at Battery Wagner, from the 1st of September to the day of evacuation. They were exposed to the heaviest fire that the enemy had ever put upon those works, and performed their duties with conspicuous gallantry. Often the enemy's shell, exploding on the fort, would completely envelop the men and flag with smoke and sand for a minute, but as it cleared away the flag would still be waving. I have to report Private Clark badly burned in the left hand and Lance Sergeant Lawrence struck on the right arm with a piece of shell. From the commencement of the attack on Morris Island to the day of evacuation my men have transmitted nearly one thousand messages on that island.

INTERCEPTED UNION MESSAGES

"On the night of the 5th, the enemy made an attack on Battery Gregg, which failed and was repulsed by the timely notice from Sullivan's Island signal station which intercepted the following dispatch: 'To Admiral Dahlgren—I shall try Cummings point tonight, and want the sailors again early. Will you please send two or three Monitors by dark to open fire on Fort Moultrie as a diversion? The last time they were in they stopped re-enforcements, and may do so to-night. Don't want any fire in the rear.

'(Signed) GENERAL GILLMORE.'

"The attack on Fort Sumter, on the night of the 8th, was foiled by a similar notice. The dispatch was: 'General Gillmore—The senior officer will take charge of the assaulting party on Fort Sumter, the whole to be under the command of an experienced naval officer.'

"During the attack on Sumter, Private Frank Huger was placed in charge of the fire-ball party on the parapet, numbering some thirty men, and assisted in giving the enemy a warm reception. Major Elliott commanding the post, speaks highly of his conduct on that occasion. The enemy have been using a cipher in signaling, which has so far baffled our attempts to read their messages. They have not used it lately, however, and several important dispatches have been read."

Captain Markoe's rolls show the employment of seventy-six men, of which number he lost, through casualties, as large a per cent as of any command in action. Twelve of his men did nothing but read the enemy's papers.

The value of the service thus rendered by the Signal Corps was not confined to our commanding officers alone, but fully recognized by the enemy.

In the work "Confederate Signal Corps, U. S. A.," by J. Willard Brown, an officer of that Corps writes: "From the commencement of the attack on Morris Island July 10th to September 7th, when it was evacuated, Lieutenant Markoe's officers, transmitted nearly a thousand messages."

Major Johnson, in his defense of Charleston harbor, writes in connection with the service of the Signal Corps as follows: "As early as April 9, 1863, signals from the flagship New Ironside were read by the Confederates on Morris Island." * * *

"The first advantage taken of the discovery was in preparation for the second assault of Wagner. (War Records, Vol. XXVIII, Pt. II, P. 207.)

"It appears from the records that a despatch, probably from General Gillmore to Brigadier-General Seymour, was read by Sergeant Millard, of the S. C. Signal Corps on Sullivan's Island July 18, 1863, and, being forwarded to General Beauregard's headquarters, it was at once understood as signifying that an assault on Battery Wagner was in actual preparation. Accordingly an order was sent immediately to Brigadier General Ripley to extend notice and have 'all practicable preparations made' to repel the assault. Colonel A. Rhett, commanding Fort Sumter, informed the author that he heard and responded to the intelligence by training some fifteen of his barbette guns and mortars on Morris Island, and that they opened promptly and effectively upon the assaulting column over the heads of the garrison in Wagner.

"Brigadier-General W. B. Taliaferro, commanding the Confederate troops on Morris Island (July 18th), says that he has no recollection of having been notified of this intercepted signal. But it is highly probable that he was, and that in the stir of the day and slackened bombardment such a notice seemed to him at the time scarcely necessary to put him on his guard.

"Again, the attack by the troops in small boats on Cummings Point, Morris Island, on the night of September, 5th, 1863, was made known before hand to the Confederates by intercepted signals.

"So also the naval assault with small boats on Fort Sumter, on the night of September 8th-9th, was expected by reason of the discovery of a signal from Dahlgren's flagship, read and reported from the deck of the Chicora within Charleston harbor."

ATTACK ON FORT SUMTER FORESTALLED

Of this service Professor Scharf, in his history of the Confederate States Navy, writes as follows: "Fort Sumter having been converted into an infantry post, and mounting but a single gun, Major Stephen Elliott was placed in command of it with 200 troops, and Commander Tucker stationed his ironclads between Sullivan's Island and the fort for the purpose of assisting to protect the latter, and dispute the passage of Dahlgren's fleet into the harbor. On September 7th the Federal admiral summoned Sumter to capitulate and received the reply, 'Come and take it.' He and General Gillmore were then meditating an assault upon it from small boats, laboring under the false impression that there would be little trouble in seizing it since its artillery fire had ceased, and after he was so peremptorily answered by Elliott he communicated with Gillmore by signals, and announced the attack for the night of September 8th. The Confederate Signal officers were able to intercept these signals and Elliott was saved a surprise. About 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 8th, Lieutenant Clarence L. Stanton was officer of the deck of the *Chicora*. A signal officer named Daniels stood near him and was watching some signalling being made from Dahlgren's flag-ship. Turning suddenly to Stanton he said, 'Fort Sumter will be attacked to-night.' 'How do you know?' asked Stanton. 'I have just read,' he replied, 'a message from the flag-ship for a boat from each ship, commanded by a lieutenant, to assemble at the flag-ship at 10 o'clock for such an attack.' Stanton reported the information to Commodore Tucker, who, in turn, transmitted it to General Beauregard, and effective preparations were made to repel the assault."

Professor Stone, already referred to, writes further in his pamphlet: "As above noted, each of the above signal services were sooner or later able to read the other's signals. In this the Confederates led off in South Carolina. On the night of March 12, 1863, the signal party on duty at Spanish Wells near Hilton Head, S. C., were taken prisoners. They included a lieutenant and three privates. Two of these privates declared, after their return from prison, that the third private had deserted to the Confederates and betrayed the United States common code. Be this as it may, it is known that the Confederates began to read our signals soon after this time, the most noted among them being Lieutenant Markoe, who for a long time was stationed at Battery Beauregard on Sullivan's Island, the island forming the outer barrier of Charleston Harbor on the northeast. When the Confederates evacuated Charleston, there was left at the city signal station a large book containing a record of all the messages that had come to that station for several years. Among them were a large number of our messages intercepted by Lieutenant Markoe or others, and it was surprising how valuable to the Confederate commanders must have been the information thus obtained. Quite a number of the messages intercepted by the Confederate operators are printed in Mr. Brown's book. The message of all others, which makes one's blood boil, is the one noted by Brown, but not printed, sent by General Gillmore to Admiral Dahlgren on July 13, 1863, to cease firing at a certain hour, as he was about to charge Fort Wagner. Of course, in any case that would have been a bloody charge, but doubtless the Confederates were helped by the fact that they had several hours notice of the coming assault. I copied this and many other of our messages which had been read by the Confederates and from which

they gained important information, but the copies have mostly been lost."

THE DEFENSE OF FORT WAGNER

It will be interesting to have the testimony of one who, with the Signal Corps, endured the hardships of the life at Battery Wagner; and who shared with them the terrors, not only of shot and shell but the hardships of life both by day and by night. I quote from an account of the "Confederate Defense of Morris Island," written by Major R. C. Gilchrist, who, for a while, commanded the Gist Guards Artillery in their defense of Battery Wagner. He gives a most interesting account of the defense of this island, which was regarded as the key to Fort Sumter; which, in turn, was regarded as the key to Charleston. I cannot, however, burden this article with more than to quote this writer when referring to the duties of the Signal Corps. He writes of the engagement between the land forces of General Gillmore and the Navy under Admiral Dahlgren of April 7, 1863, and the Confederate forces as follows:

"Fort Wagner proposed to play a very important part in the historic attack of the ironclads of the Federal fleet on Fort Sumter; but, as it is believed, was defeated through treachery. Some time before an iron boiler filled with one thousand pounds of powder, fitted with electrical appliances for exploding it, had been sunk in the channel, one mile and a half abreast of Wagner. The submarine cable stretched to the shore lay within the fort. A system of triangulation from both Gregg and Wagner, marked by stakes driven in those batteries, determined its position, and for days the opportunity to use it against the fleet had been anxiously looked for. At noon on the 7th of April—a lovely spring day, the deep blue sky, without a cloud, reflected in the bay as smooth as glass—a movement was observed among the ironclads. Soon after they advanced slowly in line of battle—the monitors Weehawken, Passaic, Montauk, Patapsco, Catskill, Nantucket, Nahant and Keokuk, with the New Ironsides bearing the pennant of Commodore DuPont.

NARROW ESCAPE OF NEW IRONSIDES

"At ten minutes past 3 P. M., Moultrie opened her batteries; immediately thereafter Fort Sumter, Battery Gregg, and all the ironclads joined in the thundering chorus—'The music of the spheres.' The sea seethed as a boiling cauldron, as shot and shell, with debris of fort and vessels, plunged into it. Amid this pandemonium Wagner stood silent, yet all within were nerved to the most intense excitement. The long looked-for hour was at hand when one of those dreaded ironclad monsters would be hurled into the air. The New Ironsides was singled out for destruction. One of the Signal Corps had been stationed at Battery Gregg, and another at Fort Wagner, each with keen eyes watching their respective lines of vision. At the electric key stood Captain Langdon Cheves, with his eyes bent on both stations, so that as the flags waved in concert, indicating the fateful moment when the Ironsides should be over the torpedo, to apply the spark and do the deed. Slowly the Ironsides steamed around, delivering one terrific broadside after another. Ever and anon the flag would wig-wag on Gregg, but Wagner was still; then on Wagner, but Gregg's did not reply, and so it seemed that hours passed. The garrison intent and watching—hearts could almost be heard beating above the din of battle. At last both flags

waved. Oh, the wild rush of hope and joy that overwhelmed them as they felt that their hour had come at last. The key was touched one and again. All looked breathlessly towards the doomed ship. There was no answering explosion. Unconscious of the danger she had escaped, she steamed on and delivered her broadsides until the action closed. It was said afterwards and believed that the 'expert' who was charged with arranging the torpedo was a 'Federal Spy.'"

HARD TEST OF ENDURANCE

Again he writes a description of the trying life in these forts: "From the 20th of July was a period of simple endurance on Morris Island. Night and day, with scarcely any intermission, the hurling shells burst over and within it. Each day, often from early dawn, the New Ironsides or the six monitors, sometimes all together, steamed up and delivered their terrific broadsides, shaking the fort to its centre. The noiseless coehorn shells, falling vertically, searched out the secret recesses, almost invariably claiming victims. The burning sun of a southern summer, its heat intensified by the reflection of the white sand, scorched and blistered the unprotected garrison, or the more welcome rain and storm wet them to the skin. An intolerable stench from the unearthed dead of the previous conflict, the carcasses of cavalry horses lying where they fell in the rear, and barrels of putrid meat thrown out on the beach, sickened the defenders. A large and brilliantly colored fly, attracted by the feast, and unforeseen before, inflicted wounds more painful, though less dangerous than the shot of the enemy. Water was scarcer than whiskey. The food, however good when it started for its destination, by exposure, first on the wharf in Charleston, then on the beach at Cummings Point, being often forty-eight hours in transitu, was unfit to eat. The unventilated bomb-proofs, filled with smoke of lamps and smell of blood, were intolerable, so that one endured the risk of shot and shell rather than seek shelter."

ATTACK ON CUMMINGS POINT FRUSTRATED

Referring more especially to the service of the Signal Corps the same writer adds: "Though non-combatants, none ran greater risks than the Signal Corps. Perched on the highest and most conspicuous spot of Battery Gregg, flag in hand—the cynosure of all eyes, both friend and foe, exposed to the fire of sharp-shooters and artillery, often their special aim, in the thick as well as the surcease of the conflict—the wig-wag of their flags conveyed to the commandant in Charleston the needs of the garrison, or received from him orders for defense. By their intelligent service, likewise, the dispatches passing from fleet to shore were read; so that, forewarned by them on several occasions the Confederates were forearmed and ready, so as to repel with little loss assaults that would otherwise have been fatal. * * * On the 24th day of August an attempt was made to carry Cummings Point from Vincent's Creek. Lieutenant R. C. Gilchrist was then in command of Battery Gregg, with the Gist Guard Artillery and Company C., of Lucas's Battalion of Artillery, as its garrison. By some means the Federal Signal code had been obtained, so that messages passing between the fleet and shore could be read. By this means the Confederates were informed of the contemplated attack that night; further confirmed by the vigorous shelling of Battery Gregg all that day, during which a heavy traverse caved in, filling up the gun-chamber, burying the gunners of Company C., Lucas's Battalion. A volunteer party, headed by Sergeant Brown, of the Marion Artillery, flew to the rescue of their

comrades and dug them out, while exposed to a concentrated fire of artillery and sharpshooters, but not before two were dead. The guns of Battery Gregg were trained to sweep the creek just beyond the shore. A select picket force was stationed to watch for the approach of the barges. About midnight the phosphorescent light made by the splash of the muffled oars alone revealed their presence. The signal was given; grape, canister and lead responded; while the crash of timbers and shrieks of the wounded told of the efficacy of the aim. In five minutes the conflict was ended."

OBTAINING THE UNION SIGNAL CODE

Another contribution to the efficient services of the Signal Corps in the defense of Charleston will be found in a very interesting letter of Dr. Joel Poinsett Mallard, one of the most skilful operators of the Signal Corps, in a letter addressed to the Charleston News & Courier. He writes: "In the early part of 1863 an officer by the name of Bryan furnished Lieutenant Markoe with several letters of the Federal code. Lieutenant Markoe was then in command. It was said that Bryan obtained them in Kentucky. The writer and several others—if I remember correctly, H. W. Rice, J. K. Heyward and George McCutchen—were detailed for the special work of deciphering the Federal alphabet. This was speedily accomplished and we began intercepting their dispatches. We were stationed first at the Cove on Sullivan's Island, near Battery Bee, subsequently at the Horry house, above Beauregard Battery.

"To one familiar with the principle on which the signal alphabet is constructed it is by no means a difficult matter to decipher it. Only once during the siege did the enemy change his alphabet; and it was speedily worked out. This, I think, was not long before the evacuation.

"There was not, so far as the writer can recall, a single engagement of any consequence in the harbor from the time we began intercepting the dispatches of the enemy that was not known by our commanding officers in ample time to be prepared. Instance the midnight assault on Fort Sumter, which resulted so disastrously to the enemy. The message was captured during the afternoon; the commandant, Colonel Elliott, was advised, and everything was in readiness for the attack. We heard at the time that the enemy wondered how it was that we were so well prepared for them. Again, take the assault on Battery Wagner. The writer vividly recalls the circumstances of the afternoon during which the dispatch was taken. The Federal station on Morris Island was visible only at times on account of a furious cannonade which was then in progress. During a clear interval the following was taken: 'To ———, An assault is ordered at dusk. Husband your ammunition, so as to deliver a rapid fire the last half hour ———.'

"At another time the enemy attempted an assault on Battery Gregg, but met with such a warm reception they hastily retreated. We were fully advised of it.

"Most of the intercepted dispatches were forwarded to headquarters in cipher, if I correctly remember. During the whole time of our service on the island the Federals did not change their alphabet, except once, as already stated; nor did we capture a message in cipher.

"It has occurred to the writer and others that the service of the Corps at Charleston has never received the consideration it deserves. Service in the Corps was no pastime, and this doubtless was fully realized by those who were stationed in St. Michael's steeple, the

target of the Swamp Angel, and by those on a lofty tower in the midst of booming cannon and bursting shells. The messages must go or be received."

While the service thus rendered by the Signal Corps, both in transmitting and receiving messages to and from the various stations of the Confederate forces in and around Charleston was regarded indispensable to the successful resistance of the long and continued efforts of the Federal forces to take Charleston and its valuable harbor—another service almost as useful was that rendered the blockade runners plying between the Atlantic ports and the West Indies. None was more important than the service rendered the blockade runners in entering the port at Charleston.

ASSISTING THE BLOCKADE RUNNERS

A writer on the subject says: "An indispensable condition to the prolongation of the war was the running of the blockade of Southern ports by the swift cruisers built and fitted expressly for the purpose. Such were the profits of this business that the owners could well afford to lose vessel and cargo on her third trip if the first two were successful. No life could be more adventurous and exciting than that of a blockade-runner. The Signal Corps played its part here also. Every blockade-runner had its signal officer, furnished with signaling apparatus and the key to the secret cipher. The coast was lined with stations for thirty or forty miles up and down on either side of the blockade port. The blockade-runners came in close to shore at nightfall and fitfully flashed a light which was soon answered from the shore station. Advice was then given as to condition of things off the port, the station and movements of the hostile fleet, etc. If the word was 'go in' the beacon lights were set and the blockade-runner boldly steamed over the bar and into the port. A naval office was in charge of the office of orders and details at several ports, whence proceeded all orders and assignments in relation to pilots and signal officers.

"Captain Wilkinson, C. S. N., in his interesting 'Narrative of a Blockade-Runner' tells the following incident illustrative of the uses of a signal officer in this line of duty: 'The range lights were showing and we crossed the bar without interference and without suspicion of anything wrong, as it would occasionally happen under particularly favorable circumstances that we would cross the bar without even seeing a blockader. We were under the guns of Fort Fisher, N. C., in fact, and close to the fleet of the United States vessels, which had crossed the bar after the fall of the fort, when I directed my signal officer to communicate with the shore station. His signal was promptly answered, but, turning to me, he said: "No Confederate signal officer there, sir; he can not reply to me." The order to wear around was instantly obeyed; not a moment too soon, for the bow of the Chameleon was scarcely pointed for the bar before two of the light cruisers were plainly visible in pursuit, steaming with all speed to intercept us. Nothing saved us from capture but the twin screws, which enabled our steamer to turn as upon a pivot in the narrow channel between the bar and the ribs. We reached the bar before our pursuers, and were soon lost in the darkness outside.'"

The incident related took place at the mouth of the Cape Fear River in North Carolina, the same being the harbor for the city of Wilmington, which during the war was also one of the bases of the blockade-runners. The service rendered the blockade runners during the entire

siege of the city of Charleston and more especially during the later days of the war, when she alone afforded protection to them, was still more efficient.

CHARLESTON NEVER CAPTURED BY UNION FORCES

The service of the Signal Corps both upon the land and upon the sea contributed largely to the defense of Charleston, which despite the combined efforts of the land and navy forces of the Federal army remained in the hands of the Confederacy, affording the only seaport available to the blockade runners until the city was evacuated on the 17th day of February, 1865. It was never taken by the enemy and only evacuated by the Confederate forces when it was found necessary to combine all the forces of the Confederate army along the Atlantic coast to meet General Sherman in his march through the State of South Carolina for the purpose of co-operating with General Grant in his efforts to take the capital of the Confederacy.

THE HISTORIC DEFENSE OF CHARLESTON

The defense of Charleston will ever be recognized as one of the most remarkable in the annals of history. I can close this brief account of the siege in no more appropriate terms than those set forth in the preface of "Defense of Charleston Harbor" by that distinguished engineer, Dr. Johnson, from which I quote: "The military operations by land and water before Charleston, South Carolina, especially from the spring of 1863 to the close of the Civil war in 1865, engaged the attention of the world to a more than ordinary degree. They were characterized by an attack involving two novel elements of warfare—viz. the use of armored vessels and of breaching rifles, and by a defense peculiar in respect of harbor obstruction with torpedo devices, active and passive. But the defense was also conducted with other and older elements of warfare, such as historians never tire of recording, viz—prolonged resistance and large measure of success. A contemporary writer in the French Journal of Military Science testified as follows: 'Prodigies of talent, audacity, intrepidity, and perseverance are exhibited in the attack, as in the defense of this city, which will assign to the siege of Charleston an exceptional place in military annals'. The most recent military opinion upon these operations from an eminent foreign source is equally favorable to their great importance. Viscount Wolseley, adjutant general of the British Army, in reviewing one of the latest collections of historical papers covering the whole period, writes as follows: 'Were I bound to select out of all four volumes the set of papers which appear of most importance at the present moment, not only from an American but also from an European point of view, I should certainly name those which describe the operations at Charleston' (North American Review, November, 1889). And if further evidence were wanted, Mr. Welles, Secretary of the United States Navy, pays the Charleston of Confederate times the highest tribute when, in his annual report for 1865, he speaks of it as having been the 'most invulnerable and best-protected city on the coast, whose defenses had cost immense treasure and labor.'

"Fort Sumter was for a long time the citadel of Charleston harbor, and, having for its advanced work Battery Wagner on Morris Island, was the special object of attack. The fort, after being silenced and demolished, was transformed and rearmed under fire; it was then held for twelve months longer, until the whole coast of South Carolina was

abandoned near the end of the war. It was never surrendered. The battery, after a siege of fifty-eight days, was successfully evacuated, and fell into the hands of the enemy. An English military critic, in St. Paul's Magazine, rates the defense of Fort Sumter as 'eclipsing such famous passages of history as Sale's defense of Jelalabad against the Afghans or Havelock's obdurate tenure of the residency of Lucknow.' And one of the most competent military authorities in America claims that it is but history 'to say that the defense of Fort Sumter and that of Wagner are feats of war unsurpassed in ancient or modern times.'"

CHAPTER LV

TAKING AN ACCOUNT OF STOCK

The end of the War of Secession found South Carolina crushed, but by no means killed. Perhaps if her public men and leaders had calmly sat down among the ruins and taken an account of stock, as the historian is able to do, years after, even her high spirit might have been crushed to the point of despair. But the destruction and disorganization were so widespread, extending into every detail of individual, agricultural, industrial, educational, civil and political activities that a general review of the situation was impossible at that time.

The broken battalions saw destruction on every side, the result of wasting war and final defeat, but many a bold spirit still caught inspiration from the State's proud motto: "Dum Spiro, Spero," (while I breathe, I hope), and in the hearts of thousands more echoed the noble sentiment of the Lombard youth at Peschiera seventeen years earlier:

" 'Tis better to have fought and lost,
Than never to have fought at all."

Few, if any, of the men in grey dreamed of the dreadful years of Reconstruction which were to follow.

The great, outstanding blow to South Carolina was that although she had thrown over 70,000 of her sons into the battles and campaigns of the War, and strained every nerve and muscle to defend the cause, 22 per cent had been killed or died from wounds or prison and thousands more had hobbled home wounded and broken in health, and all to no apparent purpose. Though the State was at first exhausted and prostrate, the spirit of revival was still alive.

Columbia had been burned, large areas of Charleston had been shelled into ruins, and a wide swath of fire and destruction cut by the Federal armies through central and upper South Carolina. The entire machinery of the civil and political government of the State had been subverted and overthrown.

WASTE, WASTE, WASTE

On the sea islands, along the coast, and through the country desolated by Sherman's march in the interior of the State, from Columbia to the North Carolina line, there was widespread destitution, starvation and misery. As Wm. Henry Trescot eloquently says: "The women of that day mourned their dead and shrank with shuddering from those whose garments smelt of the blood of their kindred. Reverend priests, who had prayed fervently and prophesied boldly, put their hands upon their mouths and bowed in perplexed humility when they learned that the ways of God were indeed past finding out. Bad men rose and ruled, impatient spirits sought relief in exile, and desponding ones sat sad and silent in the midst of darkness."

AN ENGLISH TRAVELER'S REPORT

Kennaway, a Master of Arts of Balliol, visited the South in 1865-66, and quotes a letter written from South Carolina in December, 1865, which, he declares, "gives some idea of a grief which is far beyond the cognizance of ordinary travelers":

"I doubt if you have any idea of the poverty of the people. The land may be restored, but where can its ruined owner procure money to pay taxes, erect buildings and hire freedmen. Our young men are gone to work in earnest. We are proud to see them engaged in teaching, ploughing, waggoning, keeping grocery-stores; in short, doing anything, and doing it cheerfully. Ours is a poverty of which no one is ashamed, and of which very few complain. We are willing to bear it, and its universality makes it more tolerable. When I know that the most refined and intelligent women in the State, deserted by their deluded servants, are doing all sorts of housework—sweeping, dusting, making beds, and even * * * cooking and washing—it is much easier for me to iron the towels my little son has washed, while I turn occasionally a laughing eye towards the fire place, where an invalid gentleman (son of a former governor) is engaged in churning! I must confess that his attempt furnished us with more amusement than butter. * * *

"Many refugee ladies feed there families by exchanging the contents of their wardrobes for articles of food. 'How are your sisters?' said I last summer to a young man who has left home to become a tutor. 'Their complexions look badly,' was the reply; 'but that is not surprising when you consider how long they have been eating old frocks.' 'Have they any lights?' was my next query. With perfect gravity he replied: 'No; when the moon does not shine, they go to bed by lightning.' But matters are mending in this very family; light-wood has superseded lightning in the chambers, and in the parlor a small petroleum lamp (price one dollar) diffuses light and happiness around.

"But there are cases over which no one can laugh. I know of a family whose property was counted by hundreds of thousands, who have not tasted meat for months. A gentleman of high scientific attainments, formerly professor in a college, is literally trying to keep the wolf from the door by teaching a few scholars, one of whom, a girl of sixteen, pays a quart of milk per diem for her tuition! Innumerable widows, orphan and single women, whose property was in Confederate bonds, are penniless, and are seeking employment of some kind for bread."

A PEDDLER OF TEA AND MOLLASSES

Incidents like those cited by Kennaway, the English traveler, were common in coastal and middle South Carolina. J. S. Pike of Maine, sometime minister to Belgium, and associate editor of the New York Tribune, tells in his work, "The Prostrate State," of "a well-known family" near Columbia, "rich and distinguished for generations. The slaves are gone. The family is gone. A single scion of the house remains, and he peddles tea by the pound and molasses by the quart, on a corner of the old homestead, to the former slaves of the family, and thereby earns his livelihood."

More than one venerable South Carolinian, in letter and spirit, followed the example of Col. Thomas L. Dabney, a Mississippi planter, who, said his daughter Mrs. Smedes, "determined to spare

his daughters all such labor as he could perform. Genl. Sherman had said that he would like to bring every Southern woman to the wash-tub. "He shall never bring my daughters to the wash-tub," Thomas Dabney said. "I will do the washing myself." And he did it for two years. He was in his seventieth year when he began to do it.

In his "Provisional Government of South Carolina" Governor B. F. Perry says: The poor refugees of the Sea Islands were without fortune, money, or the means of living. Many had nothing to eat except bread and water, and were thankful if they could get bread. I appointed W. H. Trescot to go to Washington and represent them in trying to recover their lands."

TIMROD'S PITIFUL PASSING

In March, 1866, Henry Timrod writes from Columbia to his friend and brother poet Paul Hayne: "You ask me to tell you my story for the last year. I can embody it all in a few words: beggary, starvation death, bitter grief, utter want of hope. * * * Both my sister and myself are completely impoverished. We have lived for a long period, and are still living on the proceeds of the gradual sale of furniture and plate. We have, let me see! Yes—we have eaten two silver pitchers, one or two dozen silver forks, several sofas, innumerable chairs and a huge bedstead!" A little later, conditions becoming even more desperate and the poet lay dying of consumption, General Wade Hampton carried a sum of money to a clergyman and besought him to carry it to the dying man. After some demur Timrod accepted the money saying to his friend, "Oh, sir, I will tell you the truth! God himself must have sent you here, and I will take the money as from Him, for without it I do not know what would have become of us."

FRYING BACON ON A SILVER TRAY

Theodore Tilton came to Charleston in 1865 along with Henry Ward Beecher, Major Robert Anderson and others to raise the United States flag over the walls of Fort Sumter. In *The Independent* he gives this little incident in lighter vein: "Gentlemanly, uncertain Governor Aiken's house remained untouched—yet despoiled inside by his own act; for fearing that the shells would break into his wine-cellar, he sent into the country his unpurchasable three thousand bottles of old Madeira, and his elegant silver plate; and Sherman's thirsty soldiers found the wine and drank it; and an aesthetic negro was discovered in the woods frying bacon on the Governor's silver tray! So the negroes now constitute the first families."

A NORTHERN JOURNALIST'S TESTIMONY

Sidney Andrews, a traveling correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* and *Boston Advertiser*, writes from South Carolina in October, 1865: "There is among the plantation negroes a widely spread idea that land is to be given them by the government, and this idea is at the bottom of much idleness and discontent. At Orangeburg and at Columbia, country negroes with whom I have conversed asked me: 'When is de land goin' fur to be diwided?' Some of them believe that the land which they are going to have is on the coast; others believe that the plantations on which they have lived are to be dvided among themselves. * * * An old negro man who declined going

away from some of the bands bound for Charleston gave as his reason for remaining that 'De home-house might come to me, ye see, sah, in de diwision.' There is also a widely spread idea that the whites are to be driven out of the lower section of the State, and that the negroes are there to live by themselves. That so absurd ideas as these could exist I would not believe till I found them myself."

Herbert, himself a republican in keen sympathy with the main features of Reconstruction, thus explains how ideas "so absurd" had gained credence among the ignorant, recently enfranchised negroes,

THE FRUITS OF SHERMAN'S ORDER

He continues: "That the original contention of the government in setting apart the Sea Islands was to either give or sell them to the freedmen I sincerely believe. That the negroes were allowed to receive the impression that this was the purpose of the government is beyond all question. That General Saxton colonized them in vast numbers on those islands with this understanding on his part and theirs is matter of record. If the faith of the nation was ever impliedly pledged to anything, it was to the assurance that the colored people should have a home there—as witness the famous order of General Sherman, approved by the secretary of war, and practically endorsed for nearly nine months by all branches of the government."

COLLEGES CONVERTED INTO HOSPITALS

* As graphically described by Professor R. Means Davis: "In that year (1860), South Carolina was fifth on the list in the amount of college endowments and sixth also as will be seen by reference to the census in the income of her colleges. At that time were in most successful operation the South Carolina College, the State Military Academy, the Charleston College, Erskine College, Wofford College, Furman University, Newberry College, the Medical College in Charleston and three theological seminaries, all for males. Female colleges of high repute flourished in different portions of the State. Classical or military academies were located in almost every town, and in many country places, selected for their salubrious climate or other natural advantages. All these were patronized alike by parents who had received a liberal education and by those who, feeling the want themselves, desired it for their sons and daughters. Nor was patronage confined to schools and colleges at home. Large sums of money flowed into the coffers of renowned educational institutions in other states and beyond the seas, so that it is safe to estimate the annual expenditure at not much less than a million dollars for education.

"As the clouds of war thickened these institutions closed one by one and teachers and pupils alike passed from classic shades to the tented field. Some school edifices were destroyed, some converted into hospitals for the sick and wounded and others afforded shelter to refugees from the devastated districts. The last call for troops. in February, 1865, swept into the field every white male from sixteen to sixty.

"The year 1865 was most disastrous to every interest. The pangs of defeat were intensified by the pangs of hunger and the desire for knowledge gave place to cravings for bread."

* "Sketch of Education in South Carolina," by R. Means Davis, professor of history and political science in South Carolina College, 1883.

FOOD CROPS RUINED

The agricultural interests which had made South Carolina prosperous had come to a stand-still with the utter change in labor conditions. Not only had the wonderful rice fields along the rivers been devastated by the enemy, but the negro laborers who had cultivated them had been forced or seduced from their wonted employment and were either in the Union ranks as soldiers congregated on the Sea Islands drawing rations from the government and doing nothing, or wandering through the country as freedmen and vagrants. The district around Beaufort had been held by the enemy since 1862; so that this normally rich and productive country which furnished so large a share of the foodstuffs upon which the people relied was non-productive, except here and there where northern speculators tried to make sudden fortunes from the labor of their brothers in black. Barns, storehouses and stables throughout lower and central Carolina had been burned and the rice fields on the Savannah, Combahee, Pon-Pon and Cooper rivers which promised anything in the way of crops, had been systematically flooded. Even before the war, corn had competed with rice as one of South Carolina's standard food crops, more than 16,000,000 bushels having been produced in 1860.

WHEN COTTON WAS KING

By that year cotton had become king. South Carolina was producing 350,000 bales, valued at more than \$14,000,000, and both of the food-stuffs were crowded into the background. Then the cotton plantations of the sea islands and the coastal region were wiped from the face of the State, and not only were its people left virtually without food as we have seen, but without the means of buying any. Those were certainly bitter times—when haggard men and women bowed with heart-aches were called upon to rebuild their shattered homes and estates, and recultivate their plantations, virtually without labor, to protect and feed their loved ones.

* During its continuance, the war brought utter ruin to the splendid operations of the sea-island planters, but what seemed disaster was the beginning of the great cotton production and allied industries of the up-country. The seed of the long-staple cotton carried to the interior deteriorated in quality in a different soil and climate and so scarce was choice seed from this cause in 1865-6 that Joseph T. Dill at one time had, in an ordinary letter envelope, the seed from which all the present (1883) fine long staple cottons have been since derived. This seed had been saved by the late Captain George C. Heyward and given to Mr. Dill, with the assurance of its great value.

"From this small beginning, and under the old perfecting process of seed selection and careful culture, the sea island cottons are once again produced up to the best grades of earlier years, although from many causes, the demand for these extra fine grades is so limited as not to warrant more than the preparation of a small percentage of the whole crop.

"The proportion of lint to seed cotton has, since 1865, been increased; formerly one pound of lint cotton to five pounds of seed cotton was regarded as satisfactory. Thanks to Mr. Clark, of James Island, a fine variety of long staple cotton has been produced in late years, which yields one pound of lint to three and a half pounds of

* Wm. A. Courtenay in 1883: "Year Book of Charleston."

seed cotton. Despite the sweeping disaster of the war, the sea islands have since been developed to a considerable extent."

It was evident to Mr. Courtenay nearly forty years ago that the demand for the fine, long staple and expensive sea island cotton was limited and not materially increasing. The truth was, as has since developed, that cotton was destined to be a democratic crop—something the people needed—not a luxury for those who craved fine raiment. The people were waiting for a variety of cotton which should come within their means as the new product for goods which they could use for every-day wear. They have obtained both through the cultivation of finer grades of the upland and midlands cotton; and the railroads and bridges destroyed by Sherman's army have long since been replaced by the modern means of transportation and communication by which the cotton which is now raised away from the coast, and which is manufactured into cloth at the very borders of the plantations, is distributed not only to the people of South Carolina but is sent abroad to the ends of the world. So simply from the viewpoint of ultimate benefit to the material welfare of South Carolina the devastations of the War of Secession were not evils devoid of good.

Yet the State and its people had to bide their time and fight their way through a period, almost as fierce and agonizing as that of the war itself.

CHAPTER LVI

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

(The Historical Narrative Resumed)

The downfall of the Confederacy and the assassination of President Lincoln in April, 1865, were so rapidly followed by the amnesty proclamation of Andrew Johnson, the new head of the General Government, and the practical emancipation of the negroes, that an entirely new order of things was projected into South Carolina, as a cannon ball might be shot into an unsuspecting camp from a hidden battery. The martyr president, with his radical, but sympathetic nature, had barely indicated along what lines he would endeavor to reconstruct the shattered fabrics of the southern States. It is true that, in accordance with his quixotic contention that Secession did not take the States out of the Union, but that normal relations were merely interrupted by "illegal combinations of individuals," he had said as early as 1862 that "Louisiana has nothing to do now but to take her place in the Union as it was—barring the broken eggs;" and that in his amnesty proclamation of 1863, he promised, with some qualifications, "to recognize in any seceding State a civil government," but, at that time Charles Sumner, Thad. Stevens, Ben Wade and other Republican leaders had not come to full power.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S PROBABLE INTENTIONS

The most probable indication of what his policy would have been in 1865, is to be found in the memorandum given to J. A. Campbell, the Confederate assistant secretary of war, April 5, 1865. It reads, in part, as follows:

1. "The restoration of the national authority throughout all the States.

2. "No receding by the Executive of the United States on the slavery question, from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in preceding documents.

3. "No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all force hostile to the government.

"That all propositions coming from those now in hostility to the government, and not inconsistent with the foregoing will be respectfully considered, and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality."

Probably the only indication we have of President Lincoln's views and intentions as to negro suffrage is found in a letter to Governor Hahn of Louisiana, written in March, 1864. He wrote: "Now, you are about to have a convention, which * * * will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest, for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in, as, for instance, the very intelligent and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks."

What is known as "the Presidential Doctrine" was of gradual development. President Johnson who was more theoretic than Lincoln,

after a savage outburst against the South, attempted, when it was too late, to carry out what he knew of President Lincoln's mild policy combined with ideas of his own as to how the Southern States should be put in their correct relations to the Union. Probably Johnson had no fixed theory, but the terms were eventually defined to be the cessation of resistance; an oath of amnesty to be taken, proffered to all but certain specified classes of leading men; the president to appoint a provisional governor; the permanent freedom of the blacks to be formally recognized and declared, and the States to form new republican governments. It was expressly stipulated, however, that the admission of senators and representatives from the southern States was a matter which should rest not with the executive but with the separate houses of Congress.

PRESIDENTIAL PLAN OF RECONSTRUCTION OPPOSED

This "Presidential Plan," or programme, the foundation of which was laid by Lincoln, President Johnson vainly attempted to carry out. Various leaders in Congress had their remedies and, when the restraining hand of Lincoln was removed, those with the most bitter spirit toward the South obtained control of national legislation on the complex and delicate problems of Reconstruction. Confederate leaders, whether civil or military, were excluded from the conventions to be called to form the new State constitutions, and from all participation in such governments when organized. In that prescribed class were, of course, all the real leaders of the southern States.

Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana, Ben Wade and Henry Winter Davis, were the irreconcilables, the Republican leaders who willed that the South, although crushed by arms, should still rue her "rebellion" and show an humble and chastened spirit. They claimed that the South, although crushed by arms, should still rue her "re-Federal Constitution, the southern States had blotted out their own lives and were the slaves of Congress, which was to establish what form of government it elected.

JOHNSON DEVELOPING LINCOLNIAN POLICY

During the months that these Congressional plans were developing, Andrew Johnson was endeavoring to promulgate the Lincolnian policy. His first step was, on May 29, 1865, to issue an amnesty proclamation. This historic paper recites how Lincoln had put forth like offers to those "in rebellion" against the authority of the United States, and that many had failed to take advantage of such proffered pardon. The offer of amnesty and pardon was again made to all those who should subscribe to the published oath of fidelity to the constitution and the Union, as well as to the laws passed with reference to the emancipation of slaves, with the exception of the following classes:

- (1) All civil, diplomatic or foreign agents of the late Confederacy.
- (2) Former judges under the United States who aided "the Rebellion."
- (3) Confederate military or naval officers above the rank of colonel in the army, or lieutenant in the navy.
- (4) Former congressmen of the United States who joined the Confederacy.

(5) Those who resigned from the army or navy of the United States "to evade duty in resisting the rebellion."

(6) Those who treated unlawfully Union prisoners of war.

(7) Absentees from the United States who aimed to aid the rebellion.

(8) Military and naval officers in the Confederate service who were educated by the Government in the Military Academy at West Point or the United States Naval Academy.

(9) Former Confederate governors.

(10) Those who left Federal territory and entered the Confederate States to aid "the rebellion."

(11) Those who engaged in the destruction of United States commerce on the high seas, or on the international border between the United States and Canada.

(12) Those retained as prisoners of war or for offenses of any kind.

(13) Those who had participated in "the Rebellion" each of whose taxable property was valued over \$20,000.

(14) Those who had taken the oath of amnesty issued December 8, 1863, and violated it.

POSSIBLE PRESIDENTIAL CLEMENCY

"Provided (quoting literally), that special application may be made to the President for pardon by any person belonging to the excepted classes, and such clemency will be as liberally extended as may be consistent with the facts of the case and the peace and dignity of the United States."

"The Secretary of State will establish rules and regulations for administering and recording the said amnesty oath, so as to insure its benefit to the people and guard the Government against fraud."

South Carolina had been the foremost of the southern States, in both defensive and offensive operations, during the War, and now that her leading men had acknowledged military defeat they came forward with a manly request for the re-establishment of civil government, and "the restoration of the State to her place in the Union." The status of affairs was especially aggravating since, under military rule, many of the white troops, with the local pronouncement of emancipation, had been displaced by negroes. All over the State, well-authenticated reports gathered volume that these black guardians of the peace were arrogant and abusive under the stimulus of unwonted authority over their late masters.

PRACTICAL EMANCIPATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

In South Carolina, the full emancipation of the negroes was ushered in by the order of Major General Q. A. Gillmore, commanding the department of the South with headquarters at Hilton Head, dated May 15, 1865. As noted in Reynolds's "Reconstruction in South Carolina," this order "declared that 'the people of the black race are free citizens of the United States' whose rights must be respected accordingly. By another order, all persons who should fail to inform the negroes on their lands (before a date stated) of the fact that such negroes were free were made liable to the pains and penalties of disloyalty, and their lands subject to confiscation under the act establishing the 'Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees, commonly called the Freedmen's Bureau.' By an order issued about the

same time, persons desiring to publish newspapers were required first to 'obtain the consent of the major-general commanding.'

"One principal and really useful function of the military in those days was in promoting, formulating and supervising contracts between landowners and their former slaves. Emancipation became a recognized fact, by the negroes as well as the whites, about the 1st of June, 1865. It is easy to see what might have followed a general refusal of the negroes on the plantations to engage to work thereon. There were signs of restiveness on the freedmen's part, but this was steadily discouraged by the army officers. Numbers of negroes promptly assumed contractual relations with their late masters. Others for different reasons, real or imaginary, were recalcitrant, and it was in these cases that the judicious intervention of any army officer was of wholesome effect. Nearly all the contracts were for shares of crops—one-third to the laborer being the accepted rule."

BENJAMIN F. PERRY, PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR

In response to the request of various committees who waited upon President Johnson in Washington, the chief executive, by proclamation dated June 13, 1865, appointed Benjamin F. Perry provisional governor of South Carolina. Several other gentlemen, Governor William Aiken of Charleston, former member of the United States Congress; W. W. Boyce of Fairfield, sometime Confederate congressman; Governor John L. Manning of Clarendon and Mr. Samuel McAilily, a prominent lawyer of Chester, had been recommended at meetings held in various parts of the State, all more or less prominently identified with the late Confederacy, and none of them belonging to the Secessionist party before the war: but the appointment of Colonel Perry was evidently decided upon by the president in view of various extenuating facts connected with his long career as a South Carolina leader. During a period of more than thirty years previous to the Confederate War, Governor Perry had been one of the leaders in the famous Greenville district. He was a lawyer, editor of the Greenville Mountaineer, opposed Nullification and even Calhoun, and was a bold leader in the Union party of 1832. Serving in either the Legislature, House or Senate, for twenty-eight years—both as legislator and as editor of the Southern Patriot, when it was established in 1850, the only Union paper in South Carolina, Mr. Perry was as consistently opposed to secession as he had been to nullification. Further, as a member of the National Democratic Convention which met in Charleston in 1860, he was among the last of the southern delegates to withdraw when all but two of his conferees from South Carolina had retired. He even opposed secession in the excitement following Lincoln's election, and such had been his influence in the mountain section of the Greenville district that he was obliged to urge his followers to join the ranks of the Confederacy even after South Carolina had taken the decisive step. It was with Colonel Perry, however, as with Robert E. Lee; when his native State left the Union and was doomed to invasion he followed and threw himself into the cause with all the strength of his character. From among his mountaineer friends and admirers went forth a body of gallant Confederate soldiers. Mr. Perry held the offices of Confederate commissioner, district attorney and judge of the Confederate States Court, which he also filled with great ability. His long and bold stand in South Carolina as a Union man was doubtless considered an offset to his career as a Confederate civil official.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT RESUMES ITS FUNCTIONS

President Johnson's proclamation appointing Mr. Perry as provisional governor of South Carolina made it clear that though he had overlooked Mr. Perry's service as a Confederate judge, he was conforming to the terms of the amnesty as laid down by him in the preceding month; also, that not only must a delegate to any State convention or an elector be a loyal citizen, as defined by that instrument, but that he must have the qualifications for voting prescribed by the constitution and laws of South Carolina which were in force previous to December 20, 1860, the date of the passage of the ordinance of secession. It was further ordered that "the said convention when convened * * * will prescribe the qualifications of the electors and the eligibility of persons to hold office under the constitution and laws of the State, a power which the people of the several States composing the Federal Union have rightfully exercised from the origin of the government up to the present time."

No wonder, in spite of the harsh exemptions in the Amnesty Proclamation, South Carolinians breathed easier. There was no hint of universal suffrage or the horrors of Reconstruction from Andrew Johnson so late as June, 1865, and the people imagined that the civil government of the State was to be resumed where it was discontinued when it left the Union.

Governor Perry accepted his appointment, under such conditions, and on July 20, 1865, issued a proclamation that the civil officers of the State should resume their functions, and that delegates to a convention be elected on the 4th of the ensuing September, the body to assemble on the 13th of the month to frame a provisionable government which should be in force until the meeting of the Legislature. All citizens were urged to take the amnesty oath, as upon such action depended their right to vote. That the body of voters might be as representative as possible, the governor also requested citizens embraced in any of the excepted classes to apply to the president for pardon, under the terms of his amnesty.

As was expected, President Johnson's clemency covered nearly every application made by former adherents to the Confederacy—provided that they took the oath to be loyal thereafter—so that what at first seemed like a barring out of the most desirable citizenship in the future upbuilding of the government was overcome by the presidential spirit of reconciliation. The applications for pardon came so rapidly and were accepted so readily that it was even feared that some of the members elected to the constitutional convention would not receive their certificates of good citizenship in time to participate in its deliberations. Columbia and Washington worked to such a purpose, however, that they were all seated. It is known that President Johnson pardoned 845 South Carolinians who had been identified with the Confederacy, 650 of whom were included in the classification of "persons who have voluntarily participated in said rebellion, and the estimated value of whose taxable property is over \$20,000." The remainder were Confederate treasury agents, tax-collectors, post-masters or blockade runners.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION FAIRLY REPRESENTATIVE

The result of President Johnson's clemency, in the pardoning of those who had been identified with the Confederacy, but, like men, accepted the legitimate results of the war, was to make the conven-

tion of September, 1865, fairly representative of the intelligent public sentiment of the State. There were 116 delegates in attendance, only two being absent who were elected and commissioned, Wade Hampton who was in North Carolina, and Bishop Lynch who was in Europe. To the great regret of the convention as a body, General Wade Hampton had not received notice in time to attend. That was also the case with William F. Hutson, of Prince William.

PERSONNEL OF THE CONVENTION

Sidney Andrews, the correspondent of the Boston Advertiser and the Chicago Tribune thus describes in part some of the leading delegates: "Four at least of the delegates have national reputations—James L. Orr, late Federal Representative, ex-Rebel Colonel and ex-Confederate Senator; F. W. Pickens, late Federal Representative and the first Secession Governor; Alfred Huger, postmaster at Charleston for the last 25 years; and Samuel McGowan, late Major-General in the Rebel army, and one of the bravest officers this State gave the Confederacy. One delegate, James Farrow, was four years a member of the Rebel Congress. Twelve, namely David L. Wardlaw, and Thomas Thomson, of Abbeville District; James L. Orr of Anderson; J. J. Brabham of Barnwell; John A. Inglis and Henry McIver of Chesterfield; James Conner and J. DuPre of Charleston; J. P. Richardson of Clarendon; R. G. M. Dunnivant of Edgefield; William R. Robertson of Fairfield and John W. Carlisle of Spartanburg, were also delegates in the Secession Convention. The people have cut loose from many of their old leaders, and others of that class have found their graves since the war began; but there are perhaps a score of delegates whose faces are more or less familiar to persons who have attended the sessions of the South Carolina General Assembly any time within a dozen or fifteen years. Of those who were officers in the Rebel Army there are not less than twenty-five or thirty, including at least four generals and six colonels. The half-dozen fellows—of the blunt and blotchy nose, beefy and bloated face, shining and swallow-tail coats—who always attend conventions as delegates are here, and occupy the chief seats. * * * A few of the delegates are clad wholly, and very many of them partly in homespun. Many coats show Confederate buttons—from the necessity of poverty rather than the choice of disloyalty, I judge."

The convention assembled at Columbia, in the Baptist church on Plain street, September 13, 1865, and elected Hon. David L. Wardlaw, member from Abbeville and one of the judges of the circuit court, president. Colonel John T. Sloan was chosen clerk.

ADOPTION OF TEMPORARY CONSTITUTION

The convention continued in session for two weeks and during that period framed a State constitution, which was not submitted to the people, as it was now all-important that the machinery of civil government should be again in operation. Further, the principal parts of the machine had already been assembled in the State Constitution adopted in April, 1861. The emancipation of the slaves had made necessary several alterations in that instrument, and the long out-worn parish system of political representation was abolished; these were the radical changes from the constitution adopted by the people of South Carolina at the commencement of the War of Secession.

Without following the details of the convention's deliberations covering September 13-27, 1865, it is sufficient to note that the constitution was adopted and that the ordinances enacted were only temporary, pending the creation of a permanent body of laws by the incoming State Legislature. Slavery in South Carolina was prohibited and the protection of the courts was formally extended over the colored race in the following judicial article: "The General Assembly shall, as soon as possible establish for each district in the State an inferior court or courts, to be styled 'The District Court,' the judges whereof shall be resident in the district while in office, shall be elected by the General Assembly for four years and shall be reeligible—which court shall have jurisdiction of all civil cases wherein one or both of the parties are persons of color, and of all criminal cases wherein the accused is a person of color, and the General Assembly is empowered to extend the jurisdiction of said court to other subjects."

The qualifications of the voter were thus stated; "He shall be a free white man who has attained the age of twenty-one years, and is not a pauper, nor a noncommissioned officer or private soldier of the army, nor a seaman or marine of the navy of the United States. He shall, for the two years next preceding the day of election, have been a citizen of this State, or, for the same period, an emigrant from Europe, who has declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, according to the constitution and the laws of the United States. He shall have resided in this State for at least two years next preceding the day of election, and for the last six months of that time in the district in which he offers to vote." No person was eligible to any office unless possessed of the qualifications of an elector.

The election of the governor and lieutenant-governor, for a term of four years, was made popular instead of a function of the Legislature; other officers to be elected by that body for a like term. Preachers while in the exercise of their pastoral functions, were declared ineligible to seats in the General Assembly, or to be elected governor or lieutenant-governor of the State, being dedicated "to the service of God and the cure of souls." A like provision was contained in the constitution of 1791.

THE PARISH SYSTEM ABOLISHED

By the abolition of the parish system, the Senate was to be composed of one member from each of the districts, except that of Charleston, to which were allotted two senators, the last vestige of the parish system! The House of Representatives was to consist of 124 members, to be apportioned both according to the white population contained in each, and the taxes raised in each by the General Assembly.

Even before the War of Secession there had been much opposition to the parish system, Governor Perry clearly stating the grounds in favor of the change when he said in his first message to the constitutional convention: "The basis of representation in the Senate of this State, as you know, is entirely arbitrary and is founded on no just principles of property or population. At the time it was adopted—more than seventy-five years ago—it was no doubt fair and equal. But since that time, the entire relative condition of the election districts has changed. The upper country, at the adoption of our state constitution in 1790, was comparatively but newly settled, has a sparse

population and had very little wealth. But since that time this portion of the State has increased in wealth and numbers in a much greater ratio than the lower country.

"Hence it is that the parish representation in the Senate is unequal and unjust. Twenty or thirty voters in one of the parishes, whose population and taxation combined entitle it to only one member of the House of Representatives, have the same representation in the Senate that three thousand voters have in Edgefield district, whose population and taxation entitle it to six members in the House. This is contrary to all republican principles of political justice and equality.

"In the early history of South Carolina, the representation in the parishes was repeatedly changed to equalize it amongst the respective election districts; but all such changes have been obstinately refused during the last seventy-five years. Now that slavery is abolished, a reformation in this respect is imperative and must be adopted."

This speech of Colonel Perry undoubtedly had its strong effect in the almost unanimous action of the convention by which the parish system was abolished, although the sentiment against it had been gathering strength for many years. There were not a few even in the city of Charleston, which had gained most politically by the system, who, in the cause of harmony between the upper and the lower country, were urging that it be changed, or abolished altogether. When the final vote came, 97 members in the convention voted against the parish system and only 9 in favor of retaining it. The latter consisted of Messrs. A. P. Aldrich, of Barnwell; A. Campbell and Hugo G. Sheridan, of St. Bartholomew; W. A. Chisolm, of St. George, Dorchester; T. J. Goodwyn, of St. Matthew's; James McCauley, of Clarendon; H. C. Smart, of St. Peter's; William Wallace of Richland, and LeRoy F. Youmans, of St. Luke's. It will be noted that no delegate from either of the old Charleston parishes of St. Philip or St. Michael cast his ballot against the proposition to do away with the old system. Under the new system, the city was divided into two election districts, the afore-mentioned parishes forming the Charleston district and the remainder of the municipality, that of Berkeley.

* By different ordinances the convention formally repealed the ordinance of secession; declared that electors for president and vice-president of the United States ought to be chosen by the people; declared of force the constitution adopted by the people in convention at Charleston on the 8th day of April, 1861, except as altered or repealed; provided for the election of the General Assembly (ordered to meet in special session on October 25th) and of governor and lieutenant-governor; authorized incumbent officials to continue in office after taking the amnesty oath, and divided the State into four congressional districts. The convention adopted a resolution endorsing the administration of President Johnson, and pledging co-operation with him "in the wise measures he had inaugurated for securing peace and prosperity to the whole Union." The convention did not hesitate to express its opinion of the cases of President Davis and other Confederate prisoners, and appointed a committee to draft a memorial to President Johnson requesting executive clemency for Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens and for Gov. A. G. Magrath and the former secretary of the Confederate treasury, George A. Trenholm, held as prisoners of state.

Under a resolution passed by the convention, Judge Wardlaw, who served as its president, and Armistead Burt, a leading member

* "Reconstruction in South Carolina," by John S. Reynolds.

of the Abbeville bar, were appointed as a commission by Governor Perry, charged to make a report to the Legislature designating what laws they deemed necessary to be made by that body, and "especially to prepare and submit a code for the regulation of labor and the protection and government of the colored population of the State."

* Governor Perry, after the adjournment of the convention wrote to Secretary Seward, enclosing a copy of the new constitution, and inquiring when his functions as provisional governor ceased. In reply Seward congratulated him on the favorable aspect of events in South Carolina, and stated that he was to continue in the exercise of his duties until relieved by express orders.

JAMES L. ORR, GOVERNOR-ELECT

The convention adjourned sine die on September 27, 1865, the gubernatorial election held October 18, 1865, being in pursuance of its programme for the inauguration of a permanent State government. Although General Hampton had positively refused to be a candidate for governor, and urged his friends throughout the State not to vote for him, he came within a few hundred votes of being elected. The vote stood: James L. Orr, 9,928; Wade Hampton, 9,185.

Such was the official count. "It was the general opinion after the election that Hampton had been chosen over Orr." W. D. Porter, a leader of the Charleston bar, was elected Lieutenant-Governor, receiving 15,072 votes.

The record of Hon. James Lawrence Orr, the governor-elect, was distinguished; he had been urged to run by his fellow-delegates to the Constitutional Convention, and the choice of the people of South Carolina seemed to be in conformity with the conciliatory policy of President Johnson, which was already meeting with bitter opposition from the ultra radical Republican leaders. Early in his career, Mr. Orr not long after his graduation from the University of Virginia, became a rising lawyer, editor and member of the Legislature from the Anderson district. He sat in Congress from December, 1849 until March, 1859, and served as speaker of the House during his last term. Although he affirmed the right of secession, he strongly opposed separate and unsupported State action. When South Carolina cut herself away from the Union, however, Governor Orr supported her action, and organized "Orr's Regiment," a command which won fame on the Carolina coast and in Virginia. Colonel Orr later served in the Confederate Congress. His selection to head the State under new and strange conditions was a popular one.

THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE

The provisional governor, Colonel Perry, presided over the special session of the Legislature, which met in Columbia, on October 25, 1865, and adjourned on November 13th. In view of the fact that the governor-elect would not be inaugurated until the meeting of the General Assembly in regular session called for November 27th, no acts were passed during the special session. Before the close of the session Governor Perry was also elected United States senator for the long term and John L. Manning, for the short term, while A. P. Aldrich, of Barnwell, speaker of the House, was chosen circuit judge. Then the Thirteenth amendment to the national constitution was duly ratified and Messrs. Wardlaw and Burt, the code commissioners,

* "Early Period of Reconstruction in South Carolina," J. P. Hollis, Ph. D.

made their report; but their recommendations as to statutes to be enacted, especially in view of the emancipation of the negro, were passed over to the legislators of the regular session.

On November 22, 1865, between the adjournment of the special session and the assembling of the regular Legislature, occurred the first congressional election after the war. It resulted in the choice of the following: First district—comprising Lancaster, Chesterfield, Darlington, Marlboro, Marion, Horry, Georgetown Williamsburg, Clarendon, Sumter and Kershaw—John D. Kennedy of Kershaw.

Second district—comprising Charleston, Colleton, Beaufort, Barnwell and Berkeley—William Aiken, of Charleston.

Third district—comprising Orangeburg, Edgefield, Abbeville, Lexington, Newberry, Richland and Fairfield—Samuel McGowan, of Abbeville.

Fourth district—comprising Anderson, Pickens, Greenville, Laurens, Spartanburg, Union, York and Chester—James Farrow, of Spartanburg.

Thus, under home conditions, which outwardly appeared propitious, South Carolina resumed the functions of Statehood; but a black cloud hovered over her future at home, and bitter enemies of the South were brewing poison to be shot into her veins from Washington.

CHAPTER LVII
CONGRESSIONAL AND MILITARY DOMINATION
(1865-1868)

Save the adoption of the so-called "Black Code," little important legislation was enacted at the short regular session of the South Carolina legislature, which met November 27, 1865, and adjourned on the 21st of the following month. The "Black Code" was only "important" because it was the subject of severe criticism at the North, where it was charged that it was an attempt to re-enslave the black and was made an issue in the campaign of 1866. As a matter of fact, these laws in South Carolina and other southern States were never enforced; "the Freedmen's Bureau suspended them until 1868, when the reconstructed governments repealed them." Upon the first day of the session, Governor-elect Orr was inaugurated, although the provisional governor remained in office until December 21st. During that period, several elections were held to fill vacancies in the General Assembly, and acts were passed organizing the State Militia and placing the choice of presidential electors in the hands of qualified voters.

THE BLACK CODE

It was evident that perhaps the greatest problem that confronted South Carolina, which was the one of the few southern States in which the negro was in the decided majority, was to enact some code or set of laws by which he could be protected in the legitimate exercise of his rights and his labor utilized, at the same time restricting the use of his freedom so that it would not be exercised in a way which should be harmful to the best interests of the State. Consequently, the General Assembly, in pursuance of the recommendations and suggestions of Judge D. L. Wardlaw and Armistead Burt, the commissioners appointed for that purpose at the Convention of 1865, enacted a body of statutes, commonly known as the "Black Code," the object of which was to establish fair relations between the whites and blacks and between the freedmen and the State Government.

The original Code, about which so much has been said, and so little really known, defined "a white person" as one having at least seven-eighths Caucasian blood. All rights and remedies, as well as duties and liabilities, under the laws civil and criminal, were to cover blacks and whites alike, although persons of color were "not entitled to social or political equality with white persons."

Various crimes were enumerated and penalties provided for their punishment. Homicide by a colored person, except in self-defense, was punishable by death, as was assault by a black upon a white woman with intent to ravish, or sexual intercourse of a negro with a white woman by the former personating her husband. Whipping or imprisonment was provided for the servant who should assault his master, or employer, or any member of the family. It was made a misdemeanor for any person of color to sell any farm product, with-

out having written evidence from the person who controlled his labor or from the local judiciary, that he was authorized to do so, and it was also pronounced a crime for anybody to give such written permission without legal right. Persons of color were excluded from the State Militia and the use of firearms was restricted to necessary protection of farm property which he might own. No person of color could engage in the sale or manufacture of spirituous liquors, nor could he come to South Carolina to reside unless "within twenty days after his arrival within the same he should enter into a bond of \$1,000 with two freeholders as sureties, conditioned for his good behavior and for his support if he should be unable to support himself."

The District Court had exclusive jurisdiction of all civil cases wherein any of the parties should be a person of color, and of criminal cases in which the defendant should be a negro. Except in the summary jurisdiction of "small and mean causes," the right of trial by jury was provided in the district court—the grand jury consisting of eight persons and the petit jury of six. The Circuit Court was to try any white person accused of a felony by a person of color. Persons of color were declared competent witnesses in the trial of any case in which one of their race should be a party. All probate matters which applied to the whites were extended over the blacks.

The handling of the social question, the relation of husband and wife as it related to negroes, was obviously a perplexing problem. The sections of the "Code" covering this subject provided that "in case of one man having two or more reputed wives, or one woman having two or more reputed husbands, the man was required before the 1st of April, 1866, to select one of his reputed wives, or the woman one of her reputed husbands, and the ceremony of marriage between the man or woman and the person so selected should be performed." Thereafter, persons of color were advised, should they desire to become husband and wife, to be married by a clergyman, or judicial officer. At the same time, "common-law marriages" were recognized among the colored people, as among the whites. Marriage between a white person and a person of color was declared illegal and void.

* Perhaps the most interesting and important sections of the "Black Code" were those relating to the industrial relations between the blacks and the whites. It defined all persons of color who should make contracts for service or labor as "servants" and those with whom they should so contract, as "masters."

These sections from the Code are, therefore, quoted verbatim: "On farms or in outdoor service the hours of labor, except on Sunday, shall be from sunrise until sunset, with a reasonable interval for breakfast and dinner. Servants shall rise at the dawn in the morning, feed, water and care for the animals on the farm, do the usual and needful work about the premises, prepare their meals for the day, if required by the master, and begin the farm or other work by sunrise. The servant shall be careful of all the property and animals of his master, and especially of the animals and implements used by him, shall protect the same from injury by other persons, and shall be answerable for all property lost, destroyed or injured by his negligence, dishonesty or bad faith.

"All lost time, not caused by the act of the master, and all losses occasioned by the neglect of the duties hereinbefore prescribed, may be deducted from the wages of the servant; and food, nursing and other necessities for the servant while he is absent from work on ac-

* "Reconstruction in South Carolina," by John S. Reynolds.

count of sickness or other cause, may be deducted from his wages. Servants shall be quiet and orderly in their quarters and on the premises, shall extinguish their lights and fires and shall retire to rest at seasonable hours. Work at night and outdoor work in inclement weather, shall not be exacted unless in case of necessity. Servants shall not be kept home on Sunday, unless to take care of premises or the animals thereon, and in such cases only so many shall be kept at home as are necessary for these purposes. Sunday work shall be done by servants in turn, except in cases of sickness or other disability—when it may be assigned to them out of their regular turn. Absentees on Sunday shall return to their homes by sunset.

"The master may give to the servant a task of work about the business of the farm, which shall be reasonable. If the servant complain of the task, the district judge or magistrate shall have power to reduce or increase it. Failure to do a task shall be deemed evidence of indolence, but a single failure shall not be conclusive. When a servant is entered into a contract, he may be required to rate himself as a full hand, three-fourths, half or one-fourth hand, and, according to this rate, inserted in the contract, shall be the task and the wages.

"Visitors, or other persons, shall not be invited or allowed by the servant to come or remain upon the premises of the master without his express permission.

"Servants shall not be absent from the premises without the permission of the master.

"The servant shall obey all lawful orders of the master or his agent, and shall be honest, truthful, sober, civil and diligent in his business. The master may moderately correct servants who have made contracts and are under eighteen years of age."

The servant might, for certain causes stated, leave the master's service and, when wrongfully discharged, might recover wages for the whole period of service according to the contract. Rules and regulations were also prescribed for household servants, varying somewhat on account of the different nature of the service. Provision was made for the care of persons of color who were paupers and punishment fixed for able-bodied vagrants.

The sources of these laws are to be found in the ante-bellum laws for free negroes, in the freedmen's codes of the West Indies, in the regulations for blacks made by the United States Army and Treasury officials in 1862-1865; and, as George Ticknor Curtis suggests, "in the Statute books of several of the New England States." Many of the provisions appear to the twentieth century reader to be unduly harsh, not to say merciless, but the South Carolinian of 1865 thought its severest provisions absolutely necessary for the welfare of the State, where "the bottom rail was on top" and where more than half the population, densely ignorant and easily led, had suddenly acquired freedom.

G. T. CURTIS ON THE "BLACK CODE"

The eminent northern civilian, George Ticknor Curtis says: "The negroes flocked into the cities and towns, and the consequence was that great numbers of them, who were capable of earning a livelihood, were unwilling to do so. The main body of them became possessed of the idea that in some way, the government was to take care of them; and when the Freedmen's Bureau * * * was established, they saw in that extraordinary engine the means by which their expectations were to be realized. * * * A just regard for

truth, and for the situation of things in the Southern States which passed these laws, will enable anyone to see that, so far from being objectionable they were not only necessary for the public welfare, but that any considerate government would have adopted them for the benefit of the very class they affected. So long as slavery existed there were no vagrants, idle persons, or paupers among the blacks. * * * Self support was a thing unknown to the southern slave. * * * Massachusetts, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Maine had laws respecting 'vagrants,' 'idlers,' 'servants,' 'masters,' 'mistresses,' etc. Quite as severe as any that were passed in the South after the emancipation of the negroes, and some of them much more severe; yet those New England States never were situated as the Southern States were; * * * never had half the amount of vagrancy and idleness that was produced in the South by the sudden change from slave labor to free labor, and by the mischievous effect of the Freedmen's Bureau."

PREPARING TO RE-ENTER THE UNION

When the Legislature adjourned December 21, 1865, Governor Perry was notified by Secretary of State Seward, by direction of President Johnson, that he was relieved of the provisional governorship and should turn over to Governor Orr all papers and property relating to his office. All the necessary steps of formality were then taken to return South Carolina to the Union, under the auspices of the General Government of the United States and, as was then supposed, under the presidential plan of Reconstruction, as devised by Lincoln and fathered by Johnson.

South Carolina, in common with the other southern States, chafed under military rule, which, instead of growing less heavy and less painful, appeared designed to humiliate a proud people. These restrictions and regulations were being imposed by the northern leaders on the plea that the States lately in rebellion were not honestly accepting the results of the war, and especially its outcome as related to the emancipation of the negro. The South was endeavoring, on the other hand, to draw a line between what the black freedman was capable of doing and what he could not do without harming or destroying the institutions, the civilization, in fact, of the white man.

FUNCTIONS OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

The rights conferred upon the freed black by emancipation and constitutional amendment had been especially placed under the administration and protection of the Freedmen's Bureau, created by a congressional act of March as approved by President Lincoln on March 3, 1865. The freedmen and refugees were to be committed to its care for at least a year after the war was over; and the period was afterward extended despite President Johnson's veto, two years from July, 1866. At the time of the adjournment of the South Carolina Legislature in December, 1865, which marked the incoming of the permanent Orr administration, the Freedmen's Bureau was supreme in all matters pertaining to the relations between the whites and blacks, and as these matters were most often in evidence its power was great. It also had the custody, disposition and sale of property confiscated in the former Confederate States, and the regulation of the industrial relations between those so lately in bondage and their

old masters. Under the act of 1866 (July) the Bureau was formally invested with military authority, or at least placed under the protection of the military, rather than the civil authorities of the State. Even as originally organized, under the act approved by Lincoln, the Freedmen's Bureau was an instrument quite outside of the civil control of South Carolina, and, so long as the writ of habeas corpus was suspended by the Washington authorities, was one of the many perplexing problems which confronted Governor Orr.

ORR'S FIRST PROCLAMATION

On Christmas day of 1865, the chief executive of the State issued his first proclamation, in which he set forth some of these problems, thus: "The order suspending the writ of habeas corpus, issued by the President, has not been modified or revoked in this State, and the military authority is therefore paramount in all such matters as they are instructed to take jurisdiction of, and as such will be respected by all orderly and law-abiding people.

"The military claim jurisdiction in all cases of disloyalty to the Government and infractions of its laws; to preserve order and discipline near their garrisons; to adjudge and determine all controversies in which freedmen and whites are engaged, including violations of State laws by freedmen; in all cases of wrong or injury done to its officers and soldiers; and is an auxiliary in aiding treasury agents to recover United States property and the Freedmen's Bureau in supervising contracts with freedmen. Whenever, therefore, a person is arrested by military authority on either of the above grounds, they have jurisdiction of the case, and are instructed not to obey any writ of habeas corpus for the release of such person.

"In all controversies between citizens arising out of wrongs or injuries done to person or property, and in all violations of the penal code by citizens, the laws are in full force, and the courts will be opened henceforth on every circuit to administer law and punish crime."

"The people," says Reynolds, "were admonished to avoid collisions with the military authorities. The colored people were advised to make contracts forthwith for the coming year, to be good citizens and to cultivate sobriety, industry, economy and honesty."

STATE DISTRICT COURTS ESTABLISHED

It was provided (in the act to establish district courts) that "the judges first elected under this act shall not be commissioned until the Governor shall be satisfied that they will be permitted to exercise the jurisdiction committed to them." In April, 1866, the National Government put the Federal judiciary in control by the appointment of Hon. George S. Bryan, judge of the United States District Court; John Phillips, district attorney; Daniel Horlbeck, clerk, and J. P. M. Epping, marshal—all of Charleston.

Governor Orr, however, withheld the commissions of the judges of the State District Courts, and at the extra session called by him on September 4, 1866, especially to determine the jurisdiction of the new State courts, announced that he had satisfied himself that the military authorities would not permit them to adjudicate matters which concerned persons of color. An amendment to the Code was therefore necessary.

At the session named, the district courts were therefore thrown open to all persons regardless of race or color. An even more sweeping enactment declared that "all persons hitherto known in law in this State as slaves, or as free persons of color, shall have the right to make and enforce contracts, to sue, to be sued, to be affiants and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, convey and assign real and personal property, make wills and testaments, and to have full and equal benefits of the rights of personal security, personal liberty and private property, and of all remedies and proceedings for the enforcement and protection of the same, as white persons now have, and shall not be subjected to any other or different punishment, pain or penalty for the commission of any act or offense than such as are prescribed for white persons committing like acts or offenses." Thereupon the District judiciary went into operation throughout the State, their sittings being quarterly.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND GENERAL GRANT

In December, 1865, President Johnson opened the regular session of Congress with the customary message, and later informed the Senate that the Rebellion had been suppressed, and that, "so far as could be done the courts of the United States have been restored, postoffices reestablished, and steps taken to put into effective operation the revenue laws of the country." Then followed a statement of the action of the several states "lately in rebellion," in their efforts towards a restoration of their relations with the Federal Union, and a reading of General Grant's letter descriptive of his Southern tour, in which the head of the Union armies wrote that he was "satisfied that the mass of thinking men of the South accept the present situation of affairs in good faith." He criticized unfavorably the use of black troops in garrison, or in southern districts generally. Finally, says the general: "My observations lead me to the conclusion that the citizens of the Southern States are anxious to return to self-government as soon as possible; that, while reconstructing, they want and require that protection from the Government which they think is required by the Government, not humiliating to them as citizens, and that if such a course were pointed out, they would pursue it in good faith."

CONFLICT BETWEEN MILITARY AND CIVIL AUTHORITIES

In January, 1866, Major General Daniel E. Sickles succeeded General Gillmore as military commandant of the department including South Carolina. Although there had been repeated friction between the military and civil authorities, the new commandant at once intensified rather than modified the tense situation, forbidding certain acts theretofore authorized by the laws of the State. The infliction of corporal punishment was, among other penalties, absolutely forbidden by the military officers of the State.

In the spring term of the Circuit Court, held in Charleston, Judge A. P. Aldrich sentenced a white man to be whipped for committing larceny—under the State laws. The post commander ordered the judge to report at military headquarters for disobeying the general orders of General Sickles. Judge Aldrich obeyed, as a prisoner under arrest, and closed his court until the matter could be judicially decided. There was a direct clash between General Sickles and Governor Orr, also, in a number of other cases.

THE CONGRESSIONAL VIEW

Despite the reassuring message brought by General Grant as to the general intent of the Southern States to "accept the situation," as brought about by the fortunes of war, Congress was viewing what the majority called the "bitterness and defiance" of the South as a new "Rebellion," and President Johnson's conciliatory policy, which he had inherited from Lincoln, was more than ever in disfavor with those who, from the first, had insisted that the Southern States had not yet been sufficiently punished and humbled.

In January, 1866, the House of Representatives adopted a resolution that "the military forces of the Government should not be withdrawn from those (seceded) States until the two houses of Congress shall have ascertained and declared that their further presence there is no longer necessary." In that declaration the Senate concurred, and on February 20th both houses adopted a concurrent resolution to the effect that neither would admit any representative from any of the seceded States until both bodies should declare such State entitled to representation.

Although the president restored the writ of habeas corpus to all the Southern States except Texas, by his proclamation of April 2, 1866, their duly elected senators and representatives were still barred from the National Congress, until such time as the Joint Committee on Reconstruction of that body should report its pleasure. Of the fifteen members of that committee, three were Democrats.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

The Civil Rights act, which was passed over President Johnson's veto, on April 9, 1866, declared "all persons born in the United States not subject to any foreign power (excluding Indians, not taxed)" to be citizens of the United States, "and such citizens, of every race and color, without regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall have the same rights in every State and territory in the United States to make and enforce contracts to sue, be parties and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property, and to full and equal benefits of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property as is enjoyed by white citizens and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, penalties, and none other—any law, statute, ordinance, regulation or custom to the contrary notwithstanding." Penalties were provided for depriving any negro of any right thus declared, any violations of the act to be exclusively adjudicated by the district courts of the United States.

Under this Federal measure, the National Government and its instrument, the Freedmen's Bureau, had an absolute monopoly in the work of directing the civil and political actions of the new-born negro citizen who now loomed as a portentous majority in the affairs of South Carolina. It was but a prelude to the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment.

REPORTS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION COMMITTEE

On June 18, 1866, the joint Reconstruction Committee of Congress reported to that body that a review of the testimony submitted to them by the President (largely collected by the Freedmen's Bureau)

had convinced the majority of the investigating committee that the Southern States had no other purpose than to obtain immediate admission to Congress, without regard to legality or regularity of elections; that "all feeling of conciliation on the part of the North" had been "treated with contempt" and that "the bitterness and defiance against the United States have been unparalleled in the history of the world."

The burden rested with the Southern people "to show that they ought to resume their Federal relations." They must prove that they had formed a constitutional republican form of government (perhaps it should be written Republican State Government), and that they had "given adequate guarantees against future treason and rebellion, which will be satisfactory to the Government against which they have rebelled and by whose army they were subdued."

The minority of the committee sustained the presidential policy and the contention that the evidence submitted contained nothing which would warrant an exclusion of the Southern members from Congress, or that their admission would be dangerous to any public interest.

The bitter radicals, however, were in the saddle, and the Sumners, the Stevens's and the Mortons were riding hard.

Two days before the Reconstruction Committee had made its report, the Fourteenth Amendment was submitted to the States for their action. As it contained the Disability section, virtually debarring from governmental participation every Southerner who had been in any way identified with the Rebellion until two-thirds of the Congressional members should restore him to such privileges, the article was rejected as a whole by all the Southern States except Tennessee.

NATIONAL UNION PARTY ORGANIZED

The National Union convention which met in Philadelphia, on August 14, 1866, was a noteworthy supporter of the presidential policy of reconciliation and reconstruction. It originated mainly with Western Democrats, its call being issued by the Executive Committee of the National Union Club, or party, consisting of Messrs. A. W. Randall and J. R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, O. H. Browning, of Illinois, and Edgar Cowan, of Pennsylvania. The movement was indorsed by Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, Daniel S. Norton, of Minnesota, and J. W. Nesmith, of Oregon. It stood upon the platform of allegiance to the Union, equality of the States, the abolition of slavery, and the right of the South to immediate representation in Congress.

Governor Orr was president of the South Carolina organization and vice-president of the national club from his State. At the State convention which had met in Columbia, during the previous July, he, with James B. Campbell, B. F. Perry and John L. Manning, had been elected delegate at large, and four others selected to represent the congressional districts of the State.

Six hundred delegates attended the Philadelphia conference, and one of the most imposing spectacles of the gathering was announced by Mr. Randall, who, in opening the proceedings, said: "Gentlemen, I have to announce that the delegates from South Carolina and Massachusetts will now come, arm in arm, into this Convention."

General John A. Dix, of New York, J. R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, C. L. Vallandigham, of Ohio, Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, and Judge Wardlaw and Hon. B. F. Perry, of South Carolina, were

prominent in the proceedings of the convention; but its deliberations had no effect on the outcome of the final policy of Reconstruction as adopted by the Republican majority.

EDUCATIONAL REVIVAL IN SOUTH CAROLINA

At this period in the epoch of Reconstruction when it was at least uncertain whether the Moderates or Radicals would secure control of the councils at Washington, as they affected the South, there was evinced a decided movement in the State to revive its educational system which the war had prostrated with all else. One of the first acts passed by the regular Legislature of 1866 was for the rehabilitation of the South Carolina College, and its enlargement into a University, with a full academic course and complete schools of law and medicine. For a second time, Robert W. Barnwell was called to its presidency, "Chairman of the Faculty." Private schools also set themselves bravely to the task of collecting scattered students and replenishing bankrupt treasuries. Schools and academies again opened their doors to the rising generation and it was fondly hoped that progress would be rapid. The hope was short lived. An organic revolution soon occurred which convulsed society to its very foundations, and wrought changes more violent even than those that first followed the surrender.

LAST SESSION UNDER THE 1865 CONSTITUTION

The second regular session of the General Assembly opened November 26, 1866, being the last meeting of that body under the constitution of 1865. Two days later, Governor Orr delivered his message to the Legislature in which he announced that the military commandant of the department of the Carolinas, at Charleston, had been placed in possession of the acts passed at the extra session and on the first of the previous month (October), "by general orders, he had remitted all cases in which the inhabitants of this State are concerned, civil and criminal, to the civil authorities."

The governor also informed the Legislature that he had been officially notified of the passage by Congress of the resolution proposing to the States the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution (conferring the right of suffrage upon the freedman). Not only was the right to vote given the unexperienced and ignorant negro, but one of the sections of the proposed Amendment barred out of civil or military office under the United States Government all those who had been identified with the late rebellion, unless Congress, by a two-thirds vote of each house should remove such disability. Governor Orr denied the right of the General Government to define who should be citizens of the respective states, claiming that at least in the case of South Carolina it made it impossible to form a State Government until Congress by a two-thirds vote should remove the disabilities imposed upon her representatives for participation in the Rebellion. The governor was, with one exception (P. J. Coogan, of the lower House) unanimously supported in his position by the State Legislature.

At the same session James B. Campbell, of Charleston, was elected United States Senator for the long term, succeeding John L. Manning, the short term for which he had been elected.

SOUTH PLACED UNDER THE MILITARY AND THE NEGRO

The Radical majority in Congress rushed their legislation with such speed that no opportunity was given to submit any conciliatory measure to the South, and its leaders clamped their iron rule upon the States once in "rebellion" by dividing the South into five military districts, North and South Carolina constituting the Second District, with an officer of the Federal army in charge of each. The president was directed to furnish him with a military force sufficient to "enable him to perform his duties and enforce his authority." This act of Congress, which placed the entire South under martial law was passed over the president's veto on March 21, 1867.

After putting on the military clamp, the fifth section of the act placed the black voter in the saddle and dismounted the white, in the following words: "When the people of any one of said rebel States shall have formed a constitution or government in conformity with the Constitution of the United States in all respects, framed by a convention of delegates elected by the male citizens of said State, twenty-one years of age and upward, of whatever race, color or previous condition, who have been resident in the said State for one year previous to the day of such election, except such as may be disfranchised for participation in the rebellion or for felony at common law, and when such convention shall provide that the elective franchise shall be enjoyed by all such persons as have the qualifications herein stated for electors of delegates, and when such constitution shall have been ratified by a majority of the persons voting on the question of ratification who are qualified as electors for delegates, and when such constitution shall have been submitted to Congress for examination and approval and Congress shall have adopted the same, and when said State by a vote of its Legislature elected under said constitution shall have adopted the amendment to the Constitution of the United States known as Article Fourteen, and when said article shall have become a part of the Constitution of the United States, said State shall be declared entitled to representation in Congress, and Senators and Representatives shall be admitted therefrom on their taking the oath prescribed by law (meaning the test oath), thereupon and thereafter the preceding sections of this act shall be inoperative in said State; provided, that no person excluded from the privilege of holding office by said proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States shall be eligible as a member of the convention to frame a constitution for any of said rebel states, nor shall any such person vote for members of such convention."

It was further enacted that any civil government formed by a "rebel" State, which was not entitled to representation in Congress under the provisions of the act, should be deemed provisional only.

BREACH WIDENS, BETWEEN PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS

In March, 1867, Congress passed over the president's veto the act directing the registration of qualified male electors (including negroes) of each State as were not disqualified under the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, who might vote for delegates to a State constitutional convention; the number of delegates for South Carolina corresponding to its membership in the House of Representatives. In July, Congress also overruled President Johnson in de-

claring all the governments of the "rebel States" existing March 2, 1867, as illegal, and subject to the existing military and congressional authorities.

Although instructive as illustrating the implacable attitude of the Radical leaders in Congress toward the South, to which they were utter strangers, either physically or in sympathy, it can serve no logical or useful purpose to dwell in detail over their quarrels with President Johnson and their futile attempts to impeach him. The ground of his defense, which stood unshaken, was that the president's course in the work of Reconstruction was a continuation of a plan resolved upon by President Lincoln and the members of his cabinet.

"The breach between the President and Congress was thus widened," says John S. Reynolds in his "Reconstruction in South Carolina," "the feeling of the Radical majority against the Southern people intensified and the Reconstruction policy of that majority thereafter enforced with greater harshness than had ever seemed possible.

"There were earnest protests against the passage and later against the enforcement of the Reconstruction acts—many prominent men and leading papers in the 'loyal' States sharing the opinion of the Southern people that these pretended laws were unconstitutional and void. Efforts were made to have the judgment of the United States Supreme Court upon the validity of these statutes and the right of the President to carry them into effect."

Every such effort was defeated either by the Government's law officers or Congressional action, although in June, 1867, at the request of the president. Attorney General Stanbery wrote an opinion as to the constitutionality of the Reconstruction acts. After an exhaustive and discriminating analysis of the acts, he advised that "they were beyond the scope of the legislative authority vested in Congress by the constitution, and were therefore neither binding on the president nor lawfully enforceable by the measures and agencies therein provided." The opinion of the attorney general was not enough to warrant President Johnson in disobeying the provisions of the Congressional acts. He waited for the Supreme Court, which never spoke or delivered an opinion on the subject.

THE INVERTEBRATE SUPREME COURT

During the war the Supreme Court had refused to listen to all calls to interfere when the constitutional rights of citizens of the North were invaded, alleging that "the laws provided no form of appeal from military courts." In December, 1866, when the Supreme Court set Dr. Milligan (who had been condemned to death by a military court martial in October, 1864), free, it declared that "Congress had no authority under the Constitution to authorize any such military commissions in regions where the Civil Courts were open." The Court stood five to four and its decision was vehemently denounced at the North. This leads to the very apt comment of Prof. Willis M. West: "The narrow majority of the Court indicates how unstable civil liberty might again become in case of a great War!"

GENERAL SICKLES, NEW MILITARY COMMANDER

In March, 1867, Major General Daniel E. Sickles, U. S. A., formally assumed command of the Second Military district, comprising

North and South Carolina. The latter was divided into eleven military posts, Charleston, Hilton Head, Georgetown, Darlington, Sumter, Aiken, Columbia, Newberry, Anderson, Unionville, and Chester, garrisoned altogether by nineteen companies, with line and staff officers, and General Sickles proceeded systematically to abrogate or neutralize most of the State laws and the judicial and civil authority of the commonwealth. He forbore, for a time, however, to interfere with the mandates of the Federal courts, which he acknowledged to be above military rule. General Sickles was finally removed by President Johnson in August, 1867, for his alleged interference with the process of the United States Court in North Carolina. Shortly before his removal he had issued a second order directing the registration of the voters of South Carolina, under the provisions of the Reconstruction acts of Congress.

CONSOLIDATING THE NEGRO VOTE

The Republican politicians of the State were already organizing the negro vote, which, under military control of the registration, coupled with an actual majority of the blacks, would overwhelm the white vote. A convention of the Union Republican party of South Carolina, adjourned from Charleston in May, met at Columbia, on July 24, 1867. The delegates in attendance comprised 46 Southern negroes, 8 Northern negroes and 16 white men, these being generally Government employees, selected to guide the colored vote. R. H. Gleaves, a Northern negro from Beaufort, was selected as president of the convention. * The platform adopted declared for universal suffrage, elections by the people (except in the case of the judiciary), reorganization of the courts, the division and sale of unoccupied lands among the poorer classes, the cautious restoration of the rights of those lately guilty of "treason," the enforcement of the Reconstruction acts in the Southern States, ad valorem taxes, liberal provision by the State for "the poor and destitute, those aged and infirm people, houseless and homeless and past labor, who have none to care for them;" the repeal of the tax on cotton and steadfast loyalty to the Union Republican party. One delegate, a native white man—B. Odell Duncan, of Newberry—withdraw from the convention rather than subscribe to the Socialistic division "of unoccupied lands among the poorer classes." As finally organized, the State Executive Board was presided over by B. F. Whittemore, of Darlington, a Northern white man and a government employee.

The Union League was organized by the Republicans to band together the negro voters under the Northern standard, its members solemnly swearing on the Bible that they would be true to the country and the Party.

GENERAL CANBY SUCCEEDS GENERAL SICKLES

Under such conditions, the registration of the voters of South Carolina was completed about the middle of October, several weeks after General E. R. S. Canby had succeeded General Sickles as commandant of the Second Military district. The result showed a total of 125,328, of whom 46,346 were whites and 78,982 blacks. The overwhelming preponderance of blacks was in the Beaufort, Berkeley, Charleston, Colleton, Edgefield, Fairfield, Georgetown, Orangeburg, Richland, Sumter and Williamsburg districts; while a majority for

* John S. Reynolds: "Reconstruction in South Carolina."

the whites was shown only in Anderson, Chesterfield, Greenville, Horry, Lancaster, Lexington, Marion, Pickens, Spartanburg, and York. The majorities of the white voters however, were pitiful compared with the black preponderance.

REPRESENTATIVE CONVENTION OF GOOD CITIZENS

On the 6th of November, 1867, the leading white citizens of the State assembled in Columbia to review the distressing situation. James Chestnut of Kershaw was elected president, and the vice-presidents were: Wade Hampton, of Richland; B. F. Perry, of Greenville; John A. Inglis of Chesterfield; A. P. Aldrich, of Barnwell; John D. Kennedy, of Kershaw; John Bratton, of Fairfield; Simeon Fair, of Newberry; Joseph Daniel Pope, of Beaufort. Secretaries: John T. Sloan and Felix G. DeFontaine, of Columbia. Delegates were present from twenty districts (counties)—prominent, high-class citizens, representative of the best conservative public sentiment of South Carolina. Events so crowd for admission that it is impossible here to entirely quote the address to the people of the State issued by the convention. It claimed that the Southern people were the best friends of the negro; that the white people of South Carolina were willing to protect the rights of the black under the same laws which protected their own property, persons and lives. As to investing the negro with political rights, and placing it in his power to make and unmake the constitution and the laws under which all must live, they protested. The negro was utterly unfitted to exercise the highest functions of the citizen.

AN ELOQUENT AND PRESCIENT PROTEST

"The enforcement of the Reconstruction acts by military power under the guise of negro voters and negro conventions cannot lawfully reestablish civil government in South Carolina," says the address. "It may for a time hold us in subjection to a quasi-civil government backed by military force, but it can do no more. As citizens of the United States we shall not consent to live under negro supremacy, nor should we acquiesce in negro equality. Not for ourselves only, but in behalf of the Anglo-Saxon race and blood in this country, do we protest against this subversion of the great social law, whereby an ignorant and depraved race is placed in power and influence above the virtuous, the educated and refined. By these acts of Congress, intelligence and virtue are put under foot, while ignorance and vice are lifted into power."

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION ASSEMBLIES

About three weeks after the meeting of this representative convention of South Carolina citizens—on November 19 and 20, 1867—the vote was cast on the question of calling a constitutional convention. Realizing that the gathering of such a body would be a fiasco, even the white voters who had been registered generally withheld their ballots. The result was that 130 whites and 68,876 blacks voted for the convention; against the convention, 2,801 whites cast their votes.

In obedience to a military order issued by Major General Canby, the Constitutional Convention assembled in Charleston, on January 14, 1868, "for the purpose of framing a constitution and civil govern-

ment." Of the 124 delegates elected, 48 were white and 76 colored. * The white men classed as Republicans were about equally divided as natives or newcomers—in the vernacular of the times, "scalawags" or "carpetbaggers." With the exception of Dr. Albert G. Mackey of Charleston, a recognized authority on Masonry, and Daniel H. Chamberlain, who was afterward to attain distinction, in spite of his record in South Carolina, there was not one really prominent man in the convention, and most of them were without character, or "adequate means of support." Of the white delegates, 23 paid no tax whatever, and 59 of the colored members were in the same class. Dr. Albert G. Mackey, of Charleston, was elected president, and Carlos J. Stolbrand, of Beaufort, lately a soldier in Sherman's army, secretary.

DANIEL H. CHAMBERLAIN

There was one young delegate from Berkeley, however, who might be classed as a Massachusetts "carpetbagger," but who was far above the average grade of the convention membership both in education, intelligence and character, and who was to play a leading part in the Reconstruction period of South Carolina. Daniel H. Chamberlain, who was then in his thirty-third year, was a native of Massachusetts, a Yale College man of high scholastic honors, an ex-soldier of the Union army, who two years previous to the assembling of the convention had appeared in Charleston to settle the affairs of a classmate, who had been drowned at Edisto Island. He had unsuccessfully engaged in cotton planting, but his industry and intelligence had so commended him to the Northern politicians that he was sent to the Constitutional Convention of 1868. Under the constitution therein formulated, he served for four years as attorney general, and was governor in 1874-77.

When Mr. Chamberlain became Governor Chamberlain, his Northern blood, education and antecedents, could not but influence his attitude toward the people of South Carolina; and his administration was a record of things to be criticized as well as commended. Yet, in after years, when Reconstruction was, in its violent phases, a closed chapter, and he had opportunity to consider it calmly and judicially, he bravely announced that he had revised his estimate of the justice of South Carolina's treatment by the radicals of Congress.

CHAMBERLAIN'S TWENTIETH CENTURY WORDS

In April, 1901, the former Governor contributed an article to the "Atlantic Monthly" on "Reconstruction in South Carolina," in which he mentioned the humane policy of the North toward the South advocated by such Republican leaders as Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, and which he (Andrew) summarized as: † (1) Prosecute peace as vigorously as we have prosecuted war; (2) inflict no humiliation, require no humiliation of the South; (3) enlist the sympathy and services of the "natural leaders of the South" in the work of reconstruction. As Chamberlain added, Governor Andrew's conviction was that if "the natural leaders of the South were not thus enlisted as friends they would resume their supremacy as enemies." The writer

* Reynolds: "Reconstruction in South Carolina."

† See Governor Andrew's farewell address to the Massachusetts Legislature, January 2, 1866.

continues: "The most radical of ante-bellum and war Republicans and the greatest of all our war governors (referring to Governor Andrew) was struck from the list of party leaders, and Reconstruction proceeded apace on their lines and under other leaders. The writer recalls almost numberless interviews on reconstruction with Republican leaders in Washington, especially in the winter of 1866-67, and the summer and fall of the latter year, and particularly with the late Oliver P. Morton.* Mr. Morton shared in some large degree with Mr. Thaddeus Stevens the leadership in this enterprise. Against the two combined, no policy could gain even consideration.

"With Mr. Stevens no argument was possible. His mind was fixed, proof against facts or reason that suggested other views. Mere personal self-respect limited the writer's intercourse with him to one brief conversation. Not one of these leaders had seen the South, or studied it at first-hand. Not one of them professed or cared to know more. They had made up their minds once for all, and they wished only to push on with their predetermined policy. The one descriptive feature, the one overshadowing item of their policy was, as has been said, negro suffrage, loyalty under the black skin at the helm—a policy which, like other historic policies of 'Thorough,' like the policy of Strafford and Laud, whence the fitting word has come, brooked no opposition or delay, and halted for no argument or obstacles whilst these leaders led. The personal knowledge of the writer warrants him in stating that eyes were never blinder to facts, minds never more ruthlessly set upon a policy, than were Stevens and Morton on putting the white South under the heel of the black South. Again, it is necessary to say that not all eminent Republican leaders shared these sentiments, though they acquiesced in the policy. Mr. Sumner, it shall be said, and, strange perhaps to add, Mr. Blaine did not; but both submitted and even advocated the acts of 1867."

CONSTITUTIONAL PATCHWORK OF 1868

Albeit the constitution of 1868 was, as Governor Chamberlain expressed it, a "patchwork of others," and did not represent the intelligent sentiment of the State, it was something to stand upon until a better framework could be provided. The convention adjourned after fifty-three working (?) days. The instrument which it produced abolished imprisonment for debt; the gubernatorial term was fixed at two years; Supreme justices were to be elected by the Legislature for six years; county commissioners were to be chosen by popular election; right of suffrage and office holding conferred upon white and black, without property qualification. The judicial districts were designated as counties.

Perhaps the most promising of the provisions embraced by the new constitution were those relating to education. It was made the duty of the Legislature, as soon as there should be "a system of public schools thoroughly and completely organized," to require all children between the ages of six and sixteen to attend either a public or private school for a term equivalent to twenty-four months at least. All educational institutions, supported in whole or in part from the public funds, were to be free to all the children of the State, without regard to race or color.† The constitution also provided for the election of a State superintendent of education, and for sub-

* The war governor of Indiana.

† "A Sketch of Education in South Carolina," by Professor R. Means Davis. Report Board of Agriculture, 1883.

ordinate officers in the different counties for the management of the schools and the improvement of teachers. A compulsory attendance was ordered as soon as the school session should reach six months in each year. The sources of revenue were threefold—first, a general legislative appropriation; second, a polltax of one dollar on all able-bodied male citizens (with a few exceptions) within certain specified ages; and third, a voluntary local taxation. The system, perfected as it had been in other States as the result of careful study and long experience, was good enough in theory; but in practice proved a failure, owing partly to its novelty, but chiefly to the ignorance and dishonesty of many parties connected with its management.

Although South Carolina had had a free school system since 1811, it was far from satisfactory either in its management or results. Outside of Charleston the free schools were considered "a scheme for the benefit of the poor and needy" exclusively, and in 1860 reports showed 1,270 schools, with 1,294 teachers, and 18,915 pupils. Nevertheless, after 1868 it can be truthfully said that "for the first time in her history South Carolina had constitutional and legal provisions for an adequate school system," although many of the schools were mismanaged, and much of the money was misappropriated.

Under the constitution of 1868, South Carolina was divided into four Congressional districts, as follows:

First—Lancaster, Chesterfield, Marlboro, Darlington, Marion, Horry, Georgetown, Williamsburg, Sumter, Clarendon, and Kershaw.

Second—Charleston, Colleton, Beaufort and Barnwell.

Third—Orangeburg, Lexington, Richland, Newberry, Edgefield, Abbeville and Anderson.

Fourth—Oconee, Pickens, Greenville, Laurens, Spartanburg, Union, York, Chester and Fairfield.

REPUBLICANS NOMINATE STATE TICKET

The abortion known as the new constitution, having been produced by the mongrel convention, General Canby ordered that the registered voters should cast their ballots for or against ratification, during the three days, April 14-16, 1868.* During the last week of the Constitutional Convention, it resolved itself into a Republican nominating body and framed a State ticket, the delegates being assured that their creation would be adopted by their obedient constituency. They named Robert K. Scott, of Charleston, for governor; Francis L. Cardozo (colored) of the same place, for secretary of state; Francis J. Moses, Jr., of Sumter, for adjutant and inspector general, and Daniel H. Chamberlain, of Massachusetts, a resident of the city by the sea, for attorney general. All of them became prominent, or notorious, in the tumultuous Reconstruction period which was now, well under way.

General Scott, an Ohio man, was assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina; Cardozo was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, a mulatto preacher of some ability; Moses was a "lawyer" without character or practice; Chamberlain has been introduced as the most promising of them all, and the other nominees, not mentioned by name, were floaters or little known to the people of the State. Of the four Congressional nominees, Whittimore, Bowen, Corley and Goss, two were carpet baggers and political

* This was the first time in the history of the State that a constitution had ever been submitted to the people for ratification.

adventurers and two were farmers with little or no experience in public life.

THE DEMOCRATS ALSO PRESENT TICKET

The Democrats held their convention in Columbia, on April 2, 1868, twenty districts in all parts of the State being represented and Armistead Burt, of Abbeville, being elected presiding officer. After adopting resolutions to the effect that they recognized the colored population of the State as "an integral element of the body politic and as such, in person and property, entitled to a full and equal protection under the State Constitution and laws, and that as citizens of South Carolina we declare our willingness, when we have the power, to grant them, under proper qualifications as to property and intelligence, the right of suffrage," the Democratic party of the State placed their ticket in nomination, headed by William D. Porter, of Charleston. Thomas C. Perrin, of Abbeville, was named for lieutenant governor, and General Ellison Capers, of Greenville, was nominated for secretary of state. Isaac W. Hayne was placed on the ticket as a candidate for attorney general, and among the four Congressional nominees were Johnson Hagood, of Barnwell, representative from the Second district, and Samuel McGowan, of Abbeville, from the Third.

Among the delegates selected to attend the National Democratic Convention at New York, on July 4th, were Benjamin F. Perry, of Greenville, and James Chestnut, of Kershaw.

It was such men as these that Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, had in mind as "the natural leaders of the South;" but their time was not yet at hand.

Mr. Porter, however, declined the nomination for governor, and Colonel Hayne that for attorney general—each expressing the opinion that no nomination should be made, and that the white people should simply vote against the constitution.

DEMOCRATIC ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE

Before the vote was taken on its adoption the Democrats issued addresses to both the colored and white people of the State warning the former that they were being used as tools by designing politicians, white and black, asking the colored people to make friends with the white citizens of South Carolina. Here is a striking passage from the address to the blacks: "Your present power must surely soon pass from you. Nothing that it builds will stand and nothing will remain of it but the prejudices it may create. It is therefore a most dangerous tool that you are handling. Your leaders both white and black are using your votes for nothing but their individual gain. * * * We shall not give up our country, and time will soon restore our control of it. * * * Remember that your race has nothing to gain and everything to lose if you invoke that prejudice of race which, since the world was made has ever driven the weaker tribe to the wall." The white people were urged to vote against the adoption of the proposed constitution and also induce as many negroes as possible to do the same; that instrument being declared to involve the menace of "negro rule and supremacy at the point of the sword and bayonet—the work of sixty-odd negroes, many of them ignorant and depraved, together with fifty white men, outcasts of Northern society and Southern renegades, betrayers of their race and country, who

COLUMBIA'S MAIN STREET DURING THE EARLY YEARS OF RECONSTRUCTION

have assembled in convention and framed a Constitution for the government of South Carolina."

Many specific objections to the constitution were set forth, which, besides its illegality, was pronounced to be a "patchwork of contradictions—not made by the delegates who endorsed it, but abstracted from the constitutions of other States having different conditions and habits of thought from the people of South Carolina."

It was finally stated on behalf of the white people of South Carolina that they "would rather still live under a military government than to have the proposed Constitution established over them as the permanent law of the State."

THE CONSTITUTION SWEEPED ALONG

This propaganda, although founded on justice to the intelligent and honorable elements of the State, availed naught in turning the tide which was sweeping on this monstrosity of a State Constitution; for, when the votes were counted which were cast April 14-16, 1868, it was found that 70,758 stood for ratification and only 27,288, against; not voting, 35,551. The Republican nominees for Congress were all elected.

The respectable, resident white element of the State, made a last attempt to avert the imposition of the Constitution upon their commonwealth, a special Democratic committee going to Washington for that purpose. Colonel John P. Thomas as their spokesman carefully and earnestly presented to both houses of Congress the disastrous results of unqualified negro suffrage and the ruinous burdens of taxation imposed upon those who owned property, under the provisions of the new constitution. It was proposed to raise \$2,230,950 to cover the expenses of the first year of the new government, as against \$350,000 before the war. Taking into consideration the depreciation of real estate and other property since the war, it was claimed that "the taxation provided for in the new constitution is absolutely twenty times as great as before the war."

Notwithstanding all protests and representations, the Constitution of South Carolina created under the provisions of the Reconstruction acts were duly approved by Congress. The Radicals had won a grim victory. Their programme then rapidly developed. In June, 1868, Congress passed an act over the President's veto admitting South Carolina, and other Southern States, to representation in that body when it should ratify Article XIV of the Federal Constitution, provided that the State Constitution should never be changed so as to deprive any citizen of his right to vote, as defined by that instrument. At its first session in July, the Legislature assembled under the new constitution and formally ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. That, however, carries the record over into the succeeding State administration.

CANBY PLACES REPUBLICANS IN OFFICE

In June, 1868, also, General Canby issued an order that Governor Orr and Lieutenant-Governor Porter be removed, and that they be succeeded by R. K. Scott and Lemuel Boozer, the Republican nominees for those offices. These appointments were to take effect June 6, 1868, at the convening of the General Assembly. The military commander further directed that an election for county officers be held on June 2d and 3d, who were to succeed the officials of the old

districts. Later he overturned the municipal government of Columbia, without assigned reason. On the 29th of July, after the State Government had been turned over to the Republican machine, General Canby generously declared, in General Order No. 145, that "all authority conferred upon and heretofore exercised by the commander of the second military district under the aforecited law of March 2, 1867 (the first of the Reconstruction acts) is hereby remitted to the civil authorities constituted and organized in the States of North Carolina and South Carolina, under the constitution adopted by the people thereof, and approved by the Congress of the United States."

The people of South Carolina were now to pass through the nightmare of Negro rule.

CHAPTER LVIII

FOUR YEARS OF REPUBLICAN NEGRO RULE (1868-1872)

The four years during which corrupt adventurers and renegade Republicans of South Carolina manipulated the negro vote of the State to suit their purposes and to carry out the well-understood, if not definitely expressed wishes of the radical leaders in Washington, covered the two administrations of Governor R. K. Scott. In 1872, the unholy combination was in supreme control of the State Government, and only awaited the incoming of the infamous rule of F. J. Moses, Jr., to establish such a saturnalia of corruption and misrule as has had no parallel in American history.

CAMPAIGN OF 1868 OPENS

Hopeless as was the outlook on its face, the conservative element of the State, centered almost exclusively in the Democratic party and consisting of old and tried residents, girded up its loins, took a deep breath and bravely entered the campaign of 1868. At their convention held in Columbia, on June 10th, at which ten counties were represented, the following were chosen as delegates at large to the National Democratic Convention: Wade Hampton, of Richland, and James B. Campbell, of Charleston, with C. M. Furman, of that place, and James P. Carroll, of Richland, as alternates. Delegates from the various districts were John L. Manning, Charles H. Simonton and M. W. Gary. The convention, of which Charles H. Simonton, of Charleston, was president, declared for "a white man's government."

At the National Democratic Convention, which assembled in New York, on July 4, 1868, Horatio Seymour of the Empire State was nominated for president and Frank P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, for vice-president. The Republicans, at Philadelphia, had nominated Ulysses S. Grant and Schuyler Colfax, respectively.

VILIFICATION OF HAMPTON

Exaggeration and misrepresentation generally characterize presidential campaign propaganda, but a little circular issued by the Republicans condemning the "unreconstructed, unrepentant, unpardoned, unhung Rebel," in the convention which nominated Seymour and Blair, is a curiosity in the history of political mendacity. General Wade Hampton is represented as "one of the most vindictive cavalry generals of the Rebel Army," and the people of the North are assured that "the records of cruelty will be searched in vain for atrocities like those committed under his sanction. He was the wretch who caused seventy-five of our Union prisoners to be put to death in violation of all the laws of war, and under circumstances of atrocity almost without parallel in the history of civilized or savage nations. He was thoroughly 'chivalric' in the Southern sense of that word, thinking no more of 'nailing a nigger's ears to a pine board fence and then shooting at him,' than of partaking of the hospitalities of the convention." Other delegates from South Carolina, B. F. Perry, W. D.

Simpson, Carlos Tracey, James Chesnut, Milledge L. Bonham, J. B. Kershaw, J. A. Inglis, J. L. Manning, J. S. Preston, Armistead Burt, J. B. Campbell, J. P. Carroll, R. B. Rhett, Charles H. Simonton, and A. P. Aldrich, are also vilified, but not with the venom that characterized the pen-picture of General Hampton, the American Haynau or Tilly.*

The Democrats of South Carolina chose as presidential electors for the state at large, John P. Thomas, of Richland, and John D. Kennedy, of Kershaw; the Republicans, D. H. Chamberlain, of Charleston, and C. J. Stolbrand, of Beauford. Three of the Republican electors from the four congressional districts were colored men.

Democratic clubs were formed in all the counties, which appealed to the colored voters to break away from those who were using them to harm the best interests of the State. The Republicans were relying upon their League to keep the black vote solid for them, and many of the negroes who had joined that organization secretly armed themselves, and by their attitude and reckless actions incurred not a few fatalities. The State Constabulary, a Republican tool, was used as a means of overawing the whites who rebelled against the autocratic acts of the black freedmen and voters.

RESULTS OF THE ELECTION

As a matter of course, the Republican tickets carried in the general November election, and although the Democrats elected J. P. Reed and William D. Simpson, their congressmen in the Third and Fourth districts, their seats were successfully contested at Washington. The vote for electors was: Republican, 62,300; Democratic, 45,137. In the election for solicitors for the various circuits of the State six Democrats were elected, for there were few Republican lawyers to be placed in nomination. Those chosen to the office were as follows: First circuit, D. H. Chamberlain (Republican), of Charleston; Second, P. L. Wiggins (Republican), of Beaufort; Third, S. T. Atkinson (Democrat), of Georgetown; Fourth, A. J. Shaw (Democrat), of Marion; Fifth, William H. Talley (Democrat), of Richland; Sixth, William H. Brawley (Democrat), of Chester; Seventh, H. L. McGowan (Democrat), of Abbeville; Eighth, William H. Perry (Democrat), of Greenville.

In Charleston Chancellor H. D. Lesesne and a number of gentlemen were nominated for mayor and aldermen. They were defeated by the ticket headed by Gilbert Pillsbury, an irresponsible 'carpet-bagger,' after a most exciting contest in which negroes who voted the Lesesne, or "Citizens" ticket, were abused and viciously assaulted. Pillsbury's majority was small owing to the fact that many staid conservative old citizens foolishly refrained from voting, not being able to reconcile themselves to negro suffrage.

In the meantime (July 6, 1868), the General Assembly under the leadership of Governor Scott had assembled at Columbia. As to its "complexion," 46 of its representatives were white and 78, were black; senators, 21 white and 10 colored. On joint ballot, therefore, there were 67 whites and 88 colored members of the Legislature.

*The most amusing paragraph in this Republican "campaign document" of 1868, perhaps, is that describing Governor Z. B. Vance of North Carolina. The reader is gravely informed that, in a speech to his regiment during the war, Col. Vance besought them "to fight the Yankees until Hell froze over, and then to fight them on the ice; to pile Hell so full of Yankees that their feet would stick out of the windows."

Politically, the division was 135 Republicans and 20 Democrats. The amount of taxes paid by the entire Legislature was \$635.23, of which the twenty Democrats contributed \$203.84.

ORGANIZATION OF LEGISLATURE

The Senate organized by the election of D. T. Corbin, president pro tem., and Josephus Woodruff, clerk. Corbin was a white carpet-bagger hailing from Charleston.

There was considerable excitement over the election of the speaker of the House of Representatives, F. J. Moses, Jr., of Charleston, who was degrading the name of his father, an honored judge of the Circuit Court, being the candidate of the whites and R. B. Elliott, the ablest negro leader in South Carolina during Reconstruction, being supported by a faction of his own race under the leadership of W. J. Whipper, of Beaufort. All of these will figure later in the humiliating record of Republican-negro rule. Whipper took the ground that a colored man should be chosen speaker of the first House organized under a "free government" in South Carolina. Even the lower House was not yet prepared to go to that length and Moses won by a decisive majority. By a military order of July 13th, all authorities created under the Recent Congressional Acts were withdrawn and the Era of Reconstruction of the States was complete, although the era of destruction continued for nearly a decade.

Governor Scott was inaugurated on July 9, 1868, and both houses promptly ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, all the twenty Democrats voting against it.

UNITED STATES SENATORS ELECTED

The elections for United States senators from South Carolina were conducted in joint assembly. Thomas J. Robertson, of Columbia, was chosen for the term March 4, 1865-March 4, 1871, on the first ballot. The senator-elect had been a South Carolina planter and business man, and as a radical Republican was stamped with the Thaddeus Stevens brand.

The contest over the long-term senatorship, extending from March 4, 1867, to March 3, 1873, inclusive, was fought through eight ballots and resulted in a good selection—the choice of Frederick A. Sawyer, a Massachusetts educator who had come to South Carolina a few years before the war and had done excellent work in organizing the Charleston schools, a Republican whose record was good in politics, as was proved when he afterwards consistently opposed the Moses regime and all that it implied.

THE NEW STATE JUDICIARY

The new Supreme Court was organized by the election of Franklin J. Moses, Sr., chief justice. He had been called to the Circuit bench in 1865, and served with conspicuous ability as chief justice from the time of his elevation in 1868 until his death in March, 1877. His affiliation with the Republicans was a matter of keen regret to his old associates of the South Carolina bar.

Judge Moses's associates were A. J. Willard, a New York lawyer, who had come to South Carolina as lieutenant-colonel of a negro regiment, and served during the late period of the war as judge advocate at Charleston, and Solomon L. Hoge, an Ohio captain of infantry,

whose legal experience had been confined to court-martial duty during the war. Judge Willard succeeded Judge Moses as chief justice, and Judge Hoge resigned from the bench after eighteen months of uselessness to go to Congress.

The judges elected to the eight judicial circuits of the State were generally men of such high character that several of them secured the enmity of the mongrel Legislature. Ex-Governor James L. Orr was elected to preside over the eighth circuit.

LEGISLATION DURING FIRST SPECIAL SESSION

At this first special session of the new Legislature, designed to get the State machinery into working order, a number of acts were passed, some of which were useful and others clearly indicative that the times were out of joint.

An act was passed to organize the State police, or State constabulary, which, under the notorious John B. Hubbard, as "Chief Constable," was freely used by the Republican managers to fasten their machine on the State. Another piece of shady legislation was the measure designed to "wind-up" the Bank of the State of South Carolina and distribute its assets among certain holders of its bills, who were said to have bought them up at ten cents on the dollar. The Supreme Court, however, blocked that game.

Says John S. Reynolds in his "Reconstruction in South Carolina": "The act to authorize a State loan to pay interest on the public debt, approved August 26, 1868, directed the borrowing of a sum not exceeding \$1,000,000 on coupon bonds of the State, to be sold at the highest market price, and 'for not less than a sum to be fixed by the Governor, the Attorney-General and the Treasurer, who are hereby authorized to appoint, under a commission signed by them, some responsible bank or banker in the city of New York, to act as financial agent of the State, to be subject to their direction and control.'

"By this act was inaugurated the series of irregular, unlawful and fraudulent acts committed in connection with the public debt of the State. The board thus created—Scott, Chamberlain and Parker—selected as the 'financial agent' one Hiram H. Kimpton, of Boston, who was said to have been an intimate friend of the attorney-general. Kimpton (apparently about forty) affected much style in dress and great elegance of manner—gold-rimmed spectacles being among the accessories used to give him a distinguished appearance,—the Charleston News it was that first called him 'cherubic'—so suave and calm and sleek did he always look. He was essentially what would now be called a 'smooth article.' From the time of his appointment to the end of his career he was the active agent, the constant helper of the Scott-Parker-Chamberlain ring that operated under the name and style of the 'Financial Board.'

"In the first two years of his work, Kimpton's 'commissions' for services alleged to have been rendered under his contracts with the Board amounted to something over \$75,000. * * *

"By the 'act to authorize additional aid to the Blue Ridge Railroad Company' the comptroller-general was authorized to pledge the 'faith and funds' of the State to the payment of bonds of that corporation to the amount of \$1,000,000, and also to pledge such 'faith and funds' to 'secure the punctual payment of any contracts which shall be made by said company to an additional amount not exceeding \$3,000,000.' Out of this act grew the issue of the famous 'Revenue Bond Scrip'—the transactions under this act and in the circulation

of the so-called scrip constituting one of the schemes of plunder instituted by the Republican ring in South Carolina."

The first session consumed seventy-two working days (although the members always took pay for Sundays), and its "up-keep", or legislative expenses, amounted to \$130,000.

"A VOTE CATCHER"

The regular session commenced November 24, 1868, and among its somewhat notable legislation was the act to enforce the Civil Rights Bill of Congress. It forbade any discrimination in any common carrier, or place of amusement, on account of race or color. Attempts to enforce the law in the courts were unavailing and it soon became a dead letter. It was repealed in 1889 and had no effect upon the status of the negro, being obviously enacted as "a vote-catcher."

"MIXED" STATE INSTITUTIONS

The trustees of the University of South Carolina were authorized to establish a preparatory school, and the institution was declared open to all students without regard to "race, color or creed." Toward the last of the session, in February, 1869, the Legislature elected a new University Board, including two colored members—B. A. Bosemon, Jr., and F. L. Cardozo. As remarked by John S. Reynolds: "Of this board, every man except Jillson (J. K.) was later publicly charged with having been guilty of some corrupt act—with having taken or given a bribe, or having conspired to cheat the State, or having been otherwise guilty of corruption. It is safe to say that the destruction of the University would have occasioned no regret to any member of this governing body. That destruction, so far as the white people of the State were concerned, was effected a few years later by the enforcement of the policy to which this board was really committed—the conversion of the institution into a mixed school for whites and negroes."

Among the questionable enactments of the Legislature was one providing for a commission to revise the State Statutes and another to organize a census bureau for the State, although South Carolina was to be covered by the Federal Census of 1870. This revision of the laws cost the State more than \$50,000, although Governor Scott, three years later, said "it should have been done for \$5,000."

"The National Guard of South Carolina," largely composed of negroes, was created and made the only military force of the commonwealth. It has been estimated that fully \$200,000 was appropriated for the support of the negro militia.

An excellent measure, which unfortunately was generally disregarded, made identification with dueling, in any of its stages or phases, punishable by imprisonment not exceeding two years, with disfranchisement and exclusion from public office.

During this regular session, at which so much fraud and corruption were inaugurated, was passed the act providing for a land commission, with an advisory board headed by the Governor, and called for the raising of \$200,000, in the form of twenty-year 6 per cent bonds, for the purchase of either improved or unimproved lands. They were to be sold on easy terms to "actual settlers"; but, in practice few bona fide settlers ever saw them, to say nothing of purchasing them, or making homes upon them.

The Legislature duly ratified Article XV of the Federal Consti-

tution, formally and finally conferring the right of suffrage upon the colored citizen. The regular session ended March 14, 1869, but the Fifteenth Amendment was not proclaimed by Congress to be in force until March 30, 1870.

It was during this period of Governor Scott's first administration that the chief executive of South Carolina inaugurated the custom, which continued during the years of black supremacy, of giving official receptions at which whites and blacks of both sexes mingled in social equality.

REGULAR SESSION OF 1869-70

From the mass of legislation enacted at the regular legislative session of 1869-70, a few notable selections are made of those measures which had some influence upon the development or retardation

MINING PHOSPHATES IN SOUTH CAROLINA

of the State. The Code of Procedure adopted by the Legislature; was considered a safe step, as the commission, after laboring hard and luxuriously, had presented an almost literal copy of the Code consolidated and devised by the experienced legal and judicial minds of the State of New York. In many ways it was a most fortunate "appropriation," as it formed the basis of the admirable system which has since obtained in South Carolina. By its adoption, for instance, trial justices were at once provided for each county; and although not a few of Governor Scott's appointees were deplorably incompetent, and some of them gross demagogues and brewers of trouble between the whites and blacks, bad as was much of the personnel of the trial justices, the establishment of these local magistrates was better than to have none.

The city limits of Columbia were so extended by the Legislature as to include enough additional colored population to give the negro voters a heavy majority in the municipality. Under the radical administration thus precipitated, the city debt was increased in four years from \$360,000 to \$850,000, whilst the value of all permanent improvements in that period did not exceed \$75,000.

PHOSPHATE MINING AS A STATE MONOPOLY

The commercial value of phosphate rocks, pulverized for fertilizing purposes, had lately been demonstrated in the Charleston region, and money-makers, mostly carpet-baggers, who scented great profits and monopolies, besought the Legislature, with offers of lucrative participation and bald cash bribes, to grant them mining privileges. Finally an act was passed to grant certain persons therein named and their associates, the right to dig and mine in the beds of the navigable streams of the State of South Carolina for phosphate rocks and phosphate deposits. It gave the grantees the right for a term of twenty-one years, the royalty to the State for such privilege being one dollar per ton of phosphate material. The act was vetoed by Governor Scott, but was passed over his veto. It is said that to procure its final passage one Timothy Hurley, a carpet-bagger residing in Charleston, and a professional lobbyist not disguising his craft, spent \$25,000 in bribing members of the House, Moses receiving \$1,000 for his services as speaker, and each of several members getting \$300 or more for his vote.

As the subsequent development of the industry proved, river phosphate mining was to become the most profitable legitimate monopoly which the State ever conducted. Not only along the river beds, but for considerable distances inland, the deposits were uncovered, ground into fertilizers for the benefit of the farmers and the people generally, the State at the same time realizing its \$1 per ton on all rock mined from river-beds. By the early '80s, South Carolina was receiving an income from that source of between \$300,000 and \$400,000.*

The amount of bonds to be issued for the benefit of the Land Commission, heretofore noted, was increased by \$500,000. Speaker Moses also came in for a gratuity of \$500.

CIRCUIT JUDGES ELECTED

Samuel W. Melton, of Columbia, a graduate of the South Carolina College, an able lawyer and a recent convert to Republicanism, was elected judge of the fifth circuit to succeed Lemuel Boozer, deceased, and Jonathan J. Wright, the negro senator hailing from Beaufort and the first of his race to be admitted to the Pennsylvania bar, succeeded that other incompetent associate justice, Hoge, resigned. It was understood that the whites who voted for him supported him as the lesser of two evils—the greater being Whipper, who was a candidate for the judiciary. Wright had some ability but wrote few decisions. He remained upon the bench until his resignation, under impeachment for official misconduct, in 1877.

STATE LUNATIC ASYLUM COMPLICATIONS

It was during this period of Governor Scott's first administration that the affairs of the State Lunatic Asylum reached a lamentable condition under the combined mismanagement of the Republican and colored politicians. In December, 1869, a new Board of Regents was elected for that institution, as follows: Dr. A. G. Mackey, Henry Sparnick, and Joseph Crews, white; W. B. Nash, B. A. Bosemon, Jr., Joseph Taylor, S. B. Thompson, R. C. DeLarge and R. B. Elliott,

* See report of Board of Agriculture, 1883.

colored. Dr. Mackey, then collector of the port of Charleston, and Mr. Sparnick, commissioner of immigration though native white "renegades" could be depended upon. Mr. Crews was a vicious, unprincipled radical and co-operator with the worst elements of the State government, whether white or black. The colored members of the board were of the same ilk. Fortunately, Governor Scott refused to remove Dr. J. W. Parker, the superintendent of the asylum, and appoint one DeLamatta, an unknown creature of the board, although the chief executive did yield to the pressure in the summer of 1870 and appoint Dr. J. F. Ensor, a Northern man of character who had served in the Federal army.

Not long afterward, the new regents appointed Dr. J. D. Harris, a Virginia negro, as assistant physician on the medical staff of the Asylum. As he would come in constant contact with the patients, of whom about two hundred were white and thirty colored, public sentiment, voiced by Dr. Ensor, so strongly opposed the appointment that Dr. Harris resigned before he had even attempted to undertake the duties of his office. In other ways, Dr. Ensor saved the asylum from being ruined by incompetent and corrupt management.

END OF SCOTT'S FIRST TERM

The regular legislative session, which closed March 1, 1870, marked the end of Governor Scott's first term, and the conclusion of the first two years of negro rule in South Carolina. The Legislature had appropriated \$125,000 to keep the body in action for eighty-three working days, which, numerically, had netted 110 acts and sixteen joint resolutions. The various investigations put under way had shown that offices and legislation had been bought and sold like so much merchandise—auctioned to the highest bidder. The salaries of officials and the expenditures of the legislative bodies, both for their own maintenance and in the ostensible advancement of the public service, was far beyond any standard of the past. The portentous and outstanding fact which stared the people of the State—especially the tax payers—out of all composure of countenance was that the debt of South Carolina, under the two years of Republican-negro rule, had mounted from \$5,407,000 to \$14,800,000 (Reynold's "Reconstruction"), and, with more precision, in December, 1870, the amount as given in the official reports was \$18,575,033.91. At the close of the year 1870, all the counties except Anderson and Fairfield were in debt—the aggregate of these liabilities exceeding \$250,000. At that time there were also outstanding pay certificates of teachers in the public schools amounting to \$57,320.40.

And in the face of all this malfeasance in office, squandering of the money contributed by a comparatively small proportion of the citizens of the State, the manipulation of the ignorant colored vote by designing corruptionists and the general prostitution of the ballot, the very men who had attempted to strangle the best citizenship in South Carolina, came again to the front and claimed the right of another administration. The negro militia was now organized in York, Fairfield, Chester, Union, Spartanburg, Charleston, Beaufort and Laurens, and Joseph Crews, lieutenant-colonel of the National Guard, placed himself at their head and openly advised violence against all those who should oppose the campaign of the Radicals for the re-election of Governor Scott. The civil organization, which was solidly behind both State Constabulary and Negro Militia, was the Union League.

THE ENFORCEMENT ACT OF CONGRESS

The so-called Enforcement act, passed by Congress, and approved by the president on the 30th of May, 1870, while enacted for the ostensible purpose of insuring fair elections and particularly to protect the negro voter in the exercise of his franchise, was in reality used to intimidate all opponents of radical Republicanism in the South and to fasten firmer than ever the rule of the black man over the native white. The KuKlux Klan originated and gradually gathered momentum as a protest by the whites against the arrogance of the armed negro militia, the aggressions of the State Constabulary, and the interference of United States troops, under the provisions of the Enforcement act, with the civil processes and organizations provided by the State laws.

BIRTH OF THE UNION REFORM PARTY

A new party arose in South Carolina to oppose such elements as these, composed of old residents and substantial citizens and a few more or less respectable Republicans, black and white, who could not simply witness such ruin of all they held dear without an attempted opposition. The opposition originated among the editors of the State, who met in Columbia, March 16, 1870. As a body, the conference recognized the right of suffrage and the right of all to office, irrespective of color, but called for a convention to oppose radicalism, uphold honest government and nominate a State ticket looking to these ends. In pursuance of their recommendation, a convention, with twenty-three counties represented, assembled June 15th, containing colored delegates from Charleston, Chester, Darlington, Edgefield, Fairfield, Kershaw, Lancaster, Marion, Newberry, Orangeburg, Richland, Union, and Williamsburg counties.

William M. Shannon of Kershaw, was elected president. The Committee on Platform, through its chairman, General M. C. Butler, proclaimed the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment by the requisite number of States, and, in general, acknowledged the political results of the war as "accomplished facts, having the force and obligations of law." It further recommended that the new organization be known as the Union Reform Party of South Carolina. The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

The convention then nominated Judge R. B. Carpenter for governor and General M. C. Butler, for lieutenant-governor. For the latter office, two colored men were suggested, but declined in favor of General Butler. J. B. Kershaw was named as chairman of the State Executive Committee.

Each congressional district and county carried its full Union Reform ticket. To the colored people was accorded representation by generally putting one of their race on the legislative ticket, and, in most instances, one on the list of nominees for the office of county commissioner.

Hon. R. B. Carpenter, the party's candidate for governor, was a native of New England, trained and educated in Kentucky before the war and a Union Republican throughout that period. An able lawyer and judge of Charleston he had never been a party to the corruption and chicanery of the political adventurers who threatened to ruin the State financially and morally.

General M. C. Butler, the candidate for lieutenant-governor, was a lawyer and politician of ability and one of the heroes of the Confederacy—both dashing and self-contained; maintaining the same traits in public life as he had evinced when a great cavalry leader and Wade Hampton's chief lieutenant.

An address was issued by the Executive Committee of the Union Reform Party, through Chairman Kershaw, on July 6, 1870, and contains the following as a fair explanation of its platform and policy: "The fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, engrafting therein as fundamental law the principle of universal suffrage, has been proclaimed ratified by the requisite number of States, and is received and asquiesced in as law in the practice of all the States of the Union.

"In the meantime, the people of South Carolina find themselves in this condition: With universal suffrage prevailing, two races compose the people entrusted with the franchise. Circumstances and the machinations of selfish and corrupt political adventurers have created an antagonism between the races, and arrayed practically the whole of one race in political hostility to the whole of the other race. Nearly the entire landed property and other capital of the State are in the hands of the white race, and the power of the government is controlled by the colored, which furnishes the chief labor of the country. Property is the source of life to the State. From it the proprietor and the laborer alike derive sustenance. When property is made productive, wealth is increased, labor enhanced, employment multiplied, the country prospers and the people are happy.

"To secure these results, co-operation between labor and capital is essential. The laborer and the capitalist are in effect copartners, who divide among themselves, in proper proportions, the products of the joint business. Legislation, after securing the mere personal rights of the citizen, has no other legitimate office than so to foster and conserve the rights of property that the whole people may prosper.

"It is evident, therefore, that this antagonism of races is unnatural, unwise and deplorably injurious, and ruinous in its consequences to both. Under the industrious manipulations of this unhappy antagonism by the adventurers who created it, the people are burthened and beggared, while they grow fat upon the means wrung from the hard-earned products of the capital and the labor of the citizen. Not content, however, with the exclusive enjoyment of multiplied salaried offices, fixed at a rate of compensation unprecedented in extravagance, these wicked rulers have plunged into the wildest, most reckless and most corrupt profligacy, speculation and fraud in their dealings with the people's money."

The whole matter and policy were thus stated in a sentence: "The absolute and sharp antagonism between the races must be so far overcome as to enable the good people of both to combine for the purposes of good government."

THE REPUBLICAN MACHINE CARRIES EVERYTHING

The Republican State Convention, which met in Columbia on July 26, 1870, more than a month after the assembling of the Union Reform convention, after two days of wrangling unanimously nominated R. K. Scott for governor and Alonzo J. Ransier for lieutenant-governor. The nominee for second place on the ticket appears to have been a bumptious, garrulous mulatto with a smattering of letters, who wound up his career as a day-laborer in the streets of

Charleston. The platform, with endorsements of President Grant and Governor Scott, and demands for a "continuance" of the honest and economical administration conducted by the Republicans in South Carolina, was a display of lies and hypocrisy unparalleled in American history.

The Radicals, however, had full control of the machinery, which, by intimidation or actual violence, bore down all opposition of the better elements comprising whites and negroes alike. Governor Scott even ignored the request of the Union Reform leaders that their party be represented on the boards of election commissioners. None were appointed to direct the elections, or judge of their validity, who would not do the bidding of the State's chief executive and his creatures. The result was foreordained by those who operated the machine. There were some riots and murders, whites and blacks being victims, but the disorder was, on the whole, less than might have been expected from the bitterness caused by the evident determination of the radicals to carry the election through the military forces of the State which they had created and were directing.

United States troops were stationed at several county seats, but their officers were instructed not to interfere except to preserve the peace, and their presence probably did not affect the result.

Scott was elected by a majority of 33,534 over Carpenter, the total vote of the Republican nominee being 85,071. The Radical congressmen were declared elected in each of the four districts, three of the members of the lower house being colored representatives, viz: Joseph H. Rainey, of Georgetown, from the First district; Robert C. DeLarge, from the Second, and R. B. Elliott, from the Third. In the Fourth district the contest of I. G. McKissick, of Union, against A. S. Wallace, of York, was decided in favor of Wallace, the Republican candidate.

JOINT NEGRO MAJORITY OF SIXTEEN

The General Assembly which ushered in Governor Scott's second term convened on November 22, 1870. C. W. Montgomery, of Newberry, was chosen president pro tem. of the Senate (half of which were new members) and F. J. Moses, Jr., of Charleston, was re-elected speaker of the House. The racial and political divisions were: Of the Senate, eleven, and of the House, seventy-five colored members; black majority on joint ballot, sixteen; Republican majority on joint ballot, one hundred and eighteen!

The sum total of organized opposition to Republican-negro domination in the Legislature and Government of South Carolina consisted of one independent and five Democrats in the Senate, and in the House, three independents from Anderson, and Union Reformers as follows: Two from Chesterfield (who were finally unseated and displaced by two colored Republicans), four from Greenfield, two from Horry, two from Lexington, four from Marion, two from Oconee, one from Pickens and four from Spartanburg. After the inauguration of the governor and lieutenant-governor on November 28, 1870, the machine was considered to be in full motion.

SCOTT'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Governor Scott's inaugural address juggled the finances of the State so as to make it appear that its entire debt was only about \$5,375,000. He significantly declared: "The Land Commission was

undoubtedly one of the wisest and most beneficent projects of the State, but from the odium which has been brought upon it by charges freely made of speculation and personal purposes in its administration, the results have not been commensurate with the sagacity and philanthropy of its objects. About \$600,000 has been expended and thousands of acres of land have been purchased, but up to this time only a comparatively small portion of the land has been sold to actual settlers, and the tardiness of the commission should be the subject of investigation thorough and searching by intelligent and honest men, who should examine fairly and fearlessly into alleged abuses which have excited widespread comment and denunciation."

The governor also admitted that the appointment of competent and honest trial justices was a problem which he had not yet solved, and hesitatingly added: "I am disposed to consider education as an essential element among them. This would not only be proper in itself, but would afford an additional stimulus to its acquisition. By making a knowledge of the elementary branches an indispensable requisite to appointment for office a higher grade of service would be secured, as well as a more efficient performance of it." Whilst declaring that it was "highly important that the jury box should be placed beyond the reach of political influence or prostituted to the purposes of men who are themselves guilty of crime," he yet recommended the appointment of "commissioners of juries." The office of jury commissioner in each county was created, and in more than one instance during the Republican regime it was plain that, under the manipulation of that officer, the jury lists had been corruptly tampered with.*

The first legislative session of Governor Scott's second term lasted 106 days from the date of its convening in November, 1870, and during its last days in March the Legislature elected Thomas J. Robertson to succeed himself as United States senator, his term expiring March 3, 1871. His really strong opponent was General M. C. Butler, who carried the votes of all the Union Reformers and one Republican—Frank Arnim, senator from Edgefield. Judge Franklin J. Moses, Sr., came within seven votes of General Butler's thirty, and the mulatto Cardozo, polled eight. Mr. Robertson was elected on the first ballot by eighty-seven votes, and was charged with freely using money to bring about the result.

CIRCUIT JUDGES ELECTED

Robert F. Graham, a gallant colonel in the Confederate army, an able lawyer and an honorable man who had been serving as district judge since 1865, and an adherent to the Republican party since the summer of 1870, was elected judge of the First circuit to succeed Judge Carpenter, resigned.

Somewhat later, Montgomery Moses, of Sumter, a brother of the chief justice, was elected judge of the Seventh circuit, succeeding T. O. P. Vernon, an honest man who had resigned while being prosecuted under impeachment proceedings by the Crews-Whipper-Moses gang.

SCANDALOUS SESSION OF 1870-71

An "act to promote the consolidation of the Greenville and Columbia Railroad Company and the Blue Ridge Railroad Company,"

* Reynolds' "Reconstruction in South Carolina."

passed at the session of 1870-71, was but an addendum to the original Blue Ridge scheme, both but excuses to vote fictitious aid to these enterprises. Both measures were passed by bribery and practically everything voted was pocketed by the legislators and their co-conspirators.

The Sterling Funded Debt of the State was also created by legislative enactment; the sum of \$1,200,000 to be borrowed in London based on six per cent State bonds, maturing in twenty years. Fortunately, the provisions of the act never went into operation, and the measure, for some unaccountable reason, was repealed in March, 1872.

The tax levy for the fiscal year 1870 for State purposes was fixed at nine mills—an increase of four mills over the rate for the previous year. The financial reports of the State were so muddled and juggled that it is absolutely impossible to make them consistent. A few figures are all-sufficient. It is known that the aggregate appropriations for the support of the State Government, including interest on the public debt, amounted to \$1,180,544, and that the acknowledged expenditures exceeded that sum. The purely legislative expenditures aggregated \$679,071.83, the largest items of which were: Pay of members, \$103,000; sundries (wines, cigars, liquors, groceries, dry goods, etc.), \$157,800.03; printing \$152,000. No single feature of the absolutely shameless government of this period was more redolent of corruption than the public printing.

Another open scandal was the preposterous expense claimed to be incurred in furnishing the legislative halls and committee rooms—figures which possibly might be applied to the decoration of a multimillionaire's palatial quarters. A movement started among some of the more honorable members to investigate these figures was effectually smothered by the filibustering tactics of the majority. The prices would even stagger the most hardened and resigned victim of the "high cost of living" created by the World war. Here are some of the articles, with alleged prices: Chandeliers, \$1,500 to \$2,500 each; window curtains, \$500 to \$1,500; sofas, \$150 to \$175; Gothic chairs, \$70 to \$90 (not so unreasonable for 1920, but hardly applying to 1870); marble top washstands, \$35, and spittoons (cuspidores), \$8 each.

* The total of the bills actually presented for these articles was \$40,189.87. The House committee reported the sum due to be \$90,556.31, and that amount was actually paid out of the State treasury. The difference between the two amounts (\$50,466.44) was divided among certain members as their reward for putting the claim through the House.

No single feature of the absolutely shameless government was more redolent of corruption than the public printing. It was monopolized by the Republican Printing Company, composed of Josephus Woodruff, clerk of the Senate, and A. O. Jones, clerk of the House. Not only were the legislative acts and other Government business published at two or three times the rates ever allowed before or since, but matter absolutely valueless to the public was printed at these exorbitant figures. Naturally, there was no competition in the public printing, the publishers of the Republican Printing Company making such contracts as suited themselves and their conscienceless greed.

* Reynolds' "Reconstruction in South Carolina."

When it is remembered that the men who were thus robbing the public treasury of South Carolina paid into it only a negligible proportion of the taxes, it is remarkable that the property owners did not rise in their wrath sooner than they did. They had often protested, but as a body of taxpayers it was not until the spring of 1871 that they openly organized to fight this wholesale thievery.

THE TAXPAYERS' CONVENTION

The movement originated in a meeting of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce, held in that city on March 24, 1871. Its expressed objects were furthered by the Charleston Board of Trade. The different counties then held meetings to elect delegates to the convention suggested for Columbia, date of May 9th.

At that time and place the State Taxpayers' convention assembled and embraced all the leading men of South Carolina. It lasted three days, and it is not too much to say that never since the Republican-negro gag rule had been in force had the honest and the intelligent public sentiment of South Carolina been so fairly and forcibly crystallized.

On the first day of the convention the following officers were elected: Hon. W. D. Porter, Charleston, president; General M. C. Butler, Edgefield, Hon. C. W. Dudley, Marlboro, Hon. D. H. Chamberlain, Richland, and Hon. Gabriel Cannon, Spartanburg, vice-presidents; W. M. Conners, Lancaster, and Myron Fox, Charleston, secretaries.

After organization of an executive committee and an inspiring speech by President Porter, the convention reached solid business by passing a resolution that the Committee of Eleven, already appointed, confer with Governor Scott and investigate and report "the accounts of the Comptroller and the State agent in New York, so that the amount and character of the bonded debt and all other liabilities of the State can be clearly stated, with a view to such further action as may be necessary for the protection of the public creditors and of the taxpayers of the commonwealth."

A committee of seven was also appointed on motion of General Gary, recommending the repeal of the election laws, or at least to so modify them that the rights of the minority might be protected through the system of cumulative voting.

The convention covered broad ground and certainly went at the business in hand with courage in proposing to inquire into acts of violence during elections, and to investigate alleged bribery and the general finances of the State. Without specifying during which one of the four days of the session its various resolutions and recommendations were passed, the really important outcome of its deliberations was that they threw light upon the situation for the benefit of the citizens of the State whose vision had been purposely beclouded by the misrepresentations of those in power.

THE STATE DEBT MORE THAN \$20,000,000

The committee to investigate the financial condition of the State reported its indebtedness, "as principal and guarantor, exclusive of war debt," as \$20,045,151.19. The main items as given in the detailed

report (which do not fully agree with the report of the Committee of Eleven):

Amount of bonds and stock outstanding October 1, 1867, exclusive of bonds issued for military defense..	\$ 5,407,215.23
Difference between the true amount due on the Fire Loan Sterling bonds—\$788,222.27—and that stated in the comptroller general's report—\$484,444.51—to-wit	383,777.76
Amount due on bonds issued under acts of 1860 and 1861, for military defense.....	2,854,679.78
Total as principal, October, 1867.....	\$ 8,645,672.77
Bonds issued by present administration under acts of 1868, 1869 and 1870.....	4,558,550.00
Liabilities on account of railroad bonds indorsed.....	8,695,608.20
Grand total	\$22,899,830.97
Less war debt.....	2,854,679.78

\$20,045,151.19

In a reprint of the proceedings of the Taxpayers Convention, are two footnotes which it would seem necessary to reproduce. The first one reads: "Reynolds' 'Reconstruction' gives the State debt at \$8,865,908.98; whereas, as show by the text of the Committee's report, that was the amount in the fall of 1867, and took no account of the lavish wastes of the subsequent period."

"The second footnote relates to railroad liabilities, as follows: Chief contingent liabilities on this account—South Carolina railroad bonds, secured by first mortgage, \$2,093,312.40; Greenville and Columbia bonds and certificates of indebtedness, \$1,426,545.80; Blue Ridge railroad bonds, \$4,000,000."

It was resolved that it was the sense of the convention "that the funded debt of the State as described in the report of the committee of eleven is a valid debt, and that the honor and funds of the State are lawfully pledged for the redemption thereof."

The convention also resolved that the "so-called Sterling loan, or any other bonds or obligations hereafter issued, purporting to be by authority of this State, will not be held binding on us, and that we will resist the payment thereof, or the enforcement of any tax to pay the same, in every lawful way." The declaration was also made that the taxpayers "meditate no resistance to the United States Government, that they accept the Reconstruction measures as finalities, that they look to peaceful agencies as a solution of the difficulties of administration and that the present exigencies demand more enlightened efforts than those intended to promote the success of party."

The committee appointed to confer with the governor as to some measure of relief for the taxpayers, who were expected to pay the taxes of two years in one, reported that he expressed his purpose to extend the time for payment to March 1, 1872.

In response to the inquiries of the special committee appointed to confer with Governor Scott as to the possibility of reducing the number of State and county offices, the chief executive admitted that the county auditor might be cut out, except in Charleston County; the state auditor, commissioner of the Bureau of Agricultural Statistics and assistant adjutant general might be transferred to other officers, and the post of assistant librarian of the Supreme Court be dispensed with altogether—a drop in the bucket of useless officials, but a drop at that.

The committee appointed to make suggestions in regard to a change in the election laws and the adoption of cumulative voting, or proportional representation, by which the white minority should have a voice in the government of South Carolina, submitted a strong report recommending the reform to the Legislature; but such an appeal was obviously futile. Neither that corrupt Legislature, nor others of more virtue, have ever risen to the heights of allowing the minority to have a just participation in the Government.

ACTIONS AGAINST THE KUKLUX

It was this absolute helplessness of the minority, under the laws then in force, that encouraged the formation and operations of such organizations as the KuKlux. Doubtless some lawless men secured admission to its ranks. The organization reached such proportions that the General Government intervened and treated the entire Klan as a body of rebels, subject only to martial law. The KuKlux act was approved by President Grant on April 20, 1871, the very day when a select committee of Congress was organized to inquire into the actual condition of affairs in "the late insurrectionary states."

While the Republican administration at Washington was conferring with the Federal military commander at York, where the KuKlux had been perhaps the most active, the Court of General Sessions of South Carolina, at its September (1871) term, was conducting an investigation in that section to determine the true state of affairs. The military commandant at Yorkville did not produce any proof of the alleged outrages, and the grand jury was forced to proceed in the investigation without his testimony. The final presentments were unimportant, and there had been no disturbances whatever since May, either in Spartanburg or York county. In fact, as late as November, a correspondent of the New York Herald wrote to his paper from Union that "the KuKlux troubles ended there seven months ago;" that there had not been any necessity "for the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, because there was not at any time any disposition on the part of the citizens to resist the warrants of arrest" and "that the KuKlux, while formidable in numbers perhaps, never entertained the idea of resisting the United States Government."

Most of the so-called KuKlux trials were held at the winter term of the United States Circuit Court, which began at Columbia, in November, 1871, and the spring term of the Federal Court, which opened at Charleston in April. The first cases tried attracted a great display of legal talent. The judges presiding at the Columbia trials were Hon. Hugh L. Bond, of Baltimore, circuit judge, and Hon. George S. Bryan, of Charleston, district judge, sitting together.

The Government was represented by District Attorney D. T. Corbin, a Vermont lawyer of decided ability who had been an official of the Freedmen's Bureau, and Attorney General D. H. Chamberlain, who had been commissioned from the Federal Department of Justice. The defendants were represented by Hon. Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, and Hon. Henry Stanbery, of Ohio. Mr. Johnson had been attorney-general under President Taylor, and Mr. Stanbery had served in the same capacity in President Johnson's cabinet. Both were eminent in their profession.

This fine array of judicial and legal talent was to face the grand jury of six whites and twenty-one blacks, six of the latter not able to write their own names, and a petit jury, as finally organized of ten

white men and twenty-nine colored—both panels overwhelmingly Radical. All the jurors were required to swear that they had never been connected with the KuKlux, and none could serve in the Federal Court under the existing laws, who had ever served in the Confederate army, thus disqualifying from jury service most of the best white men in South Carolina.

Five persons were brought to trial charged with general conspiracy against the rights of (colored) citizens and, specifically, to "intimidate, injure and oppress" certain colored men, who wanted to vote the Republican ticket. The jurors appear to have calmly dismissed all testimony from their consciences, as to alibis, and the criminal and mischief-making character of the citizens alleged to have been so injured by the KuKlux and other white citizens who had no connection with the klan whatever.

The probabilities of obtaining any degree of justice were so remote that only five of the defendants were placed on trial (one of whom escaped) and fifty were sentenced on their plea of guilty. Sentences ranged from three to eighteen months, with nominal fines.

The same manipulation of juries and "steam-roller" tactics were adopted in the trial of the cases brought before the Federal Court in Charleston. The sentences imposed, however, were more severe, some of them being as high as ten years' imprisonment and \$1,000 fine. Other KuKlux cases were brought before the November term of the Circuit Court at Columbia, in 1872, and nine of the defendants were sentenced. Most of those who were found guilty in these trials of 1871-72 were subsequently pardoned, especially those whose sentences had been unusually severe.

John S. Reynolds, a lawyer of ability, in reviewing the KuKlux trials, justly says: "It must nevertheless be said that many acts were ascribed to the KuKlux which no good citizen would palliate or excuse. Allowance made for the negro's fondness for the dramatic or sensational, and his manifest satisfaction in telling in public his stories against white men apparently at his mercy, it must nevertheless be admitted that there was truth enough in these stories to justify the strongest condemnation of the KuKlux doings described. But, it should also be stated that none of the parties indicted was shown to have had any part in such outrages."

SCOTT'S LAST GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The last General Assembly of the Scott administration convened on November 28, 1871, and adjourned March 13, 1872, another 106 days fertile of acts and joint resolutions, but mostly barren of beneficial legislation. The governor's message gave the State debt at \$11,994,908.98. That document was a strange mixture of excuses and criticisms. The bonds, amounting to \$700,000, issued for the Land Commission, had "ample equivalent in the lands purchased, which will ultimately repay both principal and interest." Moreover, the governor charged that the impairment of the State's credit, resulting in a depreciation of her bonds, was due entirely to the opposition and the declarations of those hostile to the existing administration.

As to the payment of \$91,500 for State House furniture he pronounced it "without warrant of law." In the line of retrenchment, he recommended that the members of the General Assembly should receive an annual salary in lieu of per diem; that the codifying commission, a "standing reproach to the State Government," be abolished, with

KU KLUX COSTUME AND BANNER

other specified State and county officers; that various salaries be reduced, and finally (a sledge-hammer blow from a Republican governor) that a change be made in the letting of the public printing, since the existing system had "involved an expenditure for the public printing so great as to have proved a real calamity to the State, and eventuated in a contract for the public printing which is a flagrant fraud upon the public treasury and should be instantly annulled." Further, the governor called attention to the fact that the Republican Printing Company was "without legal existence" and that it neither owned nor controlled any journal or printing establishment.

The address indicated that the school funds for the fiscal year ending October 31, 1871, had amounted to \$240,000 and the number of pupils attending the public schools was about 67,098. The Lunatic Asylum was reported to be in debt \$21,271.48, and it was operated with the greatest difficulty.

A considerable portion of Governor Scott's message, which opened this legislative session, was devoted to a denunciation of the KuKlux and a justification of Federal intervention. It was the part of shrewd politics to connect that movement with the recommendations of the Taxpayers' convention in regard to the introduction of cumulative voting into the election system of the State. He seized upon that opportunity in the following words: "I submit for your deliberate consideration whether the men who are now demanding the establishment by law of the system of minority representation are entitled to this act of magnanimity at your hands."

A REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE TAKES A HAND

The report of the Joint Special Financial Investigating Committee—three members from the House and two from the Senate, and all Republicans—made during the session, indicated either that an element was arising within the party in power which realized that the majority were carrying robbery and other abuses of the State Government with too high a hand, or that Whittemore, Swails and Hurley wanted to expose their brother thieves. The investigations of that body nominally covered the period from September, 1868, to October 31, 1870. During that time, the expenditures for all State purposes were reported as \$4,184,783.42. None of the banks wherein State funds had been deposited had been required to pay interest, as was directed by law. The cost of arming, enrolling and sustaining the militia was pronounced a "glaring robbery of the treasury, for personal ambition and gain." To this sum (more than \$374,000) should be added the expenses of the adjutant-general's office and of the State Constabulary, which would bring the total amount incurred in expenditures for the armed forces of the State to \$421,159.71, "nearly enough to pay the interest on the State debt for one year."

LAND COMMISSION SWINDLE

The most scorching and wholesale denunciation was heaped on the Land Commission, which was characterized as a "gigantic folly," and "one of the most expensive experiments—productive of greater distress and dissatisfaction—that has been legalized or patronized by the State"—the committee further declaring that "a more outrageous and enormous swindle could not have been perpetrated and a more subtle manner of concealment perfected." The aggregate of expendi-

tures of the Commission, "as far as known," was reported to be the sum of \$746,724.07, being \$326,723.07 in excess of the amount apparently realized from the sale of the bonds issued for the purchase of lands.

The Advisory Board—Governor Scott, Comptroller Neagle, Treasurer Parker, Attorney-General Chamberlain and Secretary Cardozo—were explicitly charged with "neglect of duty and unwarrantable violation of law."

The land purchased—"the improved and unimproved, eligible or uneligible, the 104,078 acres, sandhill, swamp and otherwise"—was reported to have cost the State seven dollars an acre.

The committee represented that the State's relations to the financial agent were such that there was no real security against any malfeasance of which he might be guilty, special attention being called to the fact that the only security afforded was in the personal bond of H. H. Kimpton. The board was charged with having made unwise appointments, given imprudent advice, recommended extravagant or ruinous financial operations and thus made themselves responsible for any loss or damage to the State by reason of the acts of Kimpton.

The State debt, October, 1871, was reported at \$22,371,306.27. Of that amount the Committee reported that bonds in the sum of \$6,314,000 had been fraudulently issued. A special committee recommended that the House "take the necessary steps to hold accountable those persons who have violated the laws and ruined the credit of the State."

The impeachment fiasco followed, and the Joint Special Financial Investigating Committee, which had told so much truth was discharged. And still the Radicals were in the saddle and were to ride the public hard and cruelly for several years longer.

THE BLUE RIDGE RAILROAD FRAUD AGAIN

In the closing days of the session, the Blue Ridge Railroad fraud again reared its ugly head for public pap. The Legislature passed an act on March 2, 1872, by which the \$4,000,000 of bonds already issued to "aid in its construction" should be delivered to State Treasurer Parker, who, in exchange for the same, was to pass over to the president of the Blue Ridge Railroad Company treasury certificates of indebtedness to the amount of \$1,800,000. These certificates, which were to be received for taxes and all other State dues except the special tax levied to pay interest on the public debt, were to be issued in any form or denomination decided upon by said treasurer and railroad president. The dear Public—the tax payers—however, were pledged to redeem this Revenue Bond Scrip about which they were in no way consulted. The governor had the decency to veto the bill, but it was passed over his veto by a joint vote of 106 to 24, and the state treasurer delivered to Financial Agent Kimpton, the Cherub, \$114,250 of the scrip to pay the expenses of passing the measure through the Legislature. It is not reported exactly how much of this sum stuck to the fingers of H. H. Kimpton and what proportion went into the pockets of the members. It is at least some satisfaction to know that in 1873 the State Supreme Court pronounced the Blue Ridge scrip void and valueless.

During this session the new county of Aiken was formed out of portions of Edgefield, Lexington and Orangeburg.

SCOTT AND PARKER ESCAPE IMPEACHMENT

Although Governor Scott's trail could be followed into all the schemes which called for the most severe condemnation, he shrewdly covered it up, when it seemed about to lead directly to him. C. C. Bowen's resolution that Scott be "impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors" at this last session was defeated by a vote of 65 to 32. It is claimed that Scott raised a fund of nearly \$50,000, by drawing warrants on the State Treasury in favor of fictitious persons, which was used as a bribery fund to influence the members in his favor. State Treasurer Niles G. Parker, who was also tried, escaped impeachment by about the same vote. Speaker Moses came in for the giant's share of the bribe fund, in considerations for his "friendly rulings" in the course of the impeachment proceedings.

LUXURIOUS BUT BUSY SESSION

The total expenses of the session ending March, 1872, amounted to \$1,174,177.78. The large items, as heretofore, were: Pay of members, \$102,900; furniture, \$116,578; sundries (wines, liquors, cigars, etc.), \$282,514.50. In some unaccountable way, also, the Legislature used 212 "messengers" and paid them \$158,737.50. It must have been a remarkably busy session. The record shows that 216 acts and twenty-two joint resolutions were passed. What more could be asked?

CHAPTER LIX
CORRUPTION AND VICE LORDS
(1872-1874)

The administration of Franklin J. Moses, Jr., as governor of South Carolina, was but another name for the supremacy of public corruption in the years of Republican-negro rule to which the State was subjected. No citizen of South Carolina who lived during those terrible two years, or has since weighed the cold testimony of the printed page, could answer the question "When was the degradation of the Palmetto State the lowest?" in any other way than by the words "Under the Moses administration." After four years of Republican rule, South Carolina was in a state of more actual subjugation than at any period after the war; for not only was the military power in control, but every evil thing and person lorded it over all decency in act or person. Never in the history of America was public and social life so depraved.

Scott and his tribe of henchmen had wallowed in the public trough for four years, and when a voice in the wilderness of bribery and corruption was now and then raised in protest, it was met by some such retort as "Boss" Tweed's "What are you going to do about it?" or with the sneering jibes of such men as Moses, Elliott, Whipper and Patterson, to the effect that "there are still years of good stealing in South Carolina." In fact the story is fairly well authenticated that John J. Patterson—"Honest John"—after he had been elected United States senator and in the midst of the Moses carnival of crime, boasted that "there are still five years of good stealing in South Carolina."

OLD REPUBLICAN GANG ALL THERE

Very few delegates outside of the old gang of adventurers and office holders, who had been ruling with such a high hand, attended the Republican State Convention, which met at Columbia, on August 21, 1872, to nominate a new ticket. As finally determined, the roll of delegates mustered 33 white men and 115 colored, and four counties—Chesterfield, Lexington, Newberry and Union—were unrepresented. R. B. Elliott, the astute colored politician, was elected president of the convention. The vice-presidents of the black race were Robert Smalls and F. L. Cardozo, and of the whites, B. F. Whittemore and Thomas J. Mackey, all recognized as of the extreme radical type, as were the other minor officers.

When the nominations for governor were in order, four candidates were put forward—Samuel W. Melton, M. R. Delany (colored), Franklin J. Moses, Jr., Daniel H. Chamberlain and Reuben Tomlinson. The first three nominees were advanced by colored delegates. Judge Mackey supported Chamberlain and warned the convention that the nomination of Moses would disrupt the party and bring sure defeat. Elliott bitterly opposed Chamberlain, and the

supporters of each candidate charged all the others with shameless bribery.

Judge and former Governor James L. Orr, who upon several occasions had severely criticized the radical corruption, stated * that a colored delegate from Barnwell (one Mayer) had had from Moses an offer of \$2,000 for his support in the convention; and Elliott, speaking for Moses, admitted that Moses had approached Mayer with an offer of \$2,000—or rather had asked Mayer what his price was, and whether \$2,000 would be sufficient. Mayer assenting, the conversation ended.

FRANKLIN J. MOSES, JR., NOMINATED FOR GOVERNOR

Amid great confusion the vote was then taken and resulted: Moses, 69; Melton, 18; Chamberlain, 16; Tomlinson, 15. Moses was declared the nominee; whereupon Judge Orr declared that he could not support him, and withdrew from the convention.†

There was no contest except among colored nominees for the offices of lieutenant-governor and secretary of state—the successful candidates being R. H. Gleaves, of Beaufort, and Henry E. Hayne, of Marion, respectively. Samuel W. Melton, of Columbia, one of the gubernatorial candidates, was named for attorney-general and was conducted to the president's stand by a colored delegation. On the second day of the convention, F. L. Cardozo (colored), although bitterly denounced by a few delegates, was nominated for state treasurer; Solomon L. Hoge, for comptroller-general; J. K. Jillson, superintendent of education, and H. W. Purvis (colored), for adjutant and inspector general.

The platform declared for financial reform, economy, repeal of the State license law, specific appropriations as conditions precedent to the disbursement of public moneys, and "enforcement of all the laws by peaceful and constitutional agencies." The convention was in session four days.

INDEPENDENT, BOLTING REPUBLICANS

In the meantime, Judge Orr had called a convention of Republicans to assemble in the Richland courthouse to protest against the nomination of Moses and his ticket. There is no doubt that the general grade of this side convention was more respectable, although some of the colored delegates, such as Whipper and Swails, were undoubtedly participating in it because they felt as if they had been neglected in the distribution of political favors, and some of the white delegates, such as Whittemore, C. C. Bowen, and the genial robber "Tim" Hurley, were as corrupt as any they had left behind.

* Reynolds' "Reconstruction in South Carolina."

† The Hon. James L. Orr, sometime speaker of the National House of Representatives; colonel of a South Carolina Regiment; member of the Confederate Congress, and governor of South Carolina, in the spring of 1870 announced that he would not support the Union Reform party, but would vote for Scott and Ransier, and in a long published letter gave his reasons for so doing—one of them being: "Because Reform could be accomplished through the Republican party only, being impossible through the Union Reform movement." With the exception of Genl. James Longstreet—if he can be accredited to the State—Colonel Orr was the only South Carolinian and ex-Confederate of prime distinction who separated himself from his own people. The number of those that followed him into the Republican party was inconsiderable—and might be counted upon the fingers of one hand.

The independent Republican convention was held August 22d, on the second day of the regular Moses assembly, and placed in nomination for governor Reuben Tomlinson, of Charleston, who had been consistently supported by Judge Orr. The bolters' ticket never had a chance of election, and it would be a waste of space and words to go into details regarding its personnel.

REPUBLICAN AND COLORED SWEEP

Moses carried the election by a vote of 69,838 to 36,533. Tomlinson carried only ten counties in the State. In many of the counties the Democrats made no nominations. Four out of the five congressmen sent to Washington were colored, including the congressman-at-large, R. H. Cain, and the representative from the third district, R. B. Elliott. The only white congressman from South Carolina was A. S. Wallace, of the Fourth, from York. Six out of the eight solicitors of the circuits were Republicans, and in the Legislature they carried all the counties except Lexington, Oconee, Pickens, Spartanburg and Union. On joint ballot, the General Assembly stood, 130 Republicans, 27 Democrats; 51 white, 106 colored.

Two constitutional amendments were also adopted at this election: (a) To fix the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November as the day for holding the election of all State and county officers to be chosen by the people; (b) prohibiting the increase of the State debt, except by a vote of two-thirds of the qualified voters.

The National Republican ticket carried the State by a majority of nearly 50,000. The returns show that at least 40,000 white voters did not participate in the election. The white people of the State seemed stunned by the apparent hopelessness of the situation, though some of the most optimistic were convinced that the men without conscience who appeared to be getting the upper hand were really, with every advance in their wickedness, drawing the noose tighter and tighter around their swollen necks.

PATTERSON BUYS UNITED STATES SENATORSHIP

In December, 1872, the Republican machine in South Carolina was made more compact, and its connection with Washington closer, by the election of John J. Patterson, president of the Blue Ridge Railroad and co-worker with the most venal of the State radicals, as United States senator. Opposed to him was Congressman Elliott and former Governor Scott. The campaign was generally recognized to be one of barter and sale of legislative votes. Patterson controlled the most money and bought his way into the United States Senate by a vote of 90 to 67 (cast for all the other candidates). It was afterwards testified that Patterson had stated that his election cost him more than \$40,000. Charges and trials for bribery were effectually squelched by the Republican machine. Governor Moses appointed one John B. Dennis to be jury commissioner for Richland County, and Dennis saw to it that no juror should be drafted unless he could be relied upon to protect Patterson.

A strong protest was submitted to the United States Senate against his admission, the allegation being that he had procured his seat by bribery, his own brother-in-law producing the most conclusive evidence against him as a "swindler and cheat of the first water." But he was promptly sworn in and took his seat.

Among other notable elections of this period was that of Thomas

H. Cooke, of Orangeburg, who was chosen judge of the Eighth Circuit to succeed Judge Orr, who had accepted the Russian mission tendered to him by President Grant. Judge Orr's death, however, occurred in the following May (1873), only two months after he had presented his diplomatic credentials.

MOSES' LEGISLATURE MEETS

The new Legislature assembled November 26, 1872, and organized by electing S. A. Swails president pro tem. of the Senate, and Samuel J. Lee (colored), speaker of the House. The message of the outgoing Governor Scott charged that the increase in the public debt had been caused by the taxpayers' enmity to the State Government, and denied the burden of all the charges against Republican-negro rule. "I frankly admit," at the same time wrote the governor, "as I now clearly perceive, that I have committed many errors in the administration of the State during the past four years, but they have been errors that any man would have committed unless he approached nearer to infallibility of judgment than usually falls to mortal lot."

Governor Moses and his administration were inaugurated December 3, 1872, a week before Patterson was elected United States senator. A few days afterward, the chief executive of the State announced, in his message to the Legislature that the deficiencies on October 31, 1872, were as follows: Schools, \$300,000 (the entire appropriation); printing claims, \$325,000; treasurer's bills payable, \$230,000; pay certificates, \$20,000; "other purposes under general appropriation act," \$391,395. Total, \$1,266,395.

Governor Moses' first General Assembly lasted seventy-six days (including Sundays for which the members were paid, and excluding the Christmas recess), its adjournment being effected February 26, 1873.

Aside from the routine acts regarding State and county taxes, some legislation of interest, if not of value, was enacted. The two constitutional amendments regarding the fixing of the popular fall elections and prohibiting the increase of the State debt without a popular two-thirds vote, which had been approved by the intelligent voters of South Carolina, were ratified by the Legislature. The sum of \$250,000 was specifically appropriated to the Republican Printing Company, which had already been pronounced by former Governor Scott and others in position to know, as without "legal existence" and controlling neither journal nor printing plant.

The two houses also adopted a concurrent resolution instructing the State's representatives in Congress "to use their influence against the withdrawal of the United States troops from this State and to represent to the President of the United States that the withdrawal of the same would be at the present time detrimental to the permanent establishment and maintenance of law and order in this State."

BLACKS DRIVE OUT WHITE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

The measure, however, which caused the most commotion in South Carolina, and fired anew the instinctive antipathy of the whites against physical and social contact, on terms of equality, with the blacks, was the act to establish the State Normal School (to which colored students should be admitted with the whites) as a branch of the State University, subject to the orders of the Board of Regents, the members of which were of both races. The university was to pro-

vide suitable accommodations for the Normal School and its library was to be open to all the students of the school, irrespective of race or color.

The affairs of the University of South Carolina had been at low ebb, both as a result of Confederate War wreckage and the apprehension that the negroes would so take advantage of their undoubted legal and political rights, under the radical regime, as to effectually bar out the whites. Governor Orr and other Republicans had strongly advised against any attempts to mix the students of the two races, knowing what the effect would be on the attendance of the whites. He had suggested as one solution of the problem that the university be reserved for the whites and the Citadel Academy at Charleston be used as a college for colored students. The persistent selection of colored members of the Board of Regents, however, had kept alive the apprehension among both faculty and public that an attempt would eventually be made to establish the university on the basis of a black and white co-educational institution. When the act was passed proposing to found a State Normal School on that basis, such apprehension seemed about to be realized—as it certainly was during the Moses administration.

When the policy of the Board of Trustees became evident most of the faculty in whom the people had confidence resigned or were removed. In the former list were M. LaBorde, who held the chair of belles-lettres, Wm. J. Rivers, ancient languages, Dr. A. N. Talley, of medicine, and Dr. Robert W. Gibbes, of surgery, and those who were forced out included Professors Robert W. Barnwell, history, J. L. Reynolds, mental and moral philosophy, and John C. Faber, modern languages. Some of the members of the new faculty were good men; others, like Rev. B. B. Babbitt, formerly of New York, and Rev. A. W. Cummings, were pronounced adventurers, with few qualifications of scholarship or character. Professor William J. Rivers, of the chair of ancient languages, was succeeded by Fisk K. Brewer, a Northern man of small repute; and so the culling progressed, the Board of Trustees having determined upon a faculty which they could use in their plan of establishing a mixed university.

In the fall of 1873, various colored students matriculated at the State University, demonstrating beyond a doubt that the black race meant to dominate the institution. First, on October 7, 1873, Henry E. Hayne, then secretary of state, entered the School of Medicine; whereupon Professors M. LaBorde, A. N. Talley and R. W. Gibbes resigned from the faculty without opposition. In accepting their resignation, the Board of Trustees recognized the cause of such action, deplored it, and formally proclaimed the university as "the common property of all our citizens without distinction of race." Samuel J. Lee (colored) president of the board, in his report to the Legislature says, significantly: "In the chapel, recitation room, on the ball ground and in study the lessons of equality and mutual self-respect have been inculcated."

Immediately after the admission of Hayne, seven men, all holding public position and two colored, entered the law department of the university. Among them was the notorious Niles G. Parker, former state treasurer. N. T. Spencer, a colored Charlestonian, joined Hayne in the School of Medicine, and in November, 1874, F. L. Cardozo (colored), who had succeeded Parker as state treasurer, became a student at law.

Then occurred what had long been foreseen. Negro students swarmed into the university, the standard for admission being so low-

ered as to reduce it to the level of an average high school. Its main mission was now to inculcate, by a great object lesson, the truth that social equality of the white and black was practicable. The number of students did increase, so that during the Moses administration it exceeded 200, more than nine-tenths of this number, however, being negroes. The university staggered along under its degrading load until 1877, when it was closed for moral renovation by a Legislature composed of reputable whites and blacks, the former in the majority.

DEAF AND BLIND INSTITUTE CLOSED

The State Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Blind, located in Spartanburg County, had been progressing satisfactorily with separate departments for white and colored pupils, but that was not following the plan of the Moses politicians. In September, 1873, they demanded, through J. K. Jillson, the State superintendent of education, that a special effort should be made to induce colored pupils to enter the institution. Wrote Mr. Jillson to the superintendent of the asylum: "Such pupils, when admitted, must be domiciled in the same building, must eat at the same table, must be taught in the same classrooms and by the same teachers, and must receive the same attention, care and consideration as white pupils." Thereupon, the officers of the institute having resigned, it was closed for three years.

"SCALING" THE PUBLIC DEBT

As if not enough crooked and lucrative legislation had not been enacted at the regular term, Governor Moses called a special session of the Legislature to meet October 21, 1873. It ended on the 24th of the following month. The excuse for calling it—in legislative parlance, the "extraordinary occasion"—was the necessity for adjusting the State debt. The State's credit was so bad that her bonds were quoted at figures ranging from fifteen cents to forty cents on the dollar, and the financial world wondered at the increase of \$14,000,000 in the debt of a small State in six years—and nothing to show for it.

Most of the session was occupied in this "adjustment," which consisted mainly of scaling the acknowledged public debt of the State, amounting to \$15,027,503.35 at the rate of fifty cents on the dollar. The Supreme Court had decided that at least five of the classes of bonds therein included were valid and that, under the constitution, the comptroller-general should levy an adequate tax to pay the interest upon them on or before the 15th of the coming November. The general measure of "adjustment," known as the Consolidation Act, not only cut the bonded debt of the State in half, but entirely repudiated the Conversion bonds, amounting to \$5,965,000. The interest on the new debt thus to be substituted was to be paid from the proceeds of an annual levy of two mills. "The faith and credit" of the State were pledged for the payment of principal and interest. Fortunately honest white men recovered possession of the State and blocked the progress of this dishonest piece of legislation, known as the "Consolidation Act."

Two large plums were also plucked by disreputable establishments which flourished under the rule of Moses—the Republican Printing Company received \$125,000 for work, all of which was padded and most of which was useless, and there were allowed the claims of the "South Carolina Bank and Trust Company" for a like amount, incurred by the cashing of shady paper held by officials, members of

the Legislature, etc. Its proprietor, Hardy Solomon, was not only proprietor of this private bank, but of a grocery which furnished most of the "supplies," mainly liquors, to the bibulous Legislature.

THE REGULAR SESSION OF 1873-74

The regular session immediately followed, and from the report of State Treasurer Cardozo it became evident that the State finances were in a desperate condition. While the appropriations for the fiscal year ending October 31, 1873, had amounted to (excluding interest on the State debt), \$2,260,056, the total collections were only \$1,719,728. On the first of that month, the interest on the bonded debt had mounted to \$2,342,293.18. When to that amount should be added the deficiency (appropriations above collections) for the current year of \$540,328, the outlook was far from cheerful for a State which was not only bankrupt as to its actual finances, but whose credit was also worthless. As an illustration of the recklessness of these treasury looters is the fact that nearly as much money was spent in public printing—most of which was graft to the Republican Printing Company—as in the support of the free schools—\$331,000 and \$361,000, respectively.

THE AMAZING MESSAGE OF MOSES

In his message, Governor Moses complimented Treasurer Cardozo for his "fidelity and integrity." He urged the continued maintenance of the negro militia, and looked with pride upon the new status of the State University and the asylum for the deaf and blind "where the spirit of bigotry and prejudice has been banished." The penitentiary was reported in debt \$77,338.40 and the lunatic asylum, \$60,160.66; the State owed the public school teachers more than \$209,000, and the different counties had a past indebtedness of \$350,000, while the aggregate shortage of county treasurers was officially reported to be \$445,000. Altogether, the governor declared that the conduct of the State Government under Republican rule had been "characterized by the equal administration of just and impartial laws," that it had "endeavored vigilantly to protect all the rights of persons and to maintain all the safeguards of property" and had "signalized its authority by the enactment of wise and beneficent statutes, in happy contrast to the legislation which distinguished the former government of the State."

Acts passed of some general interest and not relating solely to individual rascalities, or fraudulent schemes, were the joint resolution to submit the constitutional amendment providing that the term of all State officers should be two years, and a proposed amendment to limit county or municipality subscription to the stock of any corporation in excess of 5 per cent. of the taxable property thereof.

CAUSES FOR PRIDE

The State was also divided into five congressional districts; a gerrymander in the interests of the Republican party, as by the new arrangement every district had a negro majority. Throughout the session a constant fusillade of investigations into various fraudulent acts, was prosecuted with such earnestness, outwardly, that the public was often led to believe that a wave of reform had set in, but necessary papers or witnesses mysteriously disappeared—as in the

Niles G. Parker case—or sentences were pronounced and pardons were soon forthcoming from the governor. Upon one occasion, when Moses himself was jointly indicted with the county treasurer of Orangeburg for embezzlement, he refused to have the sheriff serve the papers and called out three companies of the negro militia in Columbia to guard the executive residence and office. He was afterward tried and acquitted on the ground that the offence charged could be reached only by impeachment.

TAXPAYERS' CONVENTION AGAIN ACTS

While the Robber Governor, as Moses had become known, was carrying affairs with such a high hand in Columbia and throughout the State, the protesting taxpayers and Democrats, as well as the respectable Republican element, were endeavoring to get the ear, if not the sympathy, of the National Government at Washington. They succeeded in neither endeavor. In February, 1874, the Taxpayers' Convention again assembled in Columbia with only two counties unrepresented. Hon. William D. Porter was still president of the organization. The convention was in session four days, and at its adjournment appeared to have accomplished something, although subsequent developments threw serious doubt upon such a conclusion.

The Executive Committee had waited upon State Treasurer Cardozo to request him to furnish that body with a copy of the vouchers upon which he had paid \$331,000 for the public printing in 1873, but was refused. After abusing the chairman of the committee, Mr. Cardozo replied: "I have no right to permit anyone to inspect my vouchers except those who are legally authorized to do so."

Of more general interest were the resolutions adopted by the convention, protesting against the unbearable State taxation and urging the taxpayers to form unions in all the counties of South Carolina for the purpose of investigating public officials and urging changes in the laws by which over-assessments of property might be equalized and other reforms adopted for the protection of the taxpayers and the tax-paying minority. Proportional representation was again strongly recommended. Committees were appointed both to represent the Taxpayers' Convention in the General Assembly and to present an appeal to Congress for relief.

A POWERFUL ARRAIGNMENT

The appeal to Congress showed that taxes had so advanced that in many cases they consumed more than half of the property income, and that the annual expenses of the State Government had increased from \$400,000 before the war to \$2,500,000 at that time. The facts exhibited "the unprecedented spectacle of a State in which the government is arrayed against property. It has been openly avowed by prominent members of the Legislature," said the memorial, "that the taxes shall be increased to a point which will compel the sale of the great body of the land and take it away from the former owners. The fruit of this policy is shown in the fact, stated by the comptroller-general in his official report that for default in the payment of taxes for the year 1872 alone, 268,523 acres of land were forfeited to the State.

"The abuses in the legislative department that have been described are not confined to the mere raising and expenditure of revenues, but they pervade the entire conduct of the departments. Schemes have

been devised for issuing State bonds and for contracting other loans, by which the public debt has in six years been raised from \$5,000,000 to \$16,000,000, and that without advancing any public work and without adding one dollar to the public property or to the payment of the public debt. Large as the sum of the public debt is admitted to be, there is reason to believe that it goes beyond that amount. It is found impossible to ascertain the actual sum of the obligations that have been issued."

PRINTING FRAUDS AGAIN EXPOSED

The public printing fraud, perhaps, after the manipulations of the Land Commission, the most glaring and shameless, was exposed in all its enormity. "The clerks of the Legislature," the appeal says, "in their official capacity, made contracts with themselves as private persons for the public printing. The appropriations made in one year for the work done and to be done by these two officials amounted to \$475,000, exclusive of \$100,000 for publishing the laws. And in the fiscal year 1873 there was actually paid to them for printing, \$331,000, leaving a large sum still due them by the State—and this, notwithstanding the avowal of the two officials themselves that the work done was worth no more than \$100,000 and the testimony of others that its value was only \$50,000.

"The stupendous fraud involved in this and similar modes of making the legitimate objects of public expenditure the medium of plundering the treasury cannot be better illustrated than by the following facts: The total appropriations for public printing made by the Legislature of South Carolina during a period of sixty years, from 1800 to 1859, is \$271,180. During the last year, the amount actually expended for public printing by the present Legislature was \$331,945—that is \$60,765 more than it cost the State for sixty years before the war."

COHESIVE POWER OF PUBLIC PLUNDER

The memorial went on to show that the manifold evils in the legislative and executive departments could not be reached either through the judiciary or the gubernatorial departments which were all co-operative, self-sustaining and self-protecting. All, including the election machinery, were co-ordinated in one compact body. The memorialists in their last paragraph give this home-thrust: "The government which thus oppresses us was virtually established by Congress, and while we believe they did not foresee the evils to which it has given rise we cannot doubt that they will assist in removing them so far as they are satisfied of their existence." It would have been a miracle in "practical politics," had any relief been granted at this stage of the campaign.

REPUBLICANS ANSWER THE TAXPAYERS

The taxpayers' appeal was answered by the State Central Committee of the Union Republican party of South Carolina. That body disputed all the facts and figures advanced by the taxpayers, and came to the conclusion that the party was governing each citizen of the State cheaper in 1872-73 than was the Democratic party in 1859-60, before the war! The "answer" claimed that the white taxpayers were allowing their lands to be forfeited rather than sell

them to the colored people. The debt was admitted to be \$10,000,000, as \$6,000,000 had been declared by the Legislature to be illegal; in other words, had been repudiated. The Republicans charged that the \$450,000 printing appropriations covered a period of three years, instead of one, and added: "The works for which the appropriation of \$250,000 was made were extraordinary and will not probably occur again for twenty years." The so-called taxpayers, it was charged, were simply disgruntled Democrats—members of the old Confederate regime, who were jealous of the Republicans who had displaced them. This was "their third effort to regain power. First, they expected it through the election of Seymour and Blair; second, through the midnight murders and assassinations of Kukluxism; and now, thirdly, by the distortion and misrepresentation of facts, in order to create a public sentiment in their favor and obtain relief from Congress."

THE FRUITLESS "APPEAL UNTO CAESAR"

By the last of March, both the taxpayers' committee, headed by William D. Porter, and the Republican committee, of which the chairman was Samuel J. Lee, a disreputable colored politician, were in Washington, presenting their respective cases to Congress, then under the thumbscrews of radicalism. The appeal of the taxpayers was forcibly presented by the Hon. William D. Porter of Charleston—"A gentleman whose life had been distinguished for its purity as well as for its usefulness to South Carolina."

President Grant turned coldly away from the representative of the taxpayers, with the specious words: "The State of South Carolina has a complete sovereign existence, and must make its own laws. If its citizens are suffering from those laws it is a matter very much to be deplored. Where the fault lies may be a question worth looking into." Upon one point, the military leader was not as cool as his wont. General Gary, of Edgefield, had denounced the president's course in the South before the last Taxpayers' convention, and the president was furious—said so himself; and the speech may have been one reason why the taxpayers' committee were so rudely treated.

The twenty-four representatives of the South Carolina Republicans, more than a half of whose membership were criminals under the law, as afterward proved by the fraud report, were very nicely treated, and the President declared that their "reply" seemed conclusive. Both the committees to which the Taxpayers' appeal to Congress had been referred sustained the president's attitude by reporting that the subject matter of the memorial was beyond their jurisdiction.

CIVIL RIGHTS ATROCITIES NOT FOUND

Notwithstanding this set-back in Washington, the County Tax Unions continued their active work of organization and general supervision of the taxpayers' interests, and assembled at Columbia, through their delegates, on September 10, 1874. The State Union then and there adopted resolutions that another convention be held, and that one delegate from each county be selected as a committee of inquiry to ascertain as to the truth of the atrocities which President Grant alleged had been committed against the exercise of civil rights in South Carolina. After a full investigation, the committee reported that they had "failed to ascertain a single case in the State of an injury, outrage or wrong committed during the present year by a white man upon

a negro in the slightest degree attributable to the race, color or previous condition of servitude of the negro, or upon any Republican on account of his political opinions."

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION PROMISES EVERYTHING GOOD

The State Convention of the Republican party, which met in Columbia, on September 8, 1874, nominated D. H. Chamberlain for governor and R. H. Gleaves, lieutenant governor. The president of the convention was C. M. Wilder, a colored delegate from Richland. It resolved to support the "distinguished soldier and statesman now at the head of our nation" for a third term, and adopted a platform earnestly reaffirming the adhesion of the State party to national Republicanism; upholding the interference of the General Government to preserve the "domestic tranquillity in the several states;" demanding universal respect for the elective franchise in the hands of the weakest; giving pledges to economize, honestly reduce the public debt, properly develop the railways, reform the system of taxation, protect the property of the State, and pledging the Republican party "to carry out in the practical administration of the government every principle inscribed upon our standard in the interest of the whole people of the State."

INDEPENDENTS AND CONSERVATIVES COMBINE

The independent Republicans, notwithstanding this fine flow of platform words, met in Charleston, October 2d, and placed in nomination Judge John T. Green, of Sumter, for governor, and Major Martin R. Delany, of Charleston, a Virginia negro, for lieutenant governor. The candidate for lieutenant governor was an unusually intelligent black man, had had a medical education, had served as surgeon and major in the Union army and afterward had been identified with the Freedmen's Bureau. He was the first regularly commissioned negro major in the army of the United States, and, while bumptious and grandiloquent at times in speech and manner, his conduct in connection with the Freedmen's Bureau had been very satisfactory to the native white citizens of Beaufort.

The conservatives, the large majority of whom were the taxpayers, met in Columbia, on October 8, 1874, and resolved to support the Independent Republican party, their platform simply being "honesty and economy in the administration of the State Government."

The vote was the largest cast in the State since the radicals had gone into power, although Chamberlain was elected by a vote of 80,403, to 68,818 cast for Judge Green.* The Independents carried twelve counties, and the Conservatives elected representatives in fourteen. There was a fusion of the two parties in Charleston. The regular Republicans were elected in all but the Second of the five congressional districts, which was carried for an independent Republican.

WHITE MAJORITY OF THREE

On joint ballot now, while the Republicans had a majority of seventy-three, the whites had a majority of three. So that at least the State had thrown off one nightmare, Black rule. The bitter fight

* Judge Green died during Governor Chamberlain's term of office. It is interesting to note that had he been elected governor, he would have been succeeded by Major Delany a coal-black negro—elected largely by the votes of white Democrats of South Carolina!

now was with dire corruption, whether fathered by white or black; and that monster, so hideously represented by the Moses administration, was tottering under the sheer weight of its wickedness.

THE ROBBER GOVERNOR

The Robber Governor had entered office without money. As speaker of the House he commenced to amass wealth as a result of bribes and more indirect favors received. When he was elected governor, his chances for speculation were immeasurably increased and he never failed to take advantage of such opportunities. He was not only financially without conscience, but was grossly immoral. What he filched from the public, he spent largely in dissipation. The Preston mansion for which he paid \$40,000, was elegantly furnished, with grounds, carriage, traveling accommodations, entertainments for both blacks and whites, with large expenditures for liquors and cigars. It is known that much of the means for such riotous living was filched from the fat and fraudulent printing fund. He is also known to have received thousands of dollars for official appointments. He touched nothing which did not yield him revenues sooner or later. His dealings with H. H. Kimpton, the State's financial agent in most of the great frauds, were believed to be especially productive, although the transactions were so involved and covered—the one with the other—that it will probably never be known what were the exact totals of his stealings. It was during his term that a final settlement was made with Kimpton, who received from the State of South Carolina the sum of \$735,969.13 in full payment of his "commissions" for all the outstanding claims which he had against the State. Despite the fictitious bulk of his corrupt income, Governor Moses' expenditures were so prodigal that he left the office a bankrupt. It is said that his debts amounted to more than \$225,000 and his assets to \$67,000. These figures were afterward verified when he filed his petition as a voluntary bankrupt.* With the departure of the Moses gang, the first faint streaks of light commenced to break over the sodden politics and public affairs of South Carolina.

* Reynolds' "Reconstruction in South Carolina."

CHAPTER LX

THE CHAMBERLAIN ADMINISTRATION (1874-1876)

During the years of cumulating fraud under radical Republicanism as directed from Washington and operated practically by the ignorant and vicious blacks, with the shameless, but often shrewd political adventurers of the white breed in South Carolina, Daniel H. Chamberlain had trained, but nothing really venial had attached itself to his record, and like the late Governor Orr he had shown the courage, at times, of setting forth convictions which ran counter to the prevailing current of corruption. The result of the election indicated that the conservatives, the substantial and old-time residents of the State, as well as those of more modest station who were opposed to the riot of misgovernment under which it had reached such degradation among the commonwealths of the country, were coming again into the open and showing the typical fighting spirit of South Carolina. The time had arrived for a man who could earn the confidence of the conservative reformers, the independent Republicans and the better class of the radicals; for there were grades of honesty even in the ranks of the last political division of the times.

CHAMBERLAIN'S FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Despite not a few things which may be brought against him in criticism of his past and future, Governor Chamberlain appears, on the whole, to have been the proper instrument to partially drag the State from the Moses mire and pass it over, soiled and much bedraggled, but in some kind of presentable shape, to the Hampton administration and the rule of decent white people. The first General Assembly of his administration met November 24, 1874, and S. A. Swails, of Williamsburg, was reelected president pro tem. of the Senate and Josephus Woodruff, clerk. R. B. Elliott, formerly congressman, the colored lawyer, who had defended some of the most notorious of the criminals connected with the State Government in what were only mock trials, was elected speaker of the House. He had been hand and glove with the bribers and the bribe takers, and was one of the worst personal products of Reconstruction.* His opponent for the speakership, N. B. Myers, was also colored, and was generally supported by the conservatives. A. O. Jones was reelected clerk of the House without opposition.

On December 1st, Mr. Chamberlain was inaugurated governor, and delivered an address singularly free from bitterness and partisanship. It contained a businesslike statement of the pitiful affairs of the

* And yet, in April of that year (1874), Robert B. Elliott, "the very lowest and the very worst" of negro politicians, who is known to have received one bribe of over \$10,000, delivered an oration in memory of Charles Sumner in Faneuil Hall, Boston. He said that Sumner "carried morals into politics," that "duty presided over his life; be it ours to walk by the light of this pure example, to copy his stainless integrity * * his unconquerable moral enthusiasm!"

State, the result in large part, he showed, of causes for which his own party was responsible, the continuance of which he confidently declared his purpose of preventing.

In his exposure of the State finances, he showed that during the six years from 1868 to 1874—the period of the Scott and Moses administrations—the expenses of public funds for the single item of executive contingent expenses had aggregated more than \$376,000. He ventured the opinion that “the State would have received equal benefit from one-fifth of that sum, if expended with economy upon proper subjects. I think the people of this State should be able to trace every dollar of the public funds to the precise object on which it is expended. This cannot be done under the present system of contingent funds.” He therefore recommended that it be wholly discontinued.

Governor Chamberlain found that since the constitution of 1868 had gone into effect six regular and two special sessions of the General Assembly had been held, and that the average cost of each regular session had been more than \$320,000. The total cost of all the sessions had been \$2,147,430.97, and there were still outstanding bills amounting to \$192,275.15. “These figures render comment superfluous,” he said. He suggested a shortening of the length of the sessions. One cause of such long sessions, he specified as having been the passage of “an inordinate number of special acts of incorporation.”

The governor excoriated the system of public printing for the three preceding years as “utterly incapable of defense or excuse.” Yet the same clerks of the Senate and the House who, under that system had conspired to defraud the State out of hundreds of thousands of dollars had just been reelected! Governor Chamberlain gave the figures, which were no longer startling, as they had been repeatedly published. He would exterminate the system of public printing, “root and branch, substituting a safe and economical system.” He also urged upon the General Assembly the keeping of the expenditures of the State within its receipts. The issuing by the State of “certificates of indebtedness,” when there were no funds in the treasury to cover them, but which circulated as money (greatly depreciated), was severely criticised as detrimental to the credit of the State.

He recommended that the provisions of the Consolidation Act to reduce the volume of the public debt, be faithfully and carefully carried out and the interest on the recognized bonds be promptly and regularly paid.

“I cannot believe,” he said, “that any party, nor even any man, will hereafter dare to interpose an objection to the prompt discharge of these new obligations of the State.”

The ghost of the old Bank of the State also came up for consideration. As stated in the paragraph devoted to the subject in the governor’s message, the State had exchanged the bank bills issued prior to December 20, 1860, for its bonds, but had refused to receive those issued after that date. The United States Supreme Court had decided that the later issues were valid in payment of taxes, and the governor was convinced that eventually the State would be obliged to redeem the bills issued after December, 1860, and recommended that such redemption should commence then and continue gradually.

Justices of the peace and constables he held should be elected by the people, according to the State constitution, and displace the trial justices, whose administration, or misadministration of the law, had been “costly, inefficient and oppressive.” He made a number of recommendations regarding changes in the election laws. The constitutional provision should be enforced requiring a registration of electors, which

had not been done. Although the law gave the governor power to appoint commissioners of election sixty days before the election, he should not be allowed to remove them summarily at any time before the election.

Governor Chamberlain promised to use the pardoning power with discretion and solely "for the repression of crime and the protection of society." Thoughtful citizens could read between the lines a denunciation of the preceding administrations when the governor's power to "grant reprieves and pardons after conviction had been shamelessly abused"; notably by Moses who had ordered practically a general jail delivery throughout the State just before election day.

He advised against the reduction of appropriations made for educational purposes. The figures which he gleaned from the reports of the State superintendent of education indicated that in 1870 there were only 769 free common schools in the State, attended by 30,448 pupils, and that in 1873 the number of schools had increased to 2,017 and the attendance to 83,753 pupils. There were 230,102 persons of school age in the State. The governor thought the incapable and inert county school commissioners largely to blame for the slow progress of the system, and also suggested the establishment of ordinary high schools as the intermediate link between the common schools and the State University.

Among Governor Chamberlain's concluding periods were these: "The work which lies before us is serious beyond that which falls to the lot of most generations of men. It is nothing less than the reestablishment of society in this State upon the foundations of absolute equality of civil and political rights. The evils attending our first steps in this work have drawn upon us the frowns of the whole world. Those who opposed the policy upon which our State was restored to her practical relations with the Union have already visited us with the verdict of absolute condemnation. Those who framed and enforced that policy are filled with an anxiety for the result, in which fear predominates over hope. The result, under Divine Providence, rests with us.

"For myself I here avow the same confidence in the final result which I have hitherto felt. The evils which surround us are such as might well have been predicted by a sagacious mind before they appeared. They are deplorable, but they will be transitory. The great permanent influences which rule in civilized society are constantly at work, and will slowly lift us into a better life. Our foundations are strong and sure. Already we have seen the day when no party or man in our State was bold enough to seek the favor of the people except upon the most explicit pledges to remove our present abuses. If we who are here today shall fail in our duty, others more honest and capable will be called to our places. Through us or through others freedom and justice will bear sway in South Carolina."

Governor Chamberlain saw that the transition period in South Carolina affairs was at hand, when its government and institutions were to pass from bad to better, and also knew that when the "natural leader" should arise in whom the saving element had confidence he would lead the way to civilized rule and prosperity. In the paper, before cited, written for the Atlantic Monthly a quarter of a century after he had been tried in the fire of South Carolina's regeneration and found wanting, he wrote: "Alone of all prominent men in the State in 1868 Wade Hampton advocated cooperation with negroes in elections; but his advice passed unheeded.

"It cannot be too confidently asserted that from 1867 to 1872 noth-

ing would have been more unwelcome to the leaders of Reconstruction in Washington than the knowledge that the whites of South Carolina were gaining influence over the blacks, or were helping to make laws, or were holding office. The writer knows his ground here; and there is available written evidence in abundance to avouch all his statements and opinions—evidence, too, which will sometime be given to the world.”*

After writing of Calhoun's wonderful leadership of South Carolina politics during his mature lifetime, in that remarkable paper in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Mr. Chamberlain touches upon the fact that after the war, and during the Reconstruction period of 1867-1874, “the Democratic, or white party, merely drifted rudderless and haphazard, as most of its leaders were ‘the heroes of the war,’ who, though many of them were able and public-spirited, none of them were greatly experienced in public affairs.” To this “inevitable disaster” of placing the reins of government in the hands of 78,000 ignorant blacks who were pitted against 46,000 whites, “who held all the property, education and public experience of the State,” was added another calamity. “To this feast of reconstruction, this dance of reunion, rushed hundreds even thousands of white and colored men from the North, who had almost as little experience of public affairs as the negroes of the South; and it must be added that as a class they were not morally the equals of the negroes of the South.

“The story at this point is threadbare; but it must be again said in this review that the Northern adventurers at once sprang to the front, and kept to the front from 1867 to 1874. To them the negro deferred with a natural docility. He felt that they represented the powers at Washington, as they often did, and his obedience was easily secured and held. Are Stevens and Morton and their applauding supporters chargeable with countenancing these men? Not by express, direct terms; but they are justly chargeable with opening the doors to them, and not casting them off when their true character was perfectly known.

“So ingrained was the disregard of Southern Democrats in all affairs that concerned the political control of the South, so inflexible was the determination of officials and leaders at Washington to keep the heel on the neck, that hardly one high Republican authority could be appealed to for discountenance of the class referred to. To this tide of folly and worse, President Grant persistently yielded; while one noble exception must be noted, the gallant and true Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky, as solicitor general, attorney general and secretary of the treasury.”

The next definite division of the chapters on reconstruction in South Carolina, Chamberlain, the writer, designates as the “awful tale of financial rioting” under the leadership of F. J. Moses, Jr., for the

* This promise, if such it was, was never fulfilled. In a letter written by Governor Chamberlain, not long before his death, to Yates Snowden, a South Carolina democrat, he said: “Professor — is mistaken in thinking that I am, or have been, preparing a history of Reconstruction. I may possibly have sought single items in Columbia, but it was not with any purpose of writing a history. I may say that I have been greatly and long importuned by publishers and friends to write, if not exactly a history of Reconstruction, my life-time recollections, especially of matters at the South. I have persistently refused to entertain the idea, and aside from a few fugitive communications here and there, and particularly one rather elaborate article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, I have written nothing and shall write nothing on the subject. There are many reasons why; principal of which is that I should not be credited with impartiality, however much I might seek to try to be impartial.”

whites, and Robert B. Elliott, formerly of Boston, in behalf of the blacks; and Chamberlain, the governor, was to be a prominent figure in the stilling, if not quelling, of the awful tale of financial and political rioting which so wrenched the very fabric of the commonwealth.

CHAMBERLAIN RECURS TO NEEDED REFORMS

Governor Chamberlain did not rest content with making a series of recommendations to a Legislature which he knew would largely ignore them, or openly oppose them, but in special messages recurred to the reforms which he had urged. In January, 1875, after the first recess, he sent a long communication to the Senate and House, calling attention to the facts that the levy for the support of the State government was \$61,973 less than the estimated amount required; that the county treasurers were still \$470,000 delinquent, and that the finances of the Lunatic Asylum and the State Penitentiary showed a heavy and increasing indebtedness. The closing of the Institution for the Education of the Deaf, Dumb and Blind was a misfortune and a reproach to the State. In reviewing the system of public education, he showed how far it still was from "the standard which should be aimed at," in that the total school attendance fell considerably below one-half of the school population. Recurring to the public finances, he said that "the financial condition of many, if not most, of the counties of the State, is deplorable. The practice of making expenditures, incurring obligations, and issuing checks, warrants and orders in excess of the funds provided to meet them, has prevailed to such an extent as to produce a state of affairs which calls for the action of the General Assembly."

Again, the governor was opposed to a reckless repudiation of the public debt, as is evident from this paragraph taken from his address: "The floating indebtedness of the State presents a subject so vast, undefined and complicated, as to require the exercise of our best judgment, as well as great caution in dealing with it. The total amount of the apparent indebtedness of the State is unascertained. The legal validity of a large part of it is more than doubtful, and the meritorious character of a still larger part may well be disputed. There is a certain view which may be taken of this whole class of indebtedness, which would treat it as a matter to be indefinitely postponed. In this view the present Administration and General Assembly might regard it as an indebtedness for which they are not responsible, and which they should not, therefore, permit to become a burden upon their management of public affairs. For my own part I cannot altogether take this view of the subject; I must regard so much of this indebtedness as has the character of legal and moral validity as a portion of the public burden which we, who are now called to conduct public affairs, must assume."

The governor strongly recommended the enactment of the law providing for cumulative voting, or minority representation, and reaffirmed his belief that the provisions of the State Constitution should be enforced requiring the people to elect their justices of the peace and constables. A new registration of the voters of the State was urged. In conclusion, he congratulated the Legislature and the people in general, on the evidences of "a practical unification, in its best sense, of our two races. So long as I can be the instrument by which such results are promoted (he continued), I shall not be disturbed by the unfriendly criticism of the few who may charge me with lack of partisan zeal."

The State press, especially that foremost leader of public opinion, the Charleston News and Courier, praised the message, in behalf of both Conservatives and Republicans, as containing "not a single recommendation which is not, in the main, wise, prudent and just."

The Legislature paid so little attention to the governor's wise recommendations and he was obliged to veto so much mischievous legislation that it was soon evident that the standard of honor promulgated by the chief executive did not appeal to the politicians still in power. No attention was paid to his expressed wish that the constitution be obeyed in regard to the election of justices and constables, and he therefore proceeded to appoint trial justices throughout the State, many of whom were conservatives, and were rejected by the Senate.

GOVERNOR DISBANDS COLORED MILITIA

In January, 1875, he sent Judge Thomas J. Mackay to Edgefield County to investigate the disorders which were rife there. The result of such investigation induced Governor Chamberlain, instead of calling upon United States troops to quell an insurrection against the rights of the negroes, to disband the colored militia, who had been cooperating with the county authorities in the imposition of gross abuses and exactions on the people. In self-protection, the white citizens had organized rifle clubs and several collisions had occurred which had resulted fatally. His proclamation disbanding all but the State Militia was obeyed and order was restored. The white men returned peaceably to their homes and the negroes resumed work in the fields. At the same time, under the domination of the old regime, the Senate and the House were jointly adopting resolutions against the withdrawal of the Federal troops from Columbia, as "the peaceful and law-abiding citizens of this State desire that no opportunity be given for domestic violence or bloodshed, and the presence of the Federal troops is a restraint to organized and disciplined conspirators and disturbers of the public peace."

Governor Chamberlain's support of State Treasurer Cardozo and his defense of him when he was brought to trial by the Republican majority for alleged "irregularity and misconduct" in office have brought upon him some criticism. The specific charges against Cardozo, a colored man of more than average education and ability and always a political friend of Chamberlain, are so numerous and complicated that it is unnecessary to reproduce them at this time. Generally he was charged with illegally funding various issues of hypothecated bonds, the diversion of the interest fund, and with neglect of duty in not having reported monthly to the comptroller general the cash transactions of the State treasury for a specified period. The attempt to remove the state treasurer in March, 1875, failed by a union of the reform Republicans and the Democrats.

CHAMBERLAIN AT HIS BEST

The governor's course in opposing the election of W. J. Whipper, the notorious negro politician, and of the infamous F. J. Moses, Jr., to the circuit judgeship, was one of the boldest and bravest acts of his administration. The two houses had met in joint assembly on December 16th to elect circuit judges, and, among others, had chosen W. J. Whipper for the First Circuit and F. J. Moses, Jr., for the Second, Whipper receiving 83 and Moses 70 votes, respectively. Governor Chamberlain at the time had gone to Greenville, "as a scholar, not as a politician, as

a distinguished citizen, not as chief magistrate of the State" to deliver an address, "On the Value of Classical Studies," and the corrupt factions of the Legislature held these extraordinary elections during his absence. Upon his return the governor declined to sign the commissions of the two men, declaring the election a "horrible disaster—a disaster equally great to the State and to the Republican party—a calamity infinitely greater than any which has yet fallen on this State, or upon any part of the South." A few days after the election, Governor Chamberlain wrote that notable letter to the New England Society of Charleston. He said: "I cannot attend your supper tonight; but if there ever was an hour when the spirit of the Puritans, the spirit of undying, unconquerable enmity and defiance to wrong ought to animate their sons, it is this hour, here in South Carolina. The civilization of the Puritan and the Cavalier, of the Roundhead and the Huguenot is in peril." It was "read at midnight amid the wildest enthusiasm" of the Charlestonians. Governor Chamberlain took the ground that there were no vacancies in the First and Second circuits and that the election of Judges Reed and Shaw at the preceding session was for the full term of four years, and he formally commissioned those two judges for full terms. This action of Governor Chamberlain was warmly applauded throughout the State; mass meetings were held in many towns. Take one out of many; that held in Camden, where Gen'l James Chesnut presided, and Gen'l J. B. Kershaw seconded these declarations:

Resolved: "That we cordially endorse and approve the manly, patriotic and statesmanlike course of Governor Chamberlain, in this behalf, as also in his general administration of his 'great office.'

Resolved: "That while we recognize in him a pronounced Republican, we perceive in his course a devotion to 'good government, well administered'—the first and vital need of South Carolina—and we join hands and hearts with him in 'rising above party,' and give him assurance of earnest and admiring support."

A VETO ADMINISTRATION

The first session of Governor Chamberlain's administration was more notable for the measures vetoed by the chief executive than those which became laws by the final act of his signature; and the same may be said of his administration as a whole.

It is almost impossible to sift from the mass of acts—numbering 155—which passed through the legislative mill, grinding from November, 1874, to March 26, 1875, much of prime importance. It was nearly all special legislation which had little or no bearing on the development of South Carolina institutions or laws. Aside from the measures passed dealing with the endless complications relating to the public debts and taxes, it may be incidentally mentioned that the pay of members of the Assembly was fixed at a sum (based on per diem compensation), not exceeding \$600 for each regular session, with mileage at twenty cents; and that the Legislature sustained the governor's veto of the act requiring all State funds to be deposited either in the Carolina National Bank of Columbia or the South Carolina Bank and Trust Company. This was one of those rare and fortunate co-operations between the Legislature and the governor, as the latter bank, which was Hardy Solomon's precious institution, went into bankruptcy in the following July.

The governor's message, vetoing that rank piece of legislation, which even a bold-faced Legislature finally disclaimed, was dated

March 12, 1875, and during the succeeding two weeks the anti-reformers attacked all along the line. As noted by Walter Allen, in his "Governor Chamberlain's Administration": "When the end of the session of the Legislature approached, the governor's opponents marshalled their material and their forces for making what may be described as an attack upon the whole line of reform. Between the 4th of March and the 18th of the same month, the date of adjournment, four bills designed to secure and continue the system of plundering extravagance, which the governor and both parties were pledged to reform, were passed in swift succession. They were all vetoed, the messages of disapproval constituting a body of sound doctrine and faithful instruction."

One of the vetoes to which reference is made was that designing to give the two banks noted a monopoly as depositories of the State funds. He also blocked the final passage of what was known as the Bonanza bill, an attempt to legalize and liquidate vast and corrupt obligations assumed by previous Legislatures and transmitted to the present administration. According to the general understanding of the governor and the public in general, these debt matters had been already adjusted. After a terrific show of righteous indignation, the Legislature returned the bill in a few days shorn of its objectionable features and the governor signed it.

During the entire session Governor Chamberlain had vetoed nineteen bills, and in no case was a measure passed over his veto, through the constitutional act of a two-thirds vote, without being so revised as to conform to his objections. To the very last day of that momentous session, he had the support of the leading newspapers and the best citizenship in South Carolina.

SOUTH CAROLINA TO MASSACHUSETTS

Although obliged to refuse an invitation to speak before the New England Society of Charleston, while the Legislature was in session, he was able to attend the centennial celebration of the first battles of the Revolution, at Lexington, Massachusetts, on the 19th of April, 1875. As a son of the Old Bay State and governor of South Carolina, he was naturally a visitor who attracted much interest, and his address was widely noticed. His eloquent oration was South Carolina's new message of fraternity to Massachusetts. He referred feelingly to the cheer and the substantial help which went forth from the Palmetto State to the Old Bay in the days of Lexington and Concord. "That spirit still lives, fellow citizens," he exclaimed, "in South Carolina. If in later days she has erred, forgive her, for even then she dared and suffered with a courage and a patience not unworthy in its strength of the days when Gadsden and Rutledge illustrated her civic wisdom, and Sumter and Marion her marital prowess."

LOSE FUNDS IN SOLOMON'S BANK

The period in the Chamberlain administration between the adjournment of the Legislature in March and its reassembling in November was by no means devoid of incidents in South Carolina. The failure of Solomon's Bank, previously noted, was one of the excitements of July. Thereby the State lost all its funds then on deposit, amounting to \$205,753.79. Both Governor Chamberlain and the comptroller-general were much criticised for allowing State funds for nearly that amount to be deposited in the institution as late as April, after it was

generally reputed to be insolvent. The state treasurer had been opposed to it. The governor's recommendation was, at least, a bad error of judgment.

EXIT OF NILES G. PARKER

In this same month of July, 1875, Former Treasurer Niles G. Parker was tried in the Circuit Court of Richland for having collected \$450,000 in coupons which had been paid and which he had neglected to cancel. The jury, after a trial of ten days, found that Parker had hypothecated \$75,000 of the coupons illegally. Other suits were brought against him for fraudulent transactions in connection with the Sinking Fund Commission, and he was finally committed to jail; remained in durance several weeks, escaped, was recaptured, released from custody on "constitutional" grounds, again arrested on a charge of stealing \$75,000, taken before a trial justice, again released on a worthless bond and fled the State. All the satisfaction that South Carolina ever got from the rascally state treasurer was his property, valued at about \$15,000—that, and the relief of his absence from the State.

CREWS FATALLY WOUNDED

Another infamous white politician was taken out of South Carolina affairs even more effectually than Parker; for on September 7, 1875, Joseph Crews, of Laurens, was shot by parties in ambush while riding to the county seat and died of his injuries a few days later. The deceased was a bitter hater and fighter and had many enemies. His assassins were never apprehended.

ASSEMBLY RECONVENED

During the interim of the two sessions of the Legislature, Governor Chamberlain had been not only attempting to do good service to South Carolina by explaining her attitude to Massachusetts and the North, but had visited Charleston and other sections of the State and addressed the people on their involved home affairs. So that when the General Assembly reconvened on November 23, 1875, his good standing with the public was more pronounced than at the commencement of his administration. The session, which was concluded on April 14, 1876, was noted not for what it accomplished in legislation, but for the fact that it was the last Legislature to sit in South Carolina which was dominated by negro influence wielded by the rascality of both white and black leaders; and that Moses and Whipper were toppled from their thrones forever.

GOVERNOR CHAMBERLAIN'S MESSAGE

Governor Chamberlain's message delivered at the opening of the Assembly fairly and in detail set forth the condition of the State's affairs, with his continued recommendations as to their improvement. He found gratification in the cutting down of legislative expenses and the scaling of general obligations to the level of the appropriations. The public printing had been reduced from the annual average during the three preceding years of \$181,000 to \$50,000. Touching upon the failure of Solomon's bank, he suggested that the General Assembly determine the wisest course to take with regard to placing the State funds on deposit. The late settlement (present was the word used in the message) of the public debt should be enforced.

Governor Chamberlain's paragraph in relation to the State census of 1875 will bear repetition, as follows: "I call attention, with approval, to the remarks of the secretary of state respecting the recent State census. It is a matter of deep regret that any results of this census should appear untrustworthy. But the total population of the State, according to the census, is put at 923,447, a reported increase over the result of the United States census of 1870 of 216,841, a result which will not bear examination. * * *

"The industrial statistics furnished by the census, so far as I am informed, may be regarded as reasonably accurate. * * * I note a few of these statistics here, premising that, in giving the crops produced by the colored population, only the crops owned and produced by the colored population, independently and of their own right, are included; all crops or parts of crops produced by colored laborers working for a share of the crops, being credited entirely to the employer.

"Whole numbers of acres under cultivation, 2,070,441; by colored, 459,895; by white, 1,630,546. Whole number of acres of cotton planted, 818,197; by colored, 196,784; by white, 621,413. Whole number of pounds of long staple cotton produced, 1,821,989; by colored, 1,177,732; by white, 664,257. Whole number of pounds of short staple cotton produced, 139,939,459; by colored, 27,153,871; by white, 112,885,587. Whole number of acres of rice planted, 42,013; by colored, 10,459; by white, 30,554. Whole number of bushels of rice produced, 897,146; by colored, 176,194; by white, 720,952. Whole number of horses, 49,069; by colored, 10,244; by white, 38,638. Whole number of mules, 50,013; by colored, 10,244; by white, 39,769. Whole number of barrels of rosin produced, 343,146; by colored, 27,357; by white, 315,789. Whole number of gallons of turpentine produced, 3,421,262; by colored, 211,190; by white, 3,210,072."

The seventh annual report of the superintendent of education gave the school population of the State as 239,264—85,566 white and 153,698 colored. The actual school attendance was 47,001 white and 63,415 colored. There were 2,347 common school houses in the State and 2,855 teachers of both races; 1876 white, and 979 colored. The governor renewed his recommendation for the establishment of county high schools.

The chief executive's review of the condition of the various State institutions was of mottled hue. The University had been improved and had 233 students, and the State Normal School was highly commended. The State Agricultural College and Mechanical Institute was far from flourishing and the School for the Deaf, Dumb and Blind was still closed. Affairs of the Lunatic Asylum were improving, although it was still in debt to the extent of \$34,514. The State penitentiary, with its 322 convicts, was also in the march of improvement.

Governor Chamberlain again urged that the constitutional provisions be enforced regarding the election of justices of the peace and constables; that minority representation be incorporated into the election laws, and that the Centennial of the Declaration of Independence be appropriately observed by South Carolina.

LEGISLATION EFFECTED

Another message communicated to the General Assembly the governor's veto of the Supply bill, passed at the previous session, before the State had suffered its loss of more than \$200,000 from the failure of Solomon's bank. This fact, as well as considerations of general

economy, induced the governor to present his objections to the act in detail. Strange to relate, his veto was unanimously sustained in the Legislature. The Supply bill as finally passed conformed very nearly to the estimates made by the governor in his veto message. His proposed changes in the general appropriation bill, however, which proposed to make an aggregate reduction in that item of \$240,000, were virtually ignored.

Two acts were passed in December—known as the Big Bonanza and the Little Bonanza acts—to provide for the payment of the floating debt of the State, in two sums of \$500,000 each. Another measure was passed cutting the salaries of various State and county officers, and the constitution amendment was ratified reducing the term of office of all State officials to two years.

USUAL SCANDAL GRIST

The usual grist of public scandals was also ground through the legislative hopper. The committee which had been investigating the affairs of the Solomon bank reported that its owner had appropriated cash, fraudulently retired stock and falsified all its books and records, and that Treasurer Cardozo had dishonestly and corruptly applied public funds to the payment of Solomon's claims.

C. P. Leslie, of Barnwell, who had already been smirched with printing scandals, was now charged with irregularities in connection with the Land Commission, of which he was the head.

Then came J. Douglass Robertson, a representative from Beaufort County and a member of the Text Book Commission, who appeared before the House Committee on Privileges and Elections and attempted to explain his actions in regard to offering certain publishers the monopoly of supplying the public schools with books designated by the commission for a period of ten years. The consideration was that Robertson's brother-in-law should be appointed distributing agent for the text books, at a certain percentage. To make the deal more secure, Robertson said he was to be state superintendent of education, but that he needed some money to bring into his scheme other members of the commission. The publishers rejected such proposals, brought the matter to the attention of the House, and the case against Robertson was so conclusive that he was expelled from that body by a vote of 56 to 25.

WHIPPER AND MOSES ATTEMPT TO BECOME JUDGES

The excitement caused by these charges and revelations was as nothing compared with the attempt to elect Whipper and Moses to the bench, which calamity was averted, as already related, by Governor Chamberlain's bold stand.

NOT ABOVE SUSPICION

Before the Legislature adjourned, several changes in minor State offices were made necessary on account of irregularities, or at least suspicious circumstances attending the conduct of their duties. Thomas S. Cavender, who was both auditor of Chesterfield County and State commissioner for the settlement of claims brought against the commonwealth, was removed from those positions by Governor Chamberlain because of suspicious acts which he had committed. From March 8-14, 1876, Judge Montgomery Moses, of the Seventh circuit, was tried before the Senate for official misconduct, and impeached on the

latter day. The charges made against him were, it was claimed, brought by men, some of these known to be corrupt, who were interested in Hardy Solomon's bank. Six eminent lawyers, including four recognized leaders of the South Carolina bar, who appeared for Judge Moses felt themselves compelled to withdraw. "We do this," they said, "because the various rulings of the court thus far in this trial have forced upon us the painful conclusion that we have been mistaken in supposing that we were before a court constituted to 'do impartial justice according to the constitution and the laws.'" The governor appointed as his successor L. C. Northop, a Columbia lawyer who had served on the State University Board.

WHAT CHAMBERLAIN ACCOMPLISHED

In the general work of reform and attempted conciliation of this particular period, Governor Chamberlain's influence largely ceased after the close of the session, April 14, 1876. Not long afterward, The News and Courier published a series of editorials showing, despite the opposition of the radical majority, what the governor had accomplished. One of them contains this concise table of the savings accomplished in his administration:

In the bonanza bills.....	\$ 400,000
In the executive contingent fund.....	101,260
In legislative expenses.....	350,810
In contingent expenses.....	355,000
In public printing.....	512,418
Total	<u>\$1,719,488</u>

In addition, that representative paper claimed for him: (a) The character of the officers of the government appointed by the executive has been improved; (b) the settlement of the public debt has been maintained unchanged; (c) the effort to place the whole of the public funds in two banks of small capital was frustrated; (d) the floating indebtedness of the State has been provided for in such a way that the valid claims are scaled to one-half the amount and their payment is distributed over a term of four years, resulting in a saving to the State of at least \$400,000; (e) the tax laws have been so amended as to secure substantial uniformity and equality in the assessment of property for taxation; (f) in the expenditure of contingent funds accountability and publicity have been secured; (g) the salaries of public officers have been reduced \$30,000 a year; (h) the tax levy for the current year for State purposes has been reduced from 13½ mills to 11 mills, a saving to the people of \$300,000; (i) deficiencies (including the losses by the Solomon bank) are for the year 1874-75, \$308,872, which is \$291,024 less than the deficiencies of 1872-73 and \$233,315 less than the deficiencies of 1873-74.

The General Assembly was in session from November 23, 1875, to April 14, 1876—109 days, excluding the Christmas races and Sundays—and both parties were soon actively engaged in laying their plans for the campaign of the following November, in which were to be involved issues and personal contentions, the scope of which was both National and State. The campaign of 1876 and the fierce conflicts between the contesting State governments, are matters which call for treatment in another chapter.

CHAPTER LXI

THE HAMPTON CAMPAIGN AND ITS RESULTS (1876-1877)

Thomas Y. Simons of Charleston, member of the National Democratic Executive Committee, called a meeting of the State Central Committee, and that body, which had been helpless and inactive for nearly three years, assembled in Columbia, on January 6, 1876. In this committee, of which Gen'l M. C. Butler was chairman, were men of great force and ability, among them Samuel McGowan of Abbeville, Johnson Hagood of Barnwell and F. W. Dawson of Charleston. In the address "To the people of South Carolina" the organization of the Democratic party is urged "as the speediest and most practicable means of bringing together our shattered forces, and in concentrating them in the struggle into which we are forced for the maintenance of liberty and law in the State. * * *

"The State Convention when it shall assemble, will determine the policy of the party; and by the decision of that convention shall we be bound. * * * In the contest in which we are about to engage we must win."

DEMOCRATS APPLAUD CHAMBERLAIN'S COURSE

In view of the utter change in policy and opinion which was to develop in the next four months this reference to Governor Chamberlain, in one of the concluding paragraphs of the address, is of special interest. "In common with our fellow citizens, the State Democratic Committee have watched with anxious solicitude and growing confidence the course of the present governor of the State. They recognize and appreciate the value of what he has done, promoting reform and retrenchment during the past year. They applaud his wise and patriotic conduct in exerting his whole official power and personal influence against the infamous judicial election and they declare their belief that the Democracy of the State, rising above party, as he has done, will give an unfaltering support to his efforts as Governor for the redress of wrongs, for the reduction of taxation, to obtain a just administration of the law, and make the State Government a faithful guardian of the public and private interests of the people."

The committee named gentlemen for each county who were charged with perfecting the party organization in every precinct, ward and township in South Carolina. The organization of Charleston County, which was deemed of prime importance, was entrusted to a committee of fifteen, of which Colonel Charles H. Simonton was chairman.

FIRST MEETING OF THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION

In response to the call of the State Committee, the Democratic State Convention met in Columbia, on May 4th, "for the purpose of appointing delegates to the National Democratic Convention, to be held in St. Louis on the 27th of June next, and to take such further action

as the convention shall deem proper and necessary." The delegates present represented all the counties of the State except Lancaster and Marlboro, and the following were named permanent officers by acclamation: J. B. Kershaw, of Kershaw County, president; M. L. Bonham (Edgefield), T. Y. Simons (Charleston), J. A. Hoyt (Anderson), A. McQueen (Chesterfield), B. F. Perry (Greenfield), and Johnson Hagood (Barnwell), vice presidents; T. C. Gaston, of Chester, and J. J. Fox, of Colleton, secretaries. John S. Bratton (York), William D. Porter (Charleston), D. Wyatt Aiken (Abbeville), and John D. Kennedy (Kershaw), were elected as delegates at large to the National Democratic Convention, and M. C. Butler (Edgefield), B. F. Perry (Greenfield), James A. Hoyt (Anderson), and M. L. Bonham (Edgefield), as alternates. Governor Perry declined to serve, and Colonel William Wallace was chosen in his place.

After a session of two days, the convention adjourned, after having resolved to nominate a straight Democratic ticket and adopt the platform of the National Democratic party as the State platform. A declaration of policy in detail was postponed in order to glean from the white members of the Democratic clubs their views in the matter. The vote by which the resolutions were adopted—including that in favor of putting a regular Democrat in the field—was 70 to 42, and, at least as regards that radical feature, probably was a fair representation of the comparative strength of the sentiment throughout the State as to the advisability of supporting a full set of party candidates, or of voting for Chamberlain, whose nomination for governor on the Republican ticket was assured.

THE HAMBURG CONFLICT

While these political matters were taking shape, in anticipation of the meeting of the two party conventions, an event occurred in the town of Hamburg, Aiken County, over which the Republicans made considerable political capital. Hamburg was a small town in Aiken County, South Carolina, on the Savannah river opposite Augusta, in which the negroes so greatly predominated that it was governed, or ruled, almost entirely by them. Like most of their race they were very proud of their authority and often exercised it in ways which no self-respecting citizen could tolerate. Wardens, policemen, constable and trial justice were all blacks, and the negro militia which had a company there was especially arrogant. In the spring of 1876 it had an enrollment of eighty men and was commanded by one Doc Adams. The trial justice of Hamburg was Prince Rivers, an incapable and vicious negro, who was steeped in all the corruption available.*

On the 4th of July, 1876, the negro company was parading along one of the village streets, when it encountered two young white men approaching in a buggy. The Democratic account says that Doc Adams's company purposely extended its ranks and barred the way of the white men on a public thoroughfare. Governor Chamberlain wrote to United States Senator Robertson, after he had sent his attorney general to investigate, that the young men drove against the head of the advancing company, which politely opened ranks and allowed them to pro-

* Rivers had served in Col. T. Wentworth Higginson's negro regiment in Beaufort, and had impressed that soldier and scholar as a negro of great ability who would make a mark in the world. He was not so notorious as S. A. Swails, who had been a lieutenant in the 54th Massachusetts, the "Brave, Black Regiment," but was equally corrupt in his more limited sphere of operations;—a trial justice in Edgefield County.

ceed. The account of white Democrats says "that the vehicle bearing the gentlemen could not pass—there being a ditch on one side of them, a fence on the other and a well in their rear. They were forced to stop; and while they stood still the negroes cursed and villified them in the grossest manner and beat their drums around their horse's head. They were finally permitted to go on their way."

The father of one of the young men thus treated obtained a warrant for the arrest of the captain and some of the other officers of the company, charging them with unlawfully obstructing a public highway. The case was brought before Prince Rivers for trial, which, after one adjournment, was called for the 8th of July. The Republican account says that the negro militiamen, who had assembled armed in the village armory, did not appear before the trial justice because they were afraid of the armed white men who had gathered in Hamburg. The white's men's explanation of their arming is that the armed negroes had threatened to lynch those who had interfered with the militia. At the suggestion of General M. C. Butler, who had been retained for the prosecution and who had been in conference with Rivers and others, the proposition was made to the company that its guns should be delivered to some responsible person who would ship them to the adjutant general of the State. The blacks refused to disarm. Accounts disagree as to whether the whites fired first, or the negroes; amid such excitement, the testimony would naturally be conflicting. When the piece of artillery was brought across the bridge from Augusta, loaded with canister and turned against the negro company in their brick armory, its members attempted to flee from the rear of the building. This followed the killing of McKie Meriwether, a young white citizen of Hamburg—before any of the negroes had been injured. While the negroes were thus endeavoring to escape from the rear of the armory, the town marshal was killed and twenty or twenty-five of the militia were captured by the attacking party. They were kept under guard until early the next morning, when five of them, regarded as the ringleaders, were taken out singly and shot to death.

In the language of General Butler: "The town had a negro intendant, negro aldermen, negro marshals. * * * They had harbored thieves and criminals from every direction. They had arrested and fined some of the best and most peaceable citizens for the most trivial offenses against their ordinances. * * * The negroes had assembled riotously, were in a state of armed resistance to the laws, and any citizen, or number of citizens, had the right to disperse the rioters and suppress the riot, and to use just so much force as was necessary to accomplish it, and if every negro engaged in the riot had been killed in the suppression, it would have been excusable, if not justifiable. * * * Delay would have been fatal to the safety of the lives, families and property of unoffending, peaceable citizens. Prompt, short, sharp, and decisive action was necessary under the dictates of that unwritten, inalienable law known as self-preservation, the first of all laws. Some there may have been who were glad of an opportunity to punish those who had accumulated wrongs, insults and umbrages upon them, such as I have enumerated. I can sympathize with them, if I cannot approve such a means of vindication."

The negro jury empaneled by Justice Rivers held certain citizens as responsible for the "massacre," and they appeared to be tried, but their cases were postponed by the State's attorney and were quietly dropped from the dockets. But though the principals in the "Hamburg Massacre, as Gov. Chamberlain called it, were never punished, the affair largely affected political conditions in South Carolina in

general, and the political career of Chamberlain in particular. E. L. Wells charges that Governor Chamberlain, in order to bring United States troops to the State, represented the Hamburg Riots to have been "a political disturbance in its origin, * * * whereas "there is no evidence whatever, even from this ex-parte testimony that politics entered, in the slightest degree, into the riot. It was a fight caused purely by personal friction, having no connection at all with politics."

GOOD POLITICAL CAPITAL

A little more than a week after he had communicated with the United States senator on July 22, 1876, the governor wrote to President Grant, sending various reports made by the State officers whom he had sent to investigate, with a printed statement of General M. C. Butler. He makes political capital of the lamentable affair in this wise: "In respect to the Hamburg massacre, as I have said, the fact is, unquestionable that it has resulted in great immediate alarm among the colored people, and all Republicans in that section of the State. Judging from past experience, they see in this occurrence a new evidence of a purpose to subject a majority of the voters of that vicinity to such a degree of fear as to keep them from the poles on election day, and thus reverse or stifle the true political voice of the majority of the people.

"But the Hamburg massacre has produced another effect. It has as a matter of course caused a firm belief on the part of most Republicans here that this affair at Hamburg is only the beginning of a series of similar race and party collisions in our State, the deliberate aim of which is believed by them to be the political subjugation and control of the State."

SPECIFICALLY THE GOVERNOR CALLS FOR TROOPS

The governor then takes the further step, toward which the foregoing tended. He says: "My first duty is to seek to restore and and preserve public peace and order, to the end that every man in South Carolina may freely and safely enjoy all his civil rights and privileges, including the right to vote. It is to this end that I now call your attention to these matters. I shall go forward to do all in my power as governor to accomplish the ends above indicated, but I deem it important to advise you of the facts now stated, and to solicit from you some indication of your views upon the questions presented. To be more specific, will the General Government exert itself vigorously to repress violence in this State during the present political campaign on the part of persons belonging to either political party, whenever that violence shall be beyond the control of the State authorities? Will the General Government take such precautions as may be suitable, in view of the feeling of alarm referred to, to restore confidence to the poor people of both races and political parties in this State, by such a distribution of the military forces now here as will render the intervention of the General Government prompt and effective, if it shall become necessary, in restoring peace and order?"

Fair enough words, on their face, but events which were rapidly nearing showed how the military force of the General Government, which was to insure fair play to all, was in reality employed in ways so rankly partisan as even to shame the Republican Administration at Washington.

As was to be expected, President Grant fell into the tracks al-

ready made by the Republican State administration, and on July 26th concluded his answer to Governor Chamberlain's letter with this paragraph: "Expressing the hope that the better judgment and co-operation of citizens of the State over which you have presided so ably may enable you to secure a fair trial and punishment of all offenders, without distinction of race, color or previous condition of servitude, and without aid from the Federal Government, but with the promise of such aid on the conditions named in the foregoing, I subscribe myself," etc.

REGULAR DEMOCRATIC TICKET NOMINATED

When the Democratic State Convention met at Columbia, on the evening of August 15th, it was well understood that there was a division of sentiment among its delegates as to whether the party should nominate its own ticket immediately, or be guided somewhat by the action of the coming Republican convention. The bolder element prevailed and its representative, General W. W. Harlee, of Marion, was elected president of the convention over Colonel C. H. Simonton, leader of the conservatives—the "watch and wait" party—by a vote of 80 to 66.

Col. J. S. Cothran introduced the following resolution: "That the sense of this convention be ascertained as to whether in the approaching campaign the nominations for State officers, when made, shall be straight-out Democrats."

Colonel J. H. Rion offered the following: "That it is inexpedient at this time to make a nomination for State officers, or to adopt a platform by which we are to be governed as far as the same relates to State officers."

After a secret session, lasting nearly all day, the convention proceeded to nominate State officers.

General Butler then nominated his old cavalry leader on many a battlefield of the War of Secession, General Wade Hampton, who withdrew from the convention after making a short address, asking the delegates to consider the matter carefully and expressing his conviction that there were many others better qualified to assume the nomination than himself. He concluded with these ringing words: "There are men in the State in whose eyes I possess disqualifications of which I cannot dispossess myself, and would not if I could. I mean my army record. That record is the record of sixty thousand Confederate soldiers of this State, and if I were to say that I am ashamed of it, I would be saying that which is not true. All the offices in the world might perish before I would say so. I beg you, gentlemen, to consider those things carefully before you decide upon your action. * * * In conclusion, I call upon you to remember that I have not advised, nor counselled you in this matter. I have simply told you, honestly, and frankly my opinion, and come weal or woe, I promise that I shall stand by you to the last."

After General Hampton had withdrawn from the hall, General John Bratton and Former Governor J. L. Manning were nominated for the head of the ticket, but in each case the gentleman named at once arose and declined to be voted for, on the ground that he was for Hampton and no one else. Wade Hampton was thereupon nominated by acclamation. The balance of the ticket placed in nomination was as follows: Lieutenant governor, W. D. Simpson of Laurens; secretary of state, R. M. Sims, of York; attorney general, James Conner, of Charleston; superintendent of education, Hugh S. Thompson,

of Richland; comptroller general, Johnson Hagood, of Barnwell; treasurer, S. L. Leaphart, of Richland; adjutant general, E. W. Moise of Sumter.

Nominees for Presidential electors were elected and the following nominations were made for congressman: First District, J. S. Richardson; Second, M. P. O'Connor; Third, D. Wyatt Aiken; Fourth, John H. Evins; Fifth, G. D. Tillman.

HAMPTON ACCEPTS THE NOMINATION

The committee appointed to wait on General Hampton then came in, conducting him to the president's desk. He spoke briefly but with intense feeling, thanking the men who had called upon him to lead "in this hour of gloom and peril," and concluding as follows: "I shall be the governor of the whole people, knowing no party, making no vindictive discriminations, holding the scales of justice with firm and impartial hand, seeing, as far as in me lies, that the laws are enforced with justice tempered with mercy, protecting all classes alike, and devoting every effort to the restoration of prosperity and the reestablishment of honest government."

"At this time," says Edward L. Wells, "Hampton was in his fifty-eighth year, as vigorous in body and mind as ever, and as impressive and attractive in person."

The enthusiasm could not be suppressed conscious as were all the members of that notable gathering of the magnitude and danger of the task they had undertaken.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

The platform adopted by the convention declared acceptance of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments "in perfect good faith." It was in conformity with the National Democratic platform promulgated by the St. Louis convention, which had recently nominated Tilden and Hendricks, as president and vice-president. Reform in the State was demanded; and "it is evident that substantial and lasting reform is impossible within the ranks of the Republican party of this State." The platform continued: "We charge that party with arraying race against race, creating disturbances and fomenting difficulties; with prostituting the elective franchises, tampering with the ballot box and holding unfair and fraudulent elections; with having accumulated an enormous debt, mismanaged the finances and injured the credit of the State; with levying exorbitant taxes and squandering them when collected, thus wringing from the toil and livelihood of the honest poor man of the State a large per centum of his hard earnings without giving in return any compensation therefor, and having hopelessly involved in debt a majority of the counties of the State; its management of our penal and charitable institutions is a shame and a disgrace. * * * It has created a multiplicity of unnecessary and useless offices complicated in their systems and unnecessarily expensive. And to crown its disgraceful rule it has attempted to elevate to the bench two most corrupt and degraded men. * * * We do not charge this condition of things, which every patriot must deeply deplore, upon the masses of the party, but upon their leaders, who have made such false use of their confidence and trust; for it is our firm conviction that all the people of the State, of both races, desire peace and prosperity. We, therefore, call upon our fellow citizens, irrespective of race or past party affiliation, to join with us in restoring

the good name of our State, and in elevating it to a place of dignity and character among the commonwealths of this great country.

"We discountenance all disturbances of the peace of the State, and denounce all instigators and promoters thereof; and earnestly call upon all of our fellow citizens, irrespective of party lines, to exercise forbearance and cultivate good will; and if the government of the State is committed to our control, we pledge ourselves to protect the person, rights and property of all its people, and to speedily bring to summary justice any who dare violate them. We desire a fair, peaceful election, appealing to the reason, and not the passions, of the people, and demand of the Republican party a fair showing in the appointment of commissioners of election. We demand a fair election and a fair count."

"HURRAH FOR HAMPTON"

Hampton's devoted biographer, Wells, declares with truth, that no sooner was the news of the action of the convention known, than the wildest enthusiasm took the place of hesitancy or doubt. "It was as if a blast of fresh air had rushed down from Hampton's mountain home among the Appalachians, and blown to sea the malaria of the swamps and the fetid air of the coast towns. The name of Hampton was on every tongue, joy in all hearts. The men cheered, the women cheered, the children cheered. * * * Absolute confidence in victory had come to them, and determination to achieve it in spite of everything. By common conviction he became at once their leader for life or death, such as he had been formerly to the men in Virginia." *

REPUBLICAN PARTY IN CONFUSION

As early as April, it was evident that there was a split among the Republicans, the radicals of the Moses regime being led by Senator John J. Patterson, Judge R. B. Carpenter and Robert B. Elliott. Governor Chamberlain was supported by the conservatives of his party, who, under his leadership, had attempted a certain modicum of reform within their own organization. The convention to elect delegates to the National Convention at Cincinnati met in Columbia and remained in session April 12th and 13th, and through the night of the latter into the morning of the 14th. The discussions merged into personal encounters and almost riots, the opposition to the governor being led chiefly by Judge Carpenter. Finally, early in the morning of the 14th the crucial test of strength came between the factions on the vote for delegate-at-large, and Governor Chamberlain was elected over John J. Patterson, by 89 to 32. Between that convention and the one held in September for the nomination of State officers, Governor Chamberlain canvassed several of the up-counties, such as York, Abbeville, Lancaster and Newberry, and although he had opposition in his own party, it soon became evident that the pendulum was swinging toward the conservatives and that he would have no serious opposition in the Republican ranks.

But the opposition being organized under the Hampton banner was of an altogether different type. Democratic clubs had been everywhere organized and partially armed and there were also rifle and sabre clubs, to offset the negro militia and other armed forces, actual and potential, known to be controlled by the Republican administra-

* "Hampton and Reconstruction."—Edward L. Wells.

tion. The members of the Democratic clubs wore red shirts, and all their speakers were escorted to their destinations in military style and given protection. The regular canvass opened at Anderson on September 2d, and General Hampton spoke there and afterward in every county in South Carolina, the final rally being at Columbia on November 4th. The "red shirts" were with him everywhere, their lurid garments home-made and indicating that the Democratic campaign was supported not only by the men, but their wives, mothers and sweet-hearts.

REPUBLICANS NOMINATE STATE OFFICERS

Then came the Republican State Convention of September 13-15, 1876, which included among the delegates W. J. Whipper, and R. B. Elliott, the governor's most bitter opponent, and T. C. Dunn, a rival for the governorship, who had been most outspoken in criticism of Chamberlain and his policy. On the second day of the convention the platform was adopted. According to the usual custom it pledged itself to the national platform adopted at Cincinnati and to the support of Hayes and Wheeler; indorsed the administration of President Grant; denied the charge that the party in the State was interfering with the action of negroes who wished to vote the Democratic ticket; pledged itself to reform in all particulars; modification of the veto power of the governor; lifting of the burdens of taxation from the agricultural interests; pledged its support to the proposed amendment to provide a permanent tax for the maintenance of the public schools; biennial sessions of the Legislature, no session to exceed seventy days; reduction of the public printing to at least one-third of the present appropriation; economy in all departments; reducing the number of trial justices and placing them on a moderate salary basis; recommending to the president a general amnesty to violators of the revenue laws in the up-country; charging the Democratic party with opposition to the Reconstruction amendments and all efforts made at Reconstruction and reiterating their reliance in the justice of their cause.

After the adoption of the platform, at noon of the second day, the convention wrangled for many hours over the renomination of Governor Chamberlain. The colored speaker of the House of Representatives, Elliott, led the attack upon the governor, and made the last speech in opposition to him. To all such verbal assaults, Chamberlain replied in detail, and finally carried the convention by a vote of 88 to 35, 31 of the latter being cast for T. C. Dunn.

In accepting the nomination, the governor stated that he considered it as significant of the desire of the Republican party "for a more complete carrying out of the reforms demanded by the present condition of our public affairs." He then went on to show what little had been done, and trusted that the Legislature would co-operate with him, adding: "If I am not mistaken, therefore, in my interpretation of your purpose in selecting me, I am certainly justified in calling upon you in all your subsequent nominations to select those who represent the cause of reform," etc. His prediction was far from justified in the nominations which followed: Lieutenant governor, Richard H. Gleaves; secretary of state, Henry E. Hayne; comptroller general, T. C. Dunn; state treasurer, F. L. Cardozo; attorney general, R. B. Elliott; superintendent of education, John B. Tolbert; adjutant general, James Kennedy.

A few days after the adjournment of the Republican convention, as told in Allen's "Chamberlain's Administration," The News and Courier formally called upon Governor Chamberlain, in view of the action of the convention in giving sanction and honor to Elliott, to redeem his profession of devotion to a reform policy by withdrawing from the Republican State ticket and giving support to the candidates of the Democratic party for State officers.

In spite of more than one unquestioned "blot on the 'scutcheon'" during his political career, had Governor Chamberlain heeded that advice his name would be an honored one in the history of South Carolina, and he would be remembered today only for the good he did and sought to do.

GREAT MISTAKE OF A TIME SERVER

It was within the governor's power to have dictated the nomination of those who should be his associates on the ticket, and as the campaign progressed he saw the mistake he had made in attempting to unite the party by allowing such men as Elliott and Dunn, whom he knew all too well, to serve on the same ticket with him. After his career and his influence for good in South Carolina had been ended, he saw his mistake both from a moral and a political point of view, and in the summer of the following year wrote of it to his friend, William Lloyd Garrison. "Your prophecy is fulfilled," writes the governor; "and I am not only overthrown, but as a consequence I am now a citizen of New York. * * * First, then, my defeat was inevitable under the circumstances of time and place which surrounded me. I mean here exactly that the uneducated negro was too weak, no matter what his numbers, to cope with the whites. We had lost, too, the sympathy of the North, in some large measure, though we never deserved it so certainly as in 1876 in South Carolina. * * * Yet I must close with a remark which may surprise you. It is this: I made a grave mistake in that I did not refuse to run on a ticket with R. B. Elliott. I saw it then, but not so clearly as now. I do not mean that this excuses, or tends to excuse, the conduct of those who have overthrown us. What I mean is that Elliott's bare presence on the ticket justly gave offense to some honest men of both races. He had opposed me brutally, especially in the nominating convention. Unable to defeat me, he determined to foist himself on the ticket with me to cover his defeat. I saw at once the bearing, in part, of this, and I took the resolution, unknown to any friends, to walk into the convention and throw up my nomination and avow that I did it because I would not run on a ticket with Elliott. I knew it would result in putting him off the ticket. I had actually risen in my office to go into the hall for this purpose when I was met at the door by a dozen or more of my most devoted colored supporters, who came to congratulate me on the surrender of Elliott in seeking to stand on a ticket with me! I was disarmed of my purpose and relinquished it. It was a mistake. Whether it affected the result which has now come I do not know. But I ought to have made Elliott's withdrawal the condition of my acceptance. This incident is now known to only you and me."

CAMPAIGN RIOTS AND MURDERS

The campaign, if it showed anything in general, indicated an apathy on the part of the Republicans to discuss with their political

opponents the issues of the day and State,* but a growth of the spirit of antagonism between the two races encouraged and often incited by the radicals of the party in power. To mention a few of the disturbances as indicating the causes for them: A week before the Republican convention met and about ten days after President Grant had promised United States troops to the governor, if necessary—that is, on September 6th—Republican negroes in Charleston attacked two Hampton negroes who had addressed a Democratic negro club, and as they were being escorted to their homes by a number of armed white men, shooting occurred on both sides. For a time, Charleston was in possession of a negro mob, and before order was restored, one of the whites was mortally wounded and seven severely wounded. Five colored men, three of them being of the police force, were also wounded.

On September 15th, a posse of white men who had been sent by a constable of Aiken County to arrest a negro implicated in the robbery of a citizen's house, were ambushed by a party of negroes and fired upon, one of the white men being wounded. Near Silverton, five miles distant, two white men were attacked by negroes, and one of them, John Williams, killed. Various buildings were also burned.

THE ELLENTON RIOTS

Naturally, the whites feared a negro uprising, especially as the blacks had gathered in force near Ellenton, where they had torn up a section of the railroad track and wrecked a train. About two hundred white men, under Colonel A. P. Butler and Captain George W. Croft, charged the gathering of blacks posted at the wreck, killed one of them and dispersed the others. The negroes then retired to Ellenton, where they were reenforced by a company from Barnwell. They had divided into two parties when the white force arrived and departed to ambush the expected reenforcements from Barnwell. At Rouse's bridge some of Colonel Butler's scouts were ambushed, but the negroes were dispersed and three killed. The Barnwell whites were also ambushed and the white sheriff, Patterson, was severely wounded. Soon afterward the advance guard was attacked by another party of negroes and Robert Williams was killed and three other whites wounded. The negroes then took to the swamp, leaving their captain, Coker, a prisoner. It is said that he was afterward killed, with two other negroes, at Ellenton. The Barnwell men killed seven negroes on the march to that place, where the people were terror-stricken.

Says John S. Reynolds in his "Reconstruction in South Carolina," taking up the matter from this point: "The whites were preparing to charge the negroes in the swamp, when a company of United States infantry (sent on the demand of Governor Chamberlain) appeared on the scene. It was agreed that the whites and the negroes at once disperse. The whites retired first, and the colored men promptly followed their example. The Ellenton trouble had lasted three days. The total of casualties was as follows: Whites, two killed, eight wounded; negroes, fifteen killed, two wounded."

* There was a long correspondence in October, between A. C. Haskell, chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee, and Robert B. Elliott, president of the State Executive Committee of the Union Republican party, as to arranging joint discussions between General Hampton and Governor Chamberlain, particularly, but as the Republicans proposed a complete disorganization of the programme already laid down by the Democrats, no formal agreement was made.

Edward L. Wells, after a careful review of the Ellenton riots, declares that they "bear the marks of preparation, and not of accident. The provocation given the white population was of the character known to be sure to stir up the people, and the instantaneous assembling of hundreds of armed negroes, concentrated and ready for action, proved previous arrangement. So does the prompt taking of affidavits and the political capital obtained from them, and the call for troops." *

WHITE MEN MURDERED AT CAINHOY

The affair at Cainhoy, a village a few miles by water from Charleston, on October 17th, was far more fatal to the whites than the negroes. The Democratic committee having the meeting and joint discussion there in charge had chartered a steamer by which to convey the speakers and audience—conservative and radicals—thither. To prevent any serious clash, it was agreed that no rifles should be carried, but the blacks of the neighborhood hid their guns in a near-by swamp and old house, and while the speaking was under way started a riot, evidently by pre-arrangement. The negroes ran for their guns, and under cover of the thicket opened fire upon the whites, killing six and wounding sixteen. So far as is known only one negro was killed, some of the whites fortunately having pocket pistols. The whites then retreated slowly to their boat about three miles away and returned to Charleston. Several aged white men had also taken refuge in a brick house adjoining the church. Their refuge was attacked by the negro militia, the windows broken in and, as the occupants started to join the other whites falling back to the steamer, one of their number, William E. Simmons, was captured, beaten to death and his lifeless body riddled with buckshot. A force of white men, adequately armed, but still small in comparison with the negroes who could be mustered against them, were soon on their way that night from Charleston to protect the whites at Cainhoy. Governor Chamberlain sent United States troops to the scene of trouble, where they remained for several days after the election, but meanwhile made no effort to arrest the murderers.

The radicals attempted to make political capital out of this pre-arranged slaughter of unarmed men and after the close of the campaign, "Honest John" Patterson said, "That Cainhoy massacre was a godsend to us. We could not have carried Charleston County without it."

In October, attacks were also made on white Democrats near Edgefield, at which one man was killed, and there was a manifest determination among the colored Republicans of Charleston County that the Democrats of their race should train with them. Not a few Hampton meetings at Beaufort, and other portions of the State, had to be adjourned because of the violent interference of negro Republicans.

GOVERNOR DECLARES MARTIAL LAW

On the 7th of that month, Governor Chamberlain issued a proclamation against "unlawful obstructions, combinations and assemblages of persons in the counties of Aiken and Barnwell," and, at the same time, commanding all rifle clubs and other military organizations not

* The unpublished memoir on Reconstruction in South Carolina, by the late Gen. Johnson Hagood of Barnwell, would doubtless give the most reliable data regarding the Ellenton Riots.

recognized by the State to disband within three days from the date of his proclamation.

A number of these very clubs armed and equipped had paraded in Charleston on June 28th, the centennial of the battle of Fort Moultrie, and Governor Chamberlain had then complimented them as part of the "citizen-soldiery" of South Carolina.

The Democratic State Executive Committee forcibly protested against such action, as the counties then were quiet and peaceful, and charged that the entire tenor and purpose of his proclamation was to place the State under martial law, under United States troops and under strict control of the Republican party. Telegrams were also sent from the judges who had jurisdiction over three quarters of the State, including the territory specified by the governor as lawless, by which it was evident that there was no organized resistance to officers of the law except by Republican negroes. In fact, after the Charleston riot, Governor Chamberlain had himself stated: "The most trustworthy information seems to fix the chief responsibility for causing the riot upon the Republicans."

Despite all the testimony to the contrary, however, Governor Chamberlain issued another proclamation two days after that which proclaimed martial law in Aiken and Barnwell counties, in which he pledged himself to the country "to prove a condition of affairs in this State, produced by the Democratic party, more disgraceful than any statement yet made by me, and," he added, "I shall not stay my hand until punishment overtakes its guilty authors."

GOVERNOR UPHELD BY THE PRESIDENT

On the 17th of October, President Grant issued his proclamation sustaining the governor in all his views and statements, and supporting his proclamation by the military power of the United States, as the Legislature of South Carolina was not then in session and could not be convened in time to meet "the present emergency;" for, said the president, in the first clause of his proclamation:

"It has been satisfactorily shown to me that insurrection and domestic violence exist in several counties of the State of South Carolina, and that certain combinations of men, against law, exist in many counties of said State, known as 'rifle clubs,' who ride up and down by day and night in arms, murdering some peaceable citizens and intimidating others, which combinations, though forbidden by the laws of the State, cannot be controlled or surpressed by the ordinary course of justice."

As to these terrible rifle clubs, far beyond the pale of the law—some of the very weapons which their members carried had been supplied by the State, and their existence, their parades and their drills, had been open, above-board and allowed without interference by the State authorities. But they were now interfering with Republican success in the State, and something had to be done to rid South Carolina of the menace. So President Grant spoke grimly, and on the day of his proclamation the secretary of war ordered General W. T. Sherman, the head of the United States army, to order General Ruger to station all the troops available in the Military Division of the Atlantic in such localities "that they may be most speedily and effectually used in case of resistance to the authority of the United States."

Thereupon General Hampton sent telegrams to General Johnson

* Reynolds's "Reconstruction in South Carolina."

Hagood, of Barnwell, and to Captain George W. Croft, of Aiken, who were in charge of Democratic matters at these centers of the Chamberlain-Grant rebellion, urging the people, through them, "to submit peaceably to martial law." Hampton sent the same advice to General M. C. Butler, also at Aiken.

The proclamations, both gubernatorial and presidential, followed by wholesale arrests of white citizens in Aiken and Barnwell counties charged with violations of the Enforcement act, and the concentration of some 5,000 United States troops within the State and chiefly distributed among the county seats—all tended to solidify the white vote, as a whole, against Governor Chamberlain. It is claimed by Reynolds, that not more than 1,000 white men voted for him.

RIFLE CLUBS DISBANDED

Unjust though the proclamations were, upon the advice of the leaders of the State Democracy the rifle clubs discontinued their public drills and parades and, as organizations, ceased to exist. Such action was under protest, as formally announced in an appeal to the people of the State issued by the Democratic State Executive Committee, on October 18th. The salient portion of the address is this: "We advise and command, so far as our authority goes, that every such 'rifle club' against which the misrepresentations of the Governor of the State are aimed, be forthwith disbanded, and that the members thereof be held in future only by those ties of humanity which bind all good men together; that the name of the club be abandoned and the officers cease to exercise their powers. This is said with the express declaration that these clubs are not associated with or subject to our political control.

"We repeat that we speak without disrespect to the President of the United States. He acts upon the statements made by the Governor of this State. But we say it that we may show our unwillingness to obey without committing an untruth against ourselves by seeming to acknowledge that of which we are not guilty.

"We are not engaged in 'unlawful and insurrectionary proceedings.' We cannot 'disperse,' because we are not gathered together. We cannot 'retire peaceably to our abodes,' because we are in our homes in peace, disturbed alone by the political agitations created by the Governor and his minions.

"But we resignedly—and cheerfully in the performance of our duty—suspend the exercise of our individual and private rights in order to prevent evil to the whole people."

AN ORDERLY ELECTION

On October 26th, religious services were held throughout the State praying to God for the redemption of the State from evil rule. The last "Hampton meeting" was held on November 4th, and November 7th, the day of the election, passed without bloodshed. It would appear that most of the intimidation of colored Democrats was in the lower counties, especially Charleston. On the whole, however, the election passed off quietly. The election machinery was practically in the control of the Republicans—two of the three managers at each polling place being of their party. At each poll there were two Federal Supervisors one from each political party. At many county seats and at some other points there were United States troops, but as their officers strictly obeyed the orders given them not to act except to pre-

serve the peace there was never any occasion for any of them to leave camp. The men apparently had orders to remain in camp during the entire day; for none of them was seen elsewhere.

"The white Democrats worked with great activity during the entire day—their energies directed to having all their colored recruits vote without molestation from any source and to making votes among negroes who had hitherto persisted in calling themselves Republicans. Efforts among the colored men were centered on the State and county tickets. Many colored Republicans voted for Hayes and Hampton—this accounting for the fact that whilst Hampton won the Republicans got in their electoral ticket." *

THE "FACE" OF THE RETURNS

On the morning of the 9th the returns showed a sure majority for Hampton and Hayes. The figures then indicated that the Democrats had elected their governor by a majority of 2,974, but within the following week these figures gradually dwindled until by the 17th Hampton's majority was reported to be 1,323, and the official count changed that figure very slightly. The Republican electors had a majority of more than 1,100.

On the face of the returns, the Democrats appeared to have elected their governor, secretary of state, attorney general and comptroller general, while the Republicans had elected the treasurer, superintendent of education and adjutant general. The Democrats had elected two congressmen and the Republicans, four. The new House should organize with 64 Democrats and 60 Republicans; the Senate, with 15 Democrats and 18 Republicans. On joint ballot, the Democrats would have a majority of one vote. One-half of the senators held over. It seemed like a Democratic victory—and it was—but there were to be many legislative and judicial contests, and physical contentions which almost verged upon civil warfare, before justice prevailed. The triumph of the State Democracy was the more complete and far-reaching in its results, as it was earned through many trials of self-control and forbearance. Even Washington was impressed and finally won by its high-minded attitude.

REPUBLICANS OVERRIDE THE POPULAR VERDICT

In the face of the returns, the Republican machine immediately proceeded to ignore the will of the people and substitute its own. "Under the law," the three commissioners of election (appointed by the governor) were to meet at the county seat on the Tuesday following the election and transmit all returns and other papers relating to the election to the Board of State Canvassers, which, in the 1876 election, comprised the secretary of State, treasurer, comptroller general, attorney general and adjutant and inspector general, all active partisans of Chamberlain, and three of them candidates for re-election. The latter body was required to meet on or before November 10th to finally canvass the election returns. What chance had the Democrats with such a close communion of the two bodies which were to pass upon the validity of the election?

DEMOCRATIC COUNTIES CONTESTED

Under the provision of the State constitution which states that "each house shall judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members" the Republicans contested the election in Edgefield,

* Reynolds' "Reconstruction in South Carolina."

Laurens and Barnwell counties, in which no votes were cast for Chamberlain and more than 5,000 for Hampton. Should the Board of State Canvassers assume to pass upon the returns of the local boards of canvassers, throw them out and issue certificates of election to the Republican candidates for the Legislature in the contested counties, not only would the entire Democratic State ticket be beaten, but the Republicans would control the Legislature. The Board disclaimed any such purpose; declared that it did not purpose to canvass the returns for governor and lieutenant governor, but that it had a right to hear protests as to the election of president, vice-president and members of Congress; thereupon, the Democratic protestants on November 14th began proceedings before the State Supreme Court, the object being "to confine the Board of State Canvassers to the exercise of such powers as the Statutes conferred—to compel them to do the ministerial acts therein commanded and to restrain them from exercising any judicial function whatever."

REPUBLICAN STATE BOARD DEFIES SUPREME COURT

On November 22d, the court ordered the Board of State Canvassers to deliver to the secretary of State the certified statements which it had made to the court, on the previous day, as to the majorities for the various officers and members of the Legislature, to make the proper records of such elections and transmit a notice of such election to the successful candidates. The Board was granted delay by the court to canvass the returns for presidential and vice-presidential electors, wherein the Democrats had claimed many errors and irregularities. In a secret session held on the day that the Supreme Court directed the Board to certify to the election of the various State officers (except as to governor and lieutenant-governor) as indicated on the face of the returns, it corrected alleged clerical errors (in the face of its pledge to the Supreme Court that it would not do so) made in the votes cast for T. C. Dunn, comptroller general, and John R. Tolbert, superintendent of education, and so manipulated the figures as to show their election. Further, the Board ignored the order of the Supreme Court, to certify to all the returns, by passing over entirely the counties of Edgefield and Laurens. The Board proceeded to declare elected all the Republican candidates for State offices (except governor and lieutenant governor) and then at midday adjourned sine die.

FEDERAL COURT OVERRULES STATE COURT

The Supreme Court rightly adjudged the Board in contempt, and on November 25th each of its members was sentenced to pay a fine of \$1,500 and committed to the county jail, to await the further pleasure of that judicial body. The governor approved the course of the State Board, and intimated that the Federal Court would also support it. In that prediction, he was correct; for on November 27, 1876, the Board of State Canvassers brought their case before Judge Bond, of the United States Circuit Court, then sitting in Columbia, who ruled that said body was required by law to complete its labors as a canvassing board by the 22d of November; and that it did so, as to presidential and vicepresidential electors, congressmen and State officers; and that the orders of the State Supreme Court in committing the petitioners to jail "were an attempt by unlawful means to induce petitioners as a Board of State Canvassers to violate and refuse to comply with their duty and the laws regulating the same." Therefore, the

prisoners were discharged, being in jail contrary to Section 5111 of Revised Statutes of the United States, and that "it is competent (in the words of Judge Bond) for a Federal Court to issue the writ of habeas corpus, in favor of persons imprisoned for contempt by a State court," etc.

SOLDIERS POSTED IN THE STATE HOUSE

The case of the representatives from Edgefield and Laurens counties had not been adjudicated or definitely decided (in the minds of the Democrats) and the convening of the Legislature on November 28th was anticipated with interest, not unmixed with apprehension. The feeling of dread was increased when the newspapers of the 27th brought the news that Governor Chamberlain had, on the day before, applied to President Grant for United States troops to be posted at the State House, and that the latter had directed his secretary of war to order General Thomas H. Ruger or Colonel H. M. Black, to dispose of the United States soldiers at the advice of the governor. At midnight of the day before the meeting of the Legislature, Chamberlain directed General Ruger to distribute a company of United States troops in the State House. The majority of them were stationed on the upper floor about midway between the two legislative halls, with a sentinel at each of the doors opening into the first floor of the building. Two sentinels were placed at the door of the hall of the House of Representatives and the entrance to the gallery was similarly guarded.

REPUBLICANS ORGANIZE THE HOUSE

When the Legislature was ready to convene at noon of November 28th, the fifty-nine Republican members who held certificates from the Republican secretary of State and who had passed the Republican officials guarding the doors, in co-operation with the soldier sentinel, proceeded to organize the House of Representatives. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that in their membership were not included the eight representatives from Edgefield and Laurens counties. The Republicans elected E. W. M. Mackey, speaker, and A. O. Jones, clerk.

Not long afterward, the Democratic-members-elect, sixty-four, with the Edgefield and Laurens delegations in the advance, approached the hall of the House and when the head of the procession had reached the door the Edgefield members presented to John B. Dennis (a Chamberlain partisan, who had been placed there to examine the credentials of those asking admission) the State Canvassers' report certifying to their election by a majority vote. Dennis, with a soldier on either side, refused to recognize their credentials or to allow them to enter, and the Democratic members retired. Shortly afterward, General Hampton and Colonel A. C. Haskell were refused admission even to enter the hall as spectators. The fight of the Dual Government was on.

Before leaving the upper hall of the State House on November 28th, the Democratic members of the House issued a protest against the forcible exclusion from the State House of all except Republican partisans, and the refusal to recognize certificates of election issued under the seal of the State Supreme Court. "It is our purpose," added the protest, "to offer no resistance to this armed intervention, but to make our solemn appeal to the American people without distinction of party."

After dispersing a threatening crowd in front of the State House, at the request of Chamberlain, sent by a Federal officer, General

Hampton retired and the Democratic members of the House assembled in Carolina Hall, near the county courthouse, and organized by electing William H. Wallace as speaker, John T. Sloan, Sr., as clerk, and John D. Browne as sergeant-at-arms. Immediately after these elections two colored Republicans left the Mackey organization and joined the Wallace body. Two days later Thomas Hamilton and J. S. Bridges were sworn in. Two other negro members, John Gibson and Daniel Bird, were also received, but very soon afterward joined the Mackey House. Excluding the Edgefield and Laurens delegations the number of members now in the Wallace House was a majority of those holding certificates of the secretary of state issued by direction of the Board of State Canvassers.

In the meantime, the Republican House resolved to unseat the Democratic members-elect from Abbeville, Aiken and Barnwell counties, in which the returns had shown that Chamberlain had not received a vote. The Republican claimants were thereupon sworn in.

Indicative of the recklessness of the Republicans was the swearing-in of a negro calling himself Silas Cave. When a few days later the genuine Silas Cave appeared, he too was solemnly sworn in.

THE SENATE ORGANIZED

The Senate had also met promptly at noon, and at roll call the names of the members from Edgefield and Laurens were omitted. S. A. Swails (colored) was elected president pro tem, and Josephus Woodruff, clerk. The usual message was sent to the House, the Democratic senators objecting and protesting against the recognition of the Mackey House of Representatives. They said, in the course of a long protest entered in the Senate Journal, "We have seen this body of partisans, * * * claiming to organize the House, but without a quorum, in violation of law, in defiance of the Supreme Court and under the protection of the United States troops."

John R. Cochran, an independent Republican, submitted the following protest: "As senator, I do solemnly protest against any further communication with the House of Representatives sitting in the farther end of this building until it be ascertained whether or not the said body is composed of a lawful quorum, as well as the causes preventing the same."

But Chamberlain had been formally recognized by the president as the legal governor of South Carolina, and signed himself as such in making his reassuring report to Washington at the close of the proceedings of November 28, 1876.

THE LAWFUL HOUSE AND "THE RUMP" CLASH

Relying upon General Ruger's assurance that there would be no further military interference with the Legislature, on the morning of November 30th, the members of the lawful House left Carolina Hall and marched to the State House, bearing their certificates of election. They passed the doorkeepers and United States sentinels and entered the hall of the House of Representatives in a body. General Hampton, however, was debarred entrance by Mackey's sergeant-at-arms. Speaker Wallace was occupying the chair and the other Democratic members were in their seats when the Republican representatives, headed by Mackey, appeared. Apparently they had not heard of General Ruger's change of mind.

Mackey ascended the stand and demanded of General Wallace that

he leave the chair. Both claimed to be the regular speakers and each ordered his sergeant-at-arms to enforce his order that the other retire. Those officials stepped forward and ascended the stand and Democrats and Republicans crowded around their speakers. For a time, it seemed certain that bloodshed could not be averted, but the danger point was passed, and for three days the curious spectacle was presented of two called legislative bodies sitting in the same hall, each denying the legality or authority of the other.

Neither house would adjourn, and there was a continuous session day and night. The negro legislators, all of them good trenchermen, finally became exceedingly hungry, and the all-night session appeared no longer a huge joke to them. What added to their misery was the sight of well-filled lunch-baskets of the Democratic members across the aisle of the House.

The Democrats, whose sense of justice had been so outraged, were somewhat placated by the withdrawal of the United States troops from the doors of the hall of Representatives. But soon, to the surprise of the Democrats, "the mailed hand" was again outstretched to obstruct a legal and assist an illegal assembly. Speaker Wallace was informed by a staff officer of General Ruger that the Edgefield and Laurens delegations would not be permitted to remain in the State House after 12 M. of December 2d. Thereupon General J. B. Gordon, United States Senator from Georgia, Wade Hampton and A. C. Haskell, addressed a letter to General Ruger asking an explanation of the message to Speaker Wallace regarding the Edgefield and Laurens members; all of this in violation of his (General Ruger's) repeated representations that his instructions as to the posting of troops had been misunderstood and that he did not intend to decide as to "the legality of any man's seat or upon his right to enter the hall." These representative Southern leaders and gentlemen concluded their scathing epistle to General Ruger as follows: "Let the American people behold the spectacle of a brigadier general of the army, seated by the side of Governor Chamberlain in a room in the State House, issuing his orders to a legislative body peacefully assembled in one of the original thirteen commonwealths of this Union."

On the following day, General Ruger explained to "General W. T. Sherman, or the Secretary of War," that he had intended "no interference with the organization of the House from the first;" that he had previously informed Governor Chamberlain that his action would be confined to preserving the peace, though while the soldiers were present "persons claiming the right of entrance under certificate of the clerk of the Supreme Court were refused admission."

The proceedings of the House on December 1st, 2d and 3d were inconsequential. Both bodies remained in the hall day and night, but there was neither excitement, nor any sign of disturbance, although each conducted its own proceedings as if the other did not exist.

DEMOCRATS AGAIN WITHDRAW TO CAROLINA HALL

On December 3d (Sunday), the Democrats were said to have discovered evidence that the Republicans had organized a band of negroes from Charleston, known as the Hunkidori Club, to eject the Edgefield and Laurens members from the House of Representatives. Telegrams were sent to different parts of the State for protection and by Monday some five thousand well armed white men were in readiness to meet any attempt to forcibly eject the members of the counties mentioned. In the morning of the 4th, Speaker Wallace arose and ad-

addressed the House to the effect that he was aware of the plan to eject the Democratic members from Edgefield and Laurens, and that the armed force designed to put it in execution was acting under the authority of Governor Chamberlain. While he denied the right of the governor and the State, backed by the military force of the United States, to pass upon the qualifications and election returns of members of the Legislature, to prevent a collision upon the floor in which lives might be lost, "the chair is of the opinion that this House should withdraw from this hall. It is not essential to the legality of the House of Representatives that it should sit in this hall. The Constitution requires that the General Assembly shall meet in the city of Columbia, and, with a view to giving emphasis to the reasons for our withdrawal, I desire to repeat that while we claim and insist upon our legal rights, for the purpose of keeping the peace, preventing violence and preventing bloodshed, we will repair to another hall and exercise the proper functions that appertain to this body."

SUPREME COURT SUSTAINS THE WALLACE HOUSE

The returns of the vote for governor and lieutenant governor were in the hands of Speaker Mackey who had received them from the Republican secretary of state, but on December 6th the Supreme Court of the State decided that General Wallace was the legal speaker and as such was entitled to their possession. Notwithstanding which, in response to inquiries made to him by a special committee of the Democratic House, General Ruger stated that he should carry out the orders of those then in possession of the State House even to the point of refusing them admission. But the decision of the State Supreme Court was considered of far more importance than the dictum of General Ruger who was but a reflection of Chamberlain and Grant.

USURPING GOVERNOR INAUGURATED

On the day before the decision of the Supreme Court was handed down (December 5, 1876) the Republicans of the Senate (Mr.

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public peace, nor the life of any man who now opposes the consummation of this policy of fraud and violence is safe from the assaults of those who have enforced that policy."

After branding the statement as "infamously false," General Hampton adds: "I, by my unwearied exertions, have endeavored to preserve the peace of this State, and I have thus contributed to shield from popular indignation one who has proved himself a disgrace to his rank and a traitor to his trust. His conscience may make him tremble, but neither I nor the men with whom I act countenance the hand of the assassin."

Following Mr. Chamberlain's inaugural address, he was sworn into office, with the other Republicans on the State ticket. The white people generally considered the inauguration of the Republican candidates as a bold usurpation not to be tolerated, but the Democratic leaders, headed by General Hampton, counseled moderation and patience, although the legally elected governor in a speech on the evening of the political outrage declared: "The people have elected me governor and, by the Eternal God, I will be Governor, or we shall have a military governor."

THE LEGAL RETURNS

Early in December, committees of both houses of Congress came to Columbia to investigate conditions in the State in connection with the late election, and doubtless their reports somewhat clarified the situation to the disadvantage of the Republican administration. On the 10th of the month, Governor Hampton and Lieutenant Governor Simpson were inaugurated in front of Carolina Hall, the certified statement of the secretary of state compiled from the returns of the county commissioners of election (including Edgefield and Laurens) showing the following: Wade Hampton, 92,261 and D. H. Chamberlain, 91,127—Hampton's majority, 1,134; William D. Simpson, 91,689, and R. Howell Gleaves, 91,150—Simpson's majority, 539.

GOVERNOR HAMPTON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

In his inaugural address, the Governor-elect reviewed the entire situation and the events which had led up to it. Among his concluding remarks were these: "A great task is before the conservative party of this State. They entered on this contest with a platform so broad, so strong, so liberal, that every honest citizen could stand upon it. They recognized and accepted the amendments of the Constitution in good faith; they pledged themselves to work reform and to establish good government; they promised to keep up an efficient system of public education; and they declared solemnly that all citizens of South Carolina, of both races and both parties, should be regarded as equals in the eye of the law; all to be protected in the enjoyment of every political right now possessed by them.

"To the faithful observance of these pledges we stand committed, and I, as the representative of the conservative party, hold myself bound by every distate of honor and good faith, to use every effort to have these pledges redeemed fully and honestly. It is due not only to ourselves but to the colored people of the State that wise, just and liberal measures should prevail in our legislation. We owe much of our late success to these colored voters who were brave enough to rise above the prejudice of race and honest enough to throw off the shackles of party in their determination to save the State. To those

who, misled by their fears, their ignorance, or by evil counseling, turned a deaf ear to our appeals, we should not be vindictive but magnanimous. Let us show to all of them that the true interests of both races can best be secured by cultivating peace and promoting prosperity among all classes of our fellow citizens."

General Hampton then announced that he was ready to take the oath prescribed by the Constitution, and the oath was thereupon administered by Circuit Judge T. J. Mackey. Lieutenant Governor Simpson was then sworn in according to the constitutional requirement.

"And then," says Edward L. Wells, "the welkin rang with the shouts of thousands. Men and women almost tumbled over one another to get a hand-shake of their chief." Hampton was induced to seat himself in a large arm-chair, and his devoted followers, "like boys once more caught it up on their shoulders and marched with him thus enthroned to his hotel, accompanied by the tramp of thousands of feet and the mad cheers of men, the air vibrating with the music of women's voices mingled with the roar of artillery and the ringing of church bells."

"THE FUNERAL OF NEGRO RULE"

In contrast with this enthusiastic tribute of his people to Hampton, Wells thus graphically describes the inauguration of Governor Chamberlain on December 5th: "The hall was strictly guarded, the public carefully excluded, and there amid the black faces of the 'rump parliament,' with a sprinkling of the paled, anxious countenances of carpet-baggers, the solemn farce was quietly enacted surreptitiously. It resembled a funeral. It was a funeral; the funeral of negro rule, crime and humbug. A correspondent of a northern newspaper, who was there, tells how he shuddered at the sight of twenty-five rifles stacked by the door of the governor's private room, and how sentinels paced corridors and passageways."

On December 18th, eight days after he was inaugurated, Governor Hampton made a formal demand upon "D. H. Chamberlain, Esq.," to deliver to him the great seal of the State, place him in possession of the State House and turn over to him everything, in the way of public records and papers, pertaining to the government of South Carolina. As expected, this demand was refused, and a communication of Lieutenant Governor Simpson to the Senate, claiming to be, under the constitution, president ex-officio, of that body, was smothered in the Senate Judiciary Committee, to which it was referred.

HAMPTON GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED BY THE PEOPLE

In order to defray certain expenses of the State Government (as a regular appropriation bill could not be passed, by reason of the Republican control of the Senate), the legal House of Representatives authorized Governor Hampton to raise a contribution among the taxpayers not exceeding one-quarter of the tax last paid.

By early January the Governor was able to appoint receivers generally for the taxes to be voluntarily paid, which were sufficient for all purposes, and the collecting went on regularly. Meantime a bank in Charleston, as well as those in Columbia, advanced all needed funds. As for Chamberlain's government, it could raise no money; its credit was gone, and many of the negroes and mulattoes in the Republican "Legislature" were in sorry plight, and looked with horror upon the

necessity of doing some honest work; "nothing to eat but what they could steal from one another, and, what was worse, no whiskey to drink, where oceans had been wont to flow."*

Governor Hampton was also universally supported in all his measures by the circuit judges and county officials. Although the government at Washington recognized Chamberlain, the voice of the conservative North was voiced by the Springfield Republican, which said: "Either Hampton or Ruger was governor, for Chamberlain certainly was not."

REPUBLICAN BUYS MOCK SENATORSHIP

The Republican bodies, on the other hand, purported to pass an act levying a tax of thirteen mills for the support of the State Government, but the county treasurers received less than \$1,000 in answer to this "act." The Republicans got together and after going through the form of voting, in "joint assembly," declared that D. T. Corbin had been elected United States Senator to succeed Thomas J. Robertson. Afterward, several Republicans (including Mackey) claimed that Corbin had induced them to vote for him on his promise that should he be elected he would pay over \$20,000 to Treasurer Cardozo to be distributed among them. It also developed later that Corbin and his partner Stone had collected royalties due the State for phosphate concessions and mining, which were used as a bribery fund; but when The State Supreme Court affirmed a judgment against him and his partner both had fled.

After voting the usual gratuities to their speaker, clerk and colored chaplain, the so-called Republican Legislature adjourned on December 22, 1876.†

ELECTION OF A REAL SENATOR

On December 20th, the Democratic senators had repaired to Carolina Hall to take joint action with the House over the selection of a United States senator. The result of the ballot was the selection of General M. C. Butler, by a vote of 64 out of a total of 79, for the term beginning March 4, 1877. At the same time the so-called Republican Legislature selected Corbin, the carpet bagger, as its representative in the upper house of Congress. †† "As the United States Senate at that time was Republican by a majority of one, Butler's election was generally regarded by everybody except Butler as an empty compliment." When the deciding vote was taken "great was the amazement when Don Cameron, the autocrat of the Pennsylvania Republican machine, announced that he voted for Butler." Patterson, the carpet-bag senator from South Carolina, a Pennsylvanian and a henchman of Don Cameron, whom Butler had often branded as dishonest and despicable, also voted for the Democrat and former Confederate general, who was therefore firmly seated in the United States Senate, where "he was destined to serve for two terms with distinguished success and usefulness to his State."

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT

On March 1, 1877, General Hagood, "acting comptroller and treasurer" of the Hampton Government, published a statement showing that the contributions received throughout the State in response to the

* "Hampton and Reconstruction": Edward L. Wells.

† The "Acts" of this Chamberlain Legislature were printed in pamphlet form. It is one of the curiosities of South Carolina's political literature.

†† James Morris Morgan: "Recollections of a Rebel Reefer."

Governor's appeal aggregated \$119,432.41. Charleston had contributed about 23 per cent. of the total, \$28,663.31. Several of the public institutions of the State, such as the penitentiary and the lunatic asylum, had thus been relieved of conditions which were little short of desperate. The receipts from the taxpayers had been more than ten per cent. of the previous year's levy, and there was a cash balance of \$59,178.39 in the treasury of the legal government.

HAMPTON AGAIN JUDICIALLY SUSTAINED

In February and March, there was a long judicial contention over the legality of a pardon issued by Governor Hampton to one Tilda

UNITED STATES SENATOR M. C. BUTLER

Norris, a penitentiary convict. First, the associate justices, in the absence of Chief Justice Moses, granted the pardon, thereby recognizing Wade Hampton as governor. Then Justice Wright reconsidered his opinion, having been denounced by his race, but Justice Willard held to his original opinion, and, in the absence of his associate, discharged the prisoner.

Then Mr. Chamberlain issued a pardon to one Peter Smith, and the superintendent of the penitentiary refused to honor it. The case was carried to the Circuit Court and finally to the State Supreme Court, and Hampton was again adjudged the legal governor of South Carolina. However the test was made, Wade Hampton was pronounced to be legally in the right.

DEATH OF CHIEF JUSTICE MOSES

The illness of Chief Justice Moses, which had prevented his attendance in court when the first pardon was to be considered, terminated fatally on March 6, 1877, and, although his record was open to criticism he was considered able, keen, deep and ready, as well as amiable and singularly devoid of resentment. At this crisis, his loss was much regretted, and, as an individual, his death was deeply deplored.

BATTLE CARRIED TO WASHINGTON

With the Chamberlain "government" in peaceful possession of the State House, protected by United States troops, and the real State Government functioning at Carolina Hall, the battle for supremacy was carried to Washington. The immediate agents there of the rival bodies were Senator Patterson for the Chamberlain usurpation and Senator Robertson for the Hampton government. The latter stated his convictions to President Grant without mincing matters, and assured him that the people of South Carolina would not support Chamberlain, "morally" or financially. He also urged in the Senate the adoption of Senator Gordon's resolution, recognizing the Hampton government as lawful, at the same time earnestly criticising Republican rule and the continued employment of United States troops.

On December 29, 1876, General Gordon presented to the United States Senate the memorial of Governor Hampton, Lieutenant-Governor Simpson, Speaker Wallace and sixty-eight senators and representatives of the General Assembly, fully setting forth their case and asking the withdrawal of the United States military that the civil authorities of the State might resume their functions. At the same time the senator offered a resolution by which the Senate was to recognize the Hampton State Government, and "that every assistance necessary to sustain its proper and lawful authority in said State should be given by the United States when properly called upon for that purpose."

On the 17th of January, Senator John J. Patterson submitted the counter-petition from Mr. Chamberlain and his associates, reviewing the election and events growing out of it and virtually making the same claims to recognition by the Senate and Government of the United States as was contained in the Hampton memorial.

These papers were all referred to the proper committees, and no action was ever taken upon them; but their presentation, and the speeches of their various sponsors, served to throw more light over South Carolina complications.

While the contest between Hayes and Tilden for the presidency was in progress, Governor Hampton addressed letters to both, setting forth the claims of his government, so that whoever should be pronounced the legal president would go into office with a fair understanding of the merits of the Democratic case. It was a simple illustration of his thoroughness and foresight, although from some quarters he incurred the suspicion of "flirting" with Hayes, before he was pronounced president. After Hayes was inaugurated, Governor Hampton wrote him another letter, epitomizing the status of South Carolina's affairs at that time and formally requesting the immediate withdrawal of the Federal troops from the State House. The letter was presented to President Hayes by a South Carolina committee comprising General J. B. Kershaw, Colonel James H. Rion, Former Governor R. K. Scott, Senator Robertson and Judge Mackey. It pro-

claimed the continued resistance of the people to the Chamberlain faction and noted the support of the Hampton administration not only by the people, but by the courts.

Then came the presentments of the Republicans in a paper signed by Senator John J. Patterson, D. H. Chamberlain and D. T. Corbin. It proposed to submit the entire case of the contestants to a United States commission, of which the chief justice of the United States Supreme Court should be a member.

HAMPTON'S "MONSTROUS CONSPIRACY"

Not long after Stanley Matthews suggested to Mr. Chamberlain that as a step toward adjusting matters there should be an arrangement "which would obviate the necessity for the use of Federal arms to support either government and leave that to stand which is able to stand by itself." To this suggestion Chamberlain replied at length, declaring: "I should consign myself to infamy in the eyes of all Republicans here, who know the situation by fearful experience, if I were to accept any terms or do any act which could result in the success of the monstrous conspiracy against law and humanity which the Democracy of this State embody and represent."

On March 23, 1877, both Governor Hampton and Mr. Chamberlain received letters sent by President Hayes requesting their presence in Washington to discuss and, if possible, settle the matter as to "a single and undisputed State Government in South Carolina." The two arrived in Washington within a few days of each other, and within the following few days both Hampton and Chamberlain were received by the president, who courteously considered their statements. Mr. Chamberlain also presented a long letter, which was read at a meeting of the Cabinet held April 2, 1877, explaining in detail why he had thought it necessary to retain the United States troops and his reasons for opposing their withdrawal. Notwithstanding which, his case was deemed weak, and, after a full discussion of the controversy, it was determined by the Cabinet on the following day (April 3d) that the Federal troops should be withdrawn from the State House on April 10th.

GOVERNOR HAMPTON IN COMPLETE POSSESSION

Governor Hampton's immediate return to Columbia was followed by a grand jubilee which extended throughout the State. It is unnecessary to detail the official steps by which the president's order to that effect was accomplished, at high noon of Tuesday, April 10, 1877.

On the day of the departure of the soldiers, which left Chamberlain helpless, the usurping private citizen issued a long paper addressed to the Republicans of South Carolina, in which he says: "Today—April 10, 1877—by the order of the president whom your votes alone rescued from overwhelming defeat, the Government of the United States abandons you, deliberately withdraws from you its support, with the full knowledge that the lawful Government of the State will be speedily overthrown."

On the day of the "evacuation" of the State House by the Federal troops, Mr. Chamberlain, in response to a communication from Governor Hampton, informed the latter that he was ready to turn the State House and the Government over to him, and on the following day, precisely at noon, the transfer was formally made by the private secretaries of the contestants.

Which marks the fall of Chamberlain's alleged government—and the substitution of the Hampton administration for the Dual Government.

DANGEROUS, BUT NECESSARY EXPEDIENTS

While there can be no question that Governor Hampton carried out most faithfully the pledge made in his inaugural address, to conduct the government for the true interest of both races, and saw to it that "wise, just and liberal measures" were enacted and prevailed during his administration; yet it would be idle to claim that the campaign of 1876 was conducted without intimidation of many ignorant negroes, and that some of Hampton's supporters did not resort to measures which would be utterly indefensible in a State having a reputable and intelligent electorate. Senator B. R. Tillman did not hesitate, in after years, to justify boldly the resort in 1876 to such drastic measures to preserve "the civilization of the Puritan and the Cavalier, of the Roundhead and the Huguenot."

The conditions in South Carolina during the Reconstruction Era, and the character of the measures which had to be taken for the preservation of civilization are thus described in the following forcible article by Thomas Edmondston, in the London Times, sometime in 1895:

"It was my fortune to reside for some little time in South Carolina while that evilly-treated State was held in subjection by a colored Legislature, controlled by a legion of Northern carpet-baggers, and supported by Federal troops, contrary to the plainest terms of the United States constitution. This was in 1873; and the conditions of life for the white population were becoming so utterly unendurable that the alternative presented to civilized natives of the State was to regain possession of the executive and legislative government or to quit the country in a body. There was literally no other course, since men who are of Anglo-Saxon and Huguenot blood inheriting the traditions of freemen, could not submit to live and suffer under a government scarcely differing in any respect from that of Hayti and San Domingo. The conflict was bitter, but victory was won—by means and at what cost we must not too closely inquire. * * *

"No South Carolinian dreams of disputing the fact. It is known to all and is patent to the most casual observer. And, further, every South Carolinian declares that, no matter how much in theory he may disapprove of the methods employed, the end sought—that is the maintenance of white supremacy—must be attained at any cost and at every hazard. The State has had ten years' experience of negro rule, and every white man in it will die rather than submit to the horrors which attend a recrudescence of the same. * * *

"We ought to wish our kinsmen in South Carolina all good speed in their efforts, since these are directed toward true constitutionalism, and not to its reversal. Moreover, the methods of which we have approved, in dealing with the electoral privileges of the inhabitants of Cape Colony, cannot from our own point of view be very far wrong when applied in far milder form to the negroes of South Carolina."

CHAPTER LXII

THE HAMPTON, SIMPSON, JETER AND HAGOOD ADMINISTRATIONS

While the question of the result of the election for president of the United States was still undecided Governor Hampton addressed letters, similarly worded, to Governor Tilden and to Governor Hayes, enclosing a copy of his "inaugural as the duly elected Governor of South Carolina." He thought proper, "in view of the inflammatory utterances of a portion of the public press" to assure both of those gentlemen that "although the people in South Carolina view with grave concern the present critical juncture in the affairs of our country, which threatens to subject to an extreme test the republican system of government itself, it is their firm and deliberate purpose to condemn any solution of the existing political problem that involves the exhibition of an armed force, or that moves through any channel than the prescribed forms of the Constitution, or the peaceful agencies of law."

HAMPTON AND THE TILDEN-HAYES IMBROGLIO

It would be impossible for any man who knew Hampton to imagine him guilty of treachery, and yet, as Reynolds says: "The fact that Governor Hampton had addressed a communication to Mr. Hayes was widely noticed, and it gave rise to some comment calculated to create the impression that the governor was in some way negotiating with the Republican candidate whose followers were then claiming that he was elected to the presidency."

It would be useless here to give evidence in detail. Suffice it to say that the statements of Hampton, A. C. Haskell, M. C. Butler, Manton Marble, the friend of Governor Tilden, and Paul L. Howarth, the historian of the Hayes-Tilden disputed presidential election, prove beyond question that the Hampton party had not by a quiet "deal" virtually thrown the Tilden ticket overboard. Beyond doubt many Republicans who could not stomach the Chamberlain nominees, had voted for Hayes and Wheeler. As early as November 14th, Smith M. Weed who had come to South Carolina in the interests of Tilden had telegraphed in cipher to New York: "Best I can figure, Tilden will be 2,600 behind Hampton, and see little hope; shall keep up appearances."*

WATTERSON REPRESENTS SOUTH CAROLINA

Henry Watterson, a devoted follower of Tilden, in his autobiography,[†] gives a detail of the celebrated "Wormley Conference" which casts an important side light on South Carolina's status in those fateful times. He says: "Just before the appointed hour Gen. M. C. Butler of South Carolina, afterward so long a Senator in Congress, said to me: 'This meeting is called to enable Louisiana to make terms

* Miscellaneous Documents, House of Representatives, 45th Congress, 3d session.

† "Marse Henry." An Autobiography by Henry Watterson.

with Hayes. South Carolina is as deeply concerned as Louisiana, but we have nobody to represent us in Congress and hence have not been invited. South Carolina puts herself in your hands and expects you to secure for her whatever terms are given to Louisiana.' * * *

"Substantially the terms had been agreed upon * * * that is the promise that if Hayes came in the troops should be withdrawn and the people of Louisiana be left free to set their house in order to suit themselves. * * *

"Now gentlemen," said I, half in jest, 'I am here to represent South Carolina; and if the terms given to Louisiana are not equally applied to South Carolina I become a filibuster myself tomorrow morning.' There was some chaffing as to what right I had there and how I got in, when, with great earnestness, Governor Dennison * * * put his hand on my shoulder and said: 'As a matter of course the Southern policy to which Mr. Hayes has here pledged himself embraces South Carolina as well as Louisiana.'

"Mr. Sherman, Mr. Garfield and Mr. Evarts concurred warmly in this, and immediately after we separated I communicated the fact to General Butler. * * * No one doubted my fidelity to Mr. Tilden, who had been promptly advised of all that passed and who approved what I had done."

Governor Hampton called the General Assembly to meet in special session on April 24, 1877, and proceeded to put his legislative house in order. In the Senate, there was some show of rebellion on the part of the Republicans. Gleaves yielded the place of lieutenant-governor with poor grace, playing the Chamberlain tune by claiming to be the victim of a "great wrong." He concluded his address to the Senate, when it was announced that Lieutenant Governor-elect Simpson was present and ready to assume his official duties. Thereupon Swails took the chair and the Republicans made a last feeble attempt to retain control of the Senate by insisting that the oath of office had not been duly administered to Lieut. Governor Simpson, when, as a matter of fact, it had been administered by Judge Mackey, of the Circuit Court, in the preceding December, at the inauguration of both the governor and the lieutenant governor.

MR. SIMPSON THE MAN FOR THE PLACE

The Republicans had certainly selected the wrong man when they attempted to browbeat Mr. Simpson, for he cut all their proceedings short by announcing from the chair in a clear, ringing voice: "I desire to announce that I have already taken the requisite oath and have been duly qualified as lieutenant governor of the State, and I cannot consent to take the oath a second time. I regret that I have been compelled to take this ground, but under the Constitution of the State I am the presiding officer of the Senate, to which position I have been duly elected and qualified." A few minutes later, the Republicans proposed a delay in the deliberations of the Senate by an adjournment. Whereupon, in firm tones, the Lieutenant Governor spoke again: "I would ask the Senate in courtesy to me not to press upon me the unpleasantness of this position. I fully thought that it was understood that I did not intend to take the oath again, and in view of this position I ask the courtesy of the Senate. And I will add, furthermore, that there is no power on earth that can compel me to take that oath a second time."

That settled that matter. It was final, and the Republicans subsided on that point.

Then commenced the struggle to seat the Democratic senators-elect from Edgefield, Barnwell, Abbeville and Laurens, who had been ousted by the Republicans that they might retain control of the upper house. After a prolonged fight, during which the Republicans interposed dilatory motions of every description, Mr. Simpson succeeded in administering the oath of office to the legally elected senators, and from that moment the work of the Senate moved smoothly.

THE BOGUS HOUSE DISCIPLINED

The house—the Mackey body—which had been more offensively arrogant, was justly disciplined, and each member was required to apologize and “purge himself of his contempt.” Two or three refused and were never admitted, while the specially aggravating case of the Charleston delegation was referred to a special committee for careful investigation. Subsequently, the investigators reported that the prevalence of fraud and violence in that county had prevented any fair or lawful election, and all the Mackey representatives were excluded.

During this and the following session, A. J. Willard was elected chief justice of the State Supreme Court, and Henry McIver, of Chesterfield, and Col. A. C. Haskell, associate justices—the latter, in place of J. J. Wright, who had resigned under charges of official misconduct.

The following circuit judges were also elected: First circuit, B. C. Pressley, Charleston; Second,* A. P. Aldrich, Barnwell; Third, A. J. Shaw, Sumter (reelected); Fourth, J. H. Hudson, Marlboro; Fifth, Gen. J. B. Kershaw; Sixth, Thomas J. Mackey, Chester (reelected); Seventh, William H. Wallace; Eighth, Thomas Thomson, Abbeville.

Other minor offices were filled. There were several resignations among the Republican senators and representatives, their successors, as a matter of course, being Democrats. The overturning of the Republican State Government, as a result of its “abandonment by the National Administration,” was swift and complete. The people willed it and there was hardly a ripple of protest.

WHAT BECAME OF THE RADICALS

And those who had figured so disgracefully in State affairs for a number of years either fled from the field of their crimes and corruptions or sunk out of sight, “unwept, unhonored and unsung.” Mention has been made of the Senate, which at first showed an inclination to rebel. Its leaders probably had a cool second thought. Edward L. Wells in his “Hampton and Reconstruction” has this enlightening paragraph: “It will be remembered that the Democrats had a majority in the House, but not in the Senate. The Radicals in the latter body met in a somewhat defiant mood, thinking to have things their own way. But in this they found themselves mistaken. There were so many members against whom criminal prosecutions could be instituted that they were

* At the fall term of the circuit court in Barnwell in 1867 Judge Aldrich had adjourned the court, rather than obey the order of General Canby of the Second Military District. He said: “Gentlemen of the juries, for the present farewell; but if God spares my life, I will yet preside in this court, a South Carolina judge whose ermine is unstained. * * * Mr. Sheriff, let the court stand adjourned while the voice of justice is stifled!”

sufficiently weeded out. It was discovered, among other things, from evidence of record in some of the public offices, that Gleaves, Whittemore, Nash and Woodruff had purchased thousands of dollars' worth of champagne, brandy, whiskey and cigars for their private use delivered at their homes and paid for them with warrants signed by Woodruff, clerk of the Senate, and Gleaves, lieutenant-governor. In one instance over \$5,000 had been paid out in this way and charged on the books as 'stationery.' Gleaves had been lieutenant-governor from 1874 to 1876, as a 'reformer,' and had claimed to have been re-elected in the last election. He was a weak-looking, meerschaum colored mulatto. Whittemore, a congressman expelled from Washington for cadet-peddling, was now the chairman of several Senate committees, a most sanctimonious fellow in whose mouth butter would not melt, with the manner of a 'preacher,' very deprecatory and mild. It also came out now that he had pocketed some money assigned him for the purchase of portraits of Lincoln and Sumner intended for the Capitol. So he fled without more ado, as did the others soon afterward. It seems that 'though on pleasure bent,' they 'had a frugal mind,' for they conducted barrooms and brothels for their own profit at the expense of the State." * * * One of these 'statesmen'—Tim Hurley—used to say that he never saw a lamp-post but his neck commenced to hurt him. He is probably the only carpet-bagger who departing with the others, * * * left behind him anything of value to the community; he left some fair jokes. * * * In early January, 1877, he was presented by the grand jury of Charleston County for corruption, fraud, and official misconduct as county treasurer, and ejected on February 2d. He was one of the Hayes electors."

Reynolds adds the following as to the later days and years of these notorious men: "Many of the leading Republicans of both races quitted South Carolina almost immediately after the departure of the troops from the State House. Mr. Chamberlain engaged in the practice of law in New York. Cardozo and Elliott became department clerks in Washington. Whipper nominally practiced law in Beaufort. Purvis at last accounts held a Government position in Charleston—being a hanger-on in the United States marshal's office. Corbin spent some time in Washington—his after career being unknown to the writer. Ransier became a day laborer under the city government in Charleston. Whittemore, Hoge and Neagle promptly left the State, and were no more heard of. Gleaves remained a while in Beaufort, but soon fled the State to escape prosecution. Nash gave up some of his property to the State, to escape the penitentiary, and was generally despised for the remainder of his days. Smalls remained in Beaufort—having first been pardoned of his criminal offense. F. J. Moses, Jr., left the State, wandered about Northern cities and became both a vagrant and a criminal. Swails, as has already been mentioned, was driven out of Williamsburg by the white people of that county. All the Republican politicians who remained in South Carolina soon sank into actual obscurity or harmless inactivity."

GOVERNOR HAMPTON'S RECOMMENDATIONS

Having reorganized the Legislature and again set its machinery in motion, Governor Hampton congratulated the General Assembly on the return of peace, and then considered the financial condition of the State. Notwithstanding it was deplorable, he urged that the State debt be not repudiated. He recommended the support of free schools, under the proposed constitutional amendment, and various measures of re-

lief for over-burdened tax-payers. In connection with the encouragement of public education, he also earnestly urged the Legislature to pay the claims of teachers and University professors which had accumulated under the Radical misrule.

The Legislature passed a number of acts of broad usefulness. For instance, a stock law was enacted by which cattle pastures were required to be fenced, thus keeping the livestock within the inclosures, instead of forcing the farmers to fence their farms to keep the livestock out. A lien law was passed, which enabled the farmers to obtain credit at reasonable rates. Following the recommendations in Governor Hampton's message, the Legislature authorized the employment of convicts by private parties. The Fourth amendment to the State Constitution, providing for a county public school tax, was duly ratified by the Legislature on January 26, 1878, and a bill was promptly passed to carry its provisions into effect.

In January, 1878, Governor Hampton presented a special message to the General Assembly conveying a message to Congress, asking that the Federal Government restore the Citadel at Charleston to the State that it might be reopened as a military school. Since the war, the United States Government had held it as conquered territory; the State held that it was private property—hence Governor Hampton's request that it be restored to the State. General Johnson Hagood and other survivors of its alumni had started the movement in 1877, and in response to the Governor's request to Congress, a bill was introduced in the United States Senate soon afterward to restore the Citadel to the State upon condition that the claim for \$100,000 for rent and damages by fire be withdrawn. The State refused these terms, and the bill was not passed. Four years later, however, the Federal Government voluntarily turned the building over to South Carolina as its property.*

INVESTIGATING THE STATE INDEBTEDNESS

When the Hampton administration assumed control of the State Government—when the intelligent white men of South Carolina came into possession of their own, assisted by the more intelligent and moral representatives of the black race, the finances of the commonwealth were in chaotic condition. After laboring over the problem for six months, on October 31, 1877, the State treasurer reported the following as the grand divisions of the Funded Debt:

Principal funded under the Consolidation act of December 22, 1873.....	\$4,396,290
Principal then still fundable, under the act (amounting to \$2,704,551), scaled 50%..	1,352,276
Total principal.....	\$5,748,566

"It was found necessary to appoint a commission to investigate the indebtedness of the State under the Consolidation Act," says the report of the Board of Agriculture in 1883 on "Taxation and Debt." "The irregularities discovered by this commission were so numerous and important that the Legislature in 1878 created a court known as the Court of Claims, with jurisdiction to hear and determine cases testing the validity of the consolidated bonds, coupons and certificates of stock. A number of cases involving issues of law and fact were determined by this court and, on appeal, by the Supreme Court. In

* Handbooks of South Carolina, 1907, 1914, etc.

1879, the Legislature appointed a special commissioner to ascertain, in accordance with the decisions of the courts mentioned, and to establish the validity or the percentage of validity of each consol bond, certificate of stock, or of the unpaid interest thereon. The holders of these consols to have the right to surrender the same for cancellation, and to receive new consols from the State treasurer, bearing interest at six per cent. for the exact amount reported valid in the consols surrendered. These new consols, issued after February, 1880, are engraved from the same plates as the green consols issued under prior acts, but are distinguished by their color, being brown.

"The 'deficiencies,' or floating indebtedness, left by the negro government, was adjusted by a 'Court of Claims' established in 1878. 'Deficiency' bonds and stocks, bearing six per cent. interest, and payable in ten years, were issued in settlement of such portion of these claims as the court adjudged valid." Thus did Hampton's white-man's government shoulder the financial burdens left by incompetency and dishonesty in both races—the ignorant blacks often more sinned against than sinning.

RESIGNS GOVERNORSHIP FOR U. S. SENATE

At the State election in 1878, General Hampton was chosen governor for a second term, without opposition from the Democrats. Soon afterward he was elected to the United States Senate, and in February, 1879, resigned the governorship. His two terms in the upper house of Congress were not marked by any brilliant outbursts, for, though an effective speaker, he was not an orator. He did not have in the United States Senate the opportunities he had in South Carolina as a civic leader to show that genius for common sense—notably when he had prevented his men from storming the capitol—that had marked his successful campaign against Chamberlain, but the prestige of his military career, and of his recent civic victory commanded the respect, and his charming personality won the regard of the entire South irrespective of party. In his stand on the currency question "he acted with wisdom, found the right path, and unflinchingly pursued that path because it was right, knowing all the time that it led to the precipice of personal ruin. His non-election to the Senate meant for him not only the end of honorable ambition and influence * * * but also left him in straitened circumstances." He was appointed Commissioner of Railroads for the United States in 1893, which office he resigned in 1897, then an octogenarian, though vigorous in mind and body. His after years were spent at his old home, Columbia, saddened undoubtedly by "the fact that his people, so many of his people, all of whom he had loved, and who, as he thought up to that time, loved him, should do this thing to him in his old age."

THE IRONY OF FATE

When elected to the Senate, in 1878, Governor Hampton had not yet recovered from a serious accident. One of his biographers, Edward L. Wells, a brave soldier of the Charleston Light Dragoons, and close to Hampton and Butler in not a few of the battlefields of the War of Secession, writes of this incident: "He had taken an outing in November on a deer hunt at some distance from his home. It had proved difficult to procure a suitable horse, and he had contented himself with a young mule as a mount, being able to ride anything. While

alone in the woods, the bridle proved rotten, and the head-stall and bit fell off. The wretched animal became uncontrollable, and dashing wildly through the woods brought the general's leg in contact with a tree with great violence. This occurring at some distance from where suitable surgical aid could be obtained, the injury was aggravated. It proved necessary to amputate the leg below the knee. The delay thus caused in making the operation produced very serious complications, and for days his life was despaired of. During all that time the public hung over the reports about him on the newspaper bulletin boards as eagerly and anxiously as if it had been a near and dear relative whose life was wavering in the balance. At the Charleston Club private telegrams describing his condition were posted from time to time during the day. In the end, his magnificent constitution, never enfeebled by excesses, triumphed, and there was a long breath of relief, and many a 'thank God!' was reverently uttered. Nor did it very materially interfere with his horsemanship, and he continued to be a cheerful sight when mounted. His health, however, was somewhat affected by the local pain afterward experienced and by the curtailment rendered necessary, at times, of out-door exercises. But to the end he hunted, and his rod continued to be almost as much a resource as formerly, as it could be used with much less physical exertion than the gun."

His death occurred April 11, 1901 in his 85th year—just twenty-three years to a day after the Federal troops vacated the State House of South Carolina, and gave General Hampton the greatest triumph of his civil and political life. At his funeral there was an outpouring of the people and a great wave of emotion never witnessed in the State since the death of Calhoun.

THE SCHOOL MASTER ABROAD IN THE LAND

Governor Hampton made an excellent governor and the leading officials who were his advisors in the State House were men of like calibre, notably Johnson Hagood, comptroller general; James Conner, the attorney general, and Hugh S. Thompson, state superintendent of education. Capt. Thompson in 1876 had been one of the staunchest supporters of the Democratic, or Conservative government. Both during the Hampton administration and the period covered by two subsequent terms of the superintendency, Mr. Thompson accomplished wonders in rescuing the system of public education from the wreckage into which it had fallen. He saw that the new amendment to the Constitution was carried into practical effect, as far as possible, and that the counties received their quotas of the annual levy and the poll tax. Early in his service of six years as superintendent he urged upon the Legislature the necessity of providing for some special instruction of teachers, in order that they might become more efficient in their profession. For this purpose he recommended the establishment of a Normal School. Failing in this, he resolved to establish a summer teacher's institute. Through the liberality of the Peabody trustees, who furnished him a thousand dollars, he organized the first State Normal in the city of Spartanburg in August, 1880.* That year carries Professor Thompson's record beyond the Hampton administration; but his initial efforts in the reorganization of the public school system of the State were made in 1878-79. No one man has ever done more to found and develop the system, from the primary to the normal schools.

* "Sketch of Education in South Carolina," by Professor R. Means Davis, in report of Board of Agriculture, 1883.

WILLIAM D. SIMPSON BECOMES GOVERNOR

Upon the resignation of Governor Hampton in February, 1879, to accept his seat in the United States Senate, Lieutenant Governor William D. Simpson succeeded. He was a native of Laurens County, in which he had been chiefly educated, was a lawyer, an officer in the army and a congressman in the government of the Confederacy, succeeding General Bonham in the latter office. In 1868 he served as a delegate to the National Democratic Convention and in the same year was nominated for Congress in the Fourth district. Although he was elected, he was not allowed to take his seat under the disqualification provision of the Fourteenth amendment, and the Hon. A. S. Wallace, his Republican competitor, was admitted. As already noted, he was nominated for lieutenant governor in 1876, and, with Wade Hampton, the head of the ticket, canvassed the State. The brave stand he took at the reorganization of the Senate when Governor Hampton had regained control has been noted and described. In 1878 he was re-elected and, by virtue of his office, succeeded Governor Hampton when he entered the United States Senate.

GOVERNOR SIMPSON'S ADMINISTRATION

Governor Simpson was a man of wide experience in the public service, and during the several months of General Hampton's illness, because of his accident, as lieutenant governor he had been discharging the duties of the incapacitated chief executive. In his message to the General Assembly, the new governor called attention to the gratifying fact that the people were planting oats and wheat and otherwise diversifying their crops; and that they had given greater attention to grasses and the raising of cattle. Governor Simpson congratulated the State upon the reduction of expenses, the development of industries, the building of railroads, the deepening of rivers, the draining of swamps and the reclamation of lands in the low country and the expansion of the system of public education.

Governor Simpson's administration was largely an extension and development of acts and measures which originated with Governor Hampton and his associates. He resigned in 1880 to accept the chief-justiceship of the State Supreme Court, to which he had been elected in the preceding year and which he honored for many years.

THE STOCK AND LIEN LAWS *

Aside from the general cleaning of the Augean stable of political corruption, and the new era in education for which Capt. Thompson was mainly responsible, perhaps the greatest advances in the development of the State Government had been made in the newly created Department of Agriculture, which not only had supervision over all matters relating to farming and the livestock industries, but immigration and phosphate concessions. In his message, to which reference has been made, Governor Simpson stated that the stock law which had been recently put in operation was working well. That law had laid the foundation for the statutes now in force, against the maiming and stealing of stock; prohibiting persons from allowing their livestock to run beyond the limits of their own lands; holding the owners liable for damage done and allowing owners of the lands upon which stock has

* Report Board of Agriculture, 1883.

SCIENTIFIC DRAINING OF LANDS

RECLAIMING SWAMP LAND BY DREDGING

trespassed to seize such animals; and making it a misdemeanor to break or leave down gates or fences, or to rescue stock impounded.

The provisions of the law granting liens to farmers provided that persons making advances either in money or supplies to those engaged in planting have a lien on the crop to the extent of the advances so made, in preference to all other liens, provided an agreement in writing be entered into. Landlords had such a lien to the extent of one-third of the crop, without recording or filing. Laborers employed in making a crop had a lien thereon for their wages. Persons furnishing labor or materials for erection, alteration or repair of buildings, had a lien upon the building and upon the interest of the owner of the land on which it stands for their debt. The law, which was one of real encouragement to the small farmers and planters, at the same time protected both those who had made them loans and the laborers who produced and harvested the crops.

THOMAS B. JETER, GOVERNOR THREE MONTHS

The remaining three months of Governor Simpson's term were completed by Thomas B. Jeter, an eminent lawyer and railroad official of Union County, who, in 1876, had been chosen president pro tem. of the Senate, after having been a member of that body for a number of years previously. Governor Jeter's short administration was not fruitful of any noteworthy legislation. He retired from the governorship in November, 1880, and two years afterward was appointed a member of the State Railroad Commission, being thus engaged at the time of his death in May, 1883.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON HAGOOD AND HIS ADMINISTRATION

When General Johnson Hagood was elected governor of South Carolina in 1880, to succeed Mr. Jeter, an entirely competent and progressive administration was assured. An officer of distinction in the Confederate army, who after a notable record, surrendered with Johnston's little army at Greensboro, North Carolina, he was a native of Barnwell, South Carolina, and a graduate of the State Military Academy. Like hundreds of the old-time citizens, in the trying days of Reconstruction and threatened Destruction of everything worth while in his State, General Hagood gave all that was possible of his time, energy and talents to throw off the hated Radical rule. He was identified with the Tax payers' conventions of the early '70s and was among the honest men delegated to untangle the affairs of the Bank of the State of South Carolina, and if possible, to ascertain what was the legal debt of the commonwealth. In the 1876 campaign he was on the conservative ticket as candidate for comptroller general and was chairman of the Barnwell County delegation. He worked with General Hampton everywhere, and was especially influential with the negroes, being an old planter who was known to be just and fearless. At the exciting Ellerton riots, he had charge of the armed posse which finally put down the disturbances. In all the conflicts and complications attending the period of the Dual Government, there were two officials upon whom Governor Hampton continuously and implicitly relied—Comptroller General Hagood and Attorney General James Conner; and after the Hampton government was established the reliance of the acknowledged governor rested more firmly than ever upon his chief financial officer. He was the guiding spirit in raising the voluntary contributions which tided the government over its most critical period. He was reelected

in 1878, and continued his regime of efficiency. By general consent he is rated one of the best in the long roll of South Carolina's governors.

HAGOOD'S CHEERING INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Governor Hagood's inaugural address was like the man—brief, practical, suggestive and direct. It set forth succinctly the condition of the State, announced political equality to all men in South Carolina as a fixed fact and (what came closer to the bulk of the taxpayers) that the expenses of the Government had been reduced to one-fourth of what they were under Republican rule. There were no deficiencies and all obligations had been met. At that time the royalty from the phosphate mines amounted to \$121,541 (at \$1 per ton), and this, with a small general tax, was sufficient to meet the general expenses of the Government. The Penitentiary, because of the new system of working the convicts, was not only self-sustaining, but had money in its treasury. Two large summer schools for the benefit of the teachers—one for the whites and one for the blacks—had been established in the summer of 1880.

The conclusion of the governor's address was as follows: "These happy results—this restoration of the State to the methods of good government, this hopeful industry of all classes of our people and rapid advance in prosperity are due, under the providence of God, to the resumption of the chief control of our local affairs by that portion of our citizens in whom the capacity of self-government is an inheritance derived from a thousand years of a free ancestry. It stands in striking contrast to the wretched period of riotous misrule which preceded it under the domination of the lately enfranchised freedmen. South Carolina cannot and will not again become a prostrate State. The God-given right of self-preservation inheres in communities as well as individuals. It is higher than law and older than institutions; but the problem with us today is to preserve the life of the State within the conditions that surround us. It is true that never before in all their history have free institutions been subjected to such a strain as the reconstruction acts of the National Government placed upon them here; but the political equality of all men in South Carolina is now as fixed a feature in her policy as is the Blue Ridge in her geography. It can neither be suppressed nor evaded. The solution of the problem requires the wisest thought, the gravest counsel. It seems to me that I see it in firmness, moderation, justice. Let these characterize every act of legislation. It is my duty as governor 'to take care that the laws are faithfully executed in mercy.' I repeat the pledge made before my election—that in the discharge of this high trust I shall know neither white man nor colored man, but only citizens of South Carolina alike amenable to her laws and entitled to her protection."

During his administration, Governor Hagood naturally took deep interest in matters connected with the farming interests and in the cause of higher education; this policy might have been presumed of his previous predilections. In 1869 he was elected the first president since the war of the South Carolina State Agricultural and Mechanical Society, holding that office for four years. For two terms he also served as chairman of the State Board of Agriculture. He was a pioneer in the diversification of farming, in grass culture and stock raising, and his contributions to the agricultural press were largely based upon his successful experiments. As to public education—not only the common schools, but the State University—especially the South Carolina State Military Academy, from which he graduated—owed much to his

OLD-TIME UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS
E. Rutledge College Chapel.
West Rutledge College.

thoughtful labors. Largely through his wise labors the State was now on her industrial and financial feet; and, it may be confidently added, that her educational system, under the firm bracing of the superintendent of education, had a foothold not to be again seriously threatened. One strong evidence of that fact, was the reopening of the South Carolina University, which had been closed by the Legislature in 1877. In 1879 the Legislature issued State stock to revive the fund given by the General Government for an agricultural and mechanical college, and lost by the carelessness and rascalities of the State authorities in 1868-76. By that action of the Legislature, the University, which had been closed by the Legislature in 1877, was able to reopen in 1880 with two branches—the South Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College at Columbia, for the whites, and Claflin University, at Orangeburg, for blacks. The Hon. William Porcher Miles was elected president of the college at Columbia.

TAKING AN ACCOUNT OF SOUTH CAROLINA'S STOCK

The first year of Governor Hagood's administration is an appropriate time in which to pause a moment and take an "account of stock" for the State of South Carolina. Fortunately, that had already been done by the United States census enumerators. From the mass of facts and figures gathered through their labors, a few of salient and representative value are selected.

* In 1880, the population of the State was 995,577. Of that number 332,121, were under the working age (ten years), and 4,887 over it (over 80 years), while 129,975 children over ten years of age were attending school. Those classified as defective and dependent—including idiots, insane, blind, deaf mutes, paupers and those confined for crime—numbered 5,726, and 120,766 were "unaccounted for."

THE "UNACCOUNTED FOR"

As to this large and rather perplexing item, Major Harry Hammond, an expert statistician, comments as follows: "In considering those not accounted for, it must be borne in mind that there are in the State over 185,000 married women who have their time more or less occupied with the care of families and children, especially with the 67,023 of the population one year, or under, in age. There are also more than 30,000 unmarried females, between 18 and 25 years of age, most of whom remaining with their parents and assisting their mothers in household duties, are not yet listed in any regular employment. Allowance, too, is to be made for a certain number of young men of the working age engaged in preparation for professional careers, or in acquiring some trade or art. No allowance, however, is to be made for those who are unoccupied, simply because their wealth enables them to be so; their numbers are altogether insignificant, the more wealthy class being usually those most fully occupied. After reasonable deductions on these accounts, the remainder are vagabonds or persons engaged in disreputable occupations. Their numbers cannot be large, but it must give cause for serious consideration that not more than thirty-nine per cent. of the population can be classed as bread-winners." Twelve of the forty-seven States then in the Union had a higher percentage of workers than South Carolina. In 1880, the percentage of workers to

* Unfortunately the United States Census of 1870 in South Carolina was notoriously inefficient and unsatisfactory and comparisons or conclusions based upon it are of less value than those drawn from any census of modern times.

the population of the State over ten years of age (667,456) was .58, as compared with .50 in 1870 and .73 in 1860 (before emancipation).

As to the occupations of those employed in 1880: Agricultural laborers, 198,147; farmers and planters, 93,550; turpentine farmers and laborers, 2,357; others not classified, bringing the total depending on agriculture, to 294,602. Identified with professional and personal services—lawyers, clergyman, teachers, physicians and surgeons, government employees, domestics and laborers (outside of agriculture)—were 64,246 persons; those connected with trade and means of transportation numbered 13,556, and with the manufacturing and mining industries, 19,698. Total engaged in all classes of occupations, 392,102. Although there was still a great preponderance of agricultural laborers over the aggregate of the other classes, proportionately, there had been a decrease of four per cent. since 1870, showing the prevailing tendency to abandon the country for the town and city.

In the professional and personal services, on the other hand, there had been an increase of 87 per cent. since 1870. Teachers had increased 95 per cent., "but this increase amounts to only 49 per cent. on the number of this class in 1860, an increase wholly disproportionate to the great increase of the school population by the introduction of the colored race."

AGRICULTURE AND LIVE STOCK

The Federal census returns of 1880 showed that of the 33,893 square miles comprising the area of the State, or 21,690,520 acres, 3,794,560 acres, or 5,929 square miles were under cultivation. Of the tilled land, 1,347,381 acres, or about 2,105 square miles, were devoted to cotton. The production, in bales, for that year, was 522,548, against 224,500 in 1870. Corn was produced to the amount of 11,767,099 bushels; rice, 52,077,515 pounds; wheat, 962,358 bushels; oats, 2,715,505 bushels; barley and rye in small quantities; and sweet potatoes, 2,189,622 bushels, with Irish potatoes, only 144,942 bushels.

The 93,864 farms in South Carolina, with an average size of 143 acres, were valued at \$68,677,482, and the machinery at \$3,202,710. The live stock was valued at \$12,279,412, and comprised 60,660 horses, 67,005 mules and asses, 24,507 working oxen, 139,881 milch cows and 199,321 other cattle, 118,889 sheep and 628,198 swine. The dairy industry was chiefly confined to the manufacture of butter which was represented by 3,196,851 pounds.

THE INDUSTRIES IN 1880

In 1880, the manufacturing establishments of South Carolina numbered 2,078, with a capital of \$11,205,894 and a product valued at \$16,738,008. The number of hands employed was 15,828 and \$2,836,289 was distributed among them in wages. This was a tremendous advance over the status of the industries of the State in 1870, when only \$4,320,235 was employed as capital, \$1,234,972 paid out in wages and \$7,886,185 represented the value the output.

COTTON MILLS AND UTILIZED WATER POWER

The manufacture of cotton goods had been firmly established as the leading industry in South Carolina. The capital employed in it in 1880 was \$2,776,100, with 2,053 hands and a product valued at \$2,895,769. In the year mentioned *The News and Courier*, of Charleston,

published the following list of the cotton mills in operation throughout the State, with the respective number of spindles installed in each:

Name	Spindles
1. Graniteville, Aiken.....	24,264
2. Camperdown, Greenville.....	12,840
3. Langley, Aiken.....	11,880
4. Piedmont, Greenville.....	10,624
5. Vacluse, Aiken.....	10,000
6. Saluda, Lexington.....	7,000
7. Glendale, Spartanburg.....	5,000
8. Reedy River, Greenville.....	2,600
9. Fork Shoals, Greenville.....	2,000
10. Buena Vista, Greenville and Spartanburg.....	2,000
11. Red Bank, Lexington.....	1,936
12. Pendleton, Anderson.....	1,600
13. Batesville, Greenville.....	1,152
14. Fingerville, Spartanburg.....	1,000
15. Cedar Hill, Spartanburg.....	800
16. Valley Falls, Spartanburg.....	500
17. Crawfordville, Spartanburg.....	480
18. Westminster, Oconee.....	264
	<hr/>
	95,938
Looms	1,933

In this connection is also taken a summary of figures published in the 1880 census and reproduced from Hammond's Hand Book in August Kohn's "Water Powers":

Industries	Number	Horse Power
Grist and flour mills.....	551	7,505
Cotton factories.....	19	3,723
Saw mills.....	160	2,534
Cotton gins.....	94	820
Miscellaneous	28	940
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total.....	852	15,522

MINOR INDUSTRIES

The industries based on the phosphates as fertilizers reached large proportions in 1880, as already noted. The average value of the product at the factory was valued at \$20 per ton. According to the figures of the census, South Carolina stood fifth among the States in the manufacture of manures.

In 1880, the tar and turpentine product of South Carolina was over one-third of the total output of the balance of the United States. Although the capital invested in this industry was greater in 1860 than in 1880, the number of hands employed (4,619), the wages paid (\$555,460) and the value of the products (\$1,893,206), in the latter year, far exceeded those items for the year before the war.

In a review of the industries of South Carolina in 1880, a few words are due in mention of her fisheries, largely devoted to the harvesting of shrimps. In the year mentioned the State was twentieth in the list of the fish-producing states, and first as a gatherer of the

shrimp. South Carolina employed 1,005 fishermen, the products of whose labors were valued at \$212,482. In that harvest were 18,000 bushels of shrimps valued at \$37,500. The principal fisheries are about Charleston.

Such facts and figures as these furnish material illustrations of the progress of South Carolina, notwithstanding the disturbing factors of government and politics.

TRANSITION PERIOD OF NEGRO WORKMAN

The following comments upon those engaged as blacksmiths, masons and carpenters are significant as indicating a transition period for negro workmen which has been passed for a number of years, as many members of their race are now employed in these and similar trades: "In South Carolina only a little over one per cent. of the working population is engaged in these trades. Only 4,442 are enumerated as pertaining to these occupations. This was far otherwise in 1860. Then, in addition to the 3,006 free persons, mostly whites, engaged in occupations, and in addition to a large number of slaves who having served their time as apprentices, were hired out at their trades, every large plantation had one or more blacksmiths, one or more carpenters, and not unfrequently a bricklayer. The acquisition of such arts by negroes added largely to their value, and was being more and more encouraged. The class of plantations here referred to exceeded 2,000 in number, and it would be safe to say that at least 6,000 slaves were thus engaged in these occupations, which, if added to the number of free artisans, would make the total number at work in these trades 9,000, or more than double the number enumerated in 1880. The elder of these slave mechanics have almost all passed away in the years that have elapsed since emancipation. The negro apprentices and younger mechanics very generally abandoned their pursuits when emancipated, each feeling that the brand of servitude attached to the special occupation in which he had been engaged and, hopeful of a higher calling, threw it aside lest it might interfere with his chances. Such callings were to vote, to go to the Legislature, to preach or to become a land owner. The gap has never been filled. The work-shops that were filled with negro apprentices in former days, have none now (1880), and very few negroes have learned trades since the war. If to these occupations named, those of tailor, seamstress, shoemaker and cooper be added, in all of which large numbers of negroes were formerly employed, but among which few are now found, the explanation would be fully given as to the comparatively small numbers engaged in the minor manufacturing industries in South Carolina."

YEARS OF REVIVAL (1881-82)

Governor Hagood's fine record as a Confederate officer and soldier earned him wide and deep influence with his companions-in-arms, and his sympathy as a man went out to them on all occasions. Hundreds of them were living in the State, poor in purse and crippled in limb, and it was largely through his initiative and push that the Legislature of 1881 passed the act to furnish Confederate soldiers of the State the necessary means to provide them with artificial limbs.

During that year the Penitentiary paid \$40,000 into the State Treasury, as the proceeds of the convict labor supplied to the phosphate mines, the Columbia canal, railroads and private parties and companies. The convicts had also been employed in the making of hosiery within

TYPICAL SOUTH CAROLINA WATER POWERS

Up-country power dam (upper view). Power plant at Parr Shoales, about thirty miles north of Columbia, on the Broad River (lower).

the penitentiary. The royalty derived by the State from the phosphate products added \$138,254 to that amount, the total of which went far toward meeting the expenses of the State Government.

During Governor Hagood's administration the work progressed of rehabilitating the State government, and the people showed their confidence in its continued stability by embarking in new industries, and expanding business and manufacturing enterprises which, under the uncertainties of conditions for much of the period since the war, had languished. The phosphate industries took a great leap forward, producing 140,772 tons in 1882, and within the following year more than doubled their output; and the prosperity of that manufacture not only was of benefit to the people, in furnishing employment and putting additional money in circulation, but added substantial receipts to the State treasury.

RISE OF THE COTTON SEED INDUSTRIES

The most noteworthy rise of a new and standard industry, however, was the manufacture of cotton seed into oil and cake. As late as 1880 the upland cotton seed was used almost entirely as a manure. There was no oil mill in the State and only one in Georgia. "Before the working season of 1882," says a review of that industry in the 1883 report of the State Board of Agriculture, "at least five new oil mills were established in Georgia and three in South Carolina. Those in Carolina were the Charleston Oil Mill, capital \$60,000, having three twenty box presses, with a capacity of working fifty tons of seed a day; two other mills, one in Greenville and one in Chester, having together about the capacity of the former, so that now (1882) of the 250,000 tons of cotton seed annually produced in the State, about 20,000 tons, or less than ten per cent., can be worked up into oil and cake. As a consequence of these enterprises, cotton seed is selling at eighteen cents a bushel, or at an advance of eighty per cent. in two years. So that this crop, worth \$1,721,000 in 1880, may, in 1882, be sold for \$3,097,000.

"Nor is there anything of a merely speculative character in these advances. Cotton seed oil is today the cheapest edible oil in the world. Up to January 1, 1881, none of this oil, as such, was sold for consumption in South Carolina. In the summer of 1882 it was to be found in nearly all of the country grocery stores along the lines of railroad and in all the principal towns; about one hundred barrels a month are sold from Charleston and the consumption in the State is not less than 2,000 barrels. Such is the favor with which it has been received that the dealers estimate that more than 5,000 barrels will be required to supply the demand for the present year.

"Considering the excellent qualities of this oil as a salad oil, or for cooking, and the present wide margin between its price and that of lard and olive oils, together with the growing population, and the increasing demand for food stuffs all over the world, nothing seems more certain than that it must advance in value rapidly as soon as its use becomes generally tested and known. The cotton seed cake, or meal, now sells for \$24 per ton at the oil mill; two-thirds of it exported, and about ten per cent. used as a fertilizer, being considered by the manufacturers of commercial manures as the cheapest supply of nitrogenous material; the balance is used for stock feed, chiefly by Northern farmers and dairymen, a single broker in Boston disposing, last year, of more than 15,000 tons for consumption there."

From various estimates as to the value of a ton of cotton seed at the

time the foregoing was written (1882), the author of the article deduced the following: Thirty-five gallons of oil, at forty cents a gallon, \$14; 750 pounds of cake, \$9; twenty-four pounds of lint, \$1.44. Total, \$24.44. "No count was made of the 1,000 pounds of hulls," continued the writer: "They furnish fuel needed in the process of manufacture. From this estimate, the value of the products of the manufacture of the cotton seed crop of South Carolina would be \$6,295,000. If the English value for the cake was instituted, this amount would be \$8,643,000, or by the German estimate of the value of the cake, it would be \$10,552,000."

Not bad for an industry only two years old!

CHAPTER LXIII

THE THOMPSON AND RICHARDSON ADMINISTRATIONS

Hon. Hugh S. Thompson, who, in December, 1882, succeeded General Hagood as governor, was another of the Hampton regime which established an economical, intelligent white man's administration on the ruins of the mongrel and corrupt administrations which had preceded it. Like his predecessor, he was a graduate of the South Carolina Military Academy, but was too young to become distinguished during the War of Secession, although he rendered service as the captain of a company of Charleston cadets. For about a decade after the war closed he was developing the Columbia Male Academy, and, as stated, in 1876, began his career as an educator in a broad field by his election as State superintendent of education. In 1878 and 1880 he was reelected by overwhelming majorities to that position, and in 1882 was nominated for governor.

Two distinguished South Carolina Confederate leaders, Gen. John Bratton of Fairfield, and Gen. John D. Kennedy of Kenshaw, had been put forward by their friends to succeed Governor Hagood. So warm was the support of each candidate by his friends that a split in the party was threatened, and as a compromise candidate the name of Col. Thompson was presented.

There is ample evidence to prove that Mr. Thompson did not seek the nomination. One of his friends, prominent in State affairs at that time, wrote as follows: "No combination was made to put Colonel Thompson in nomination until the morning of the day of the convention. It was the spontaneous act of some of the delegates from Anderson, Greenville and the Pee Dee country, who were not willing to support the other candidates. * * * It is unquestionably true, likewise, that Colonel Thompson declined to be a candidate for renomination as superintendent of education, because he intended and desired to accept the presidency of the South Carolina College, to which office he would have been elected at the meeting of the trustees then about to be held. * * * Colonel Thompson was not in any sense of the word a candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor, and this announcement was made in the convention before the balloting began."

On the second ballot he received 147 votes, 157 being necessary for a choice. At this juncture the names of the other candidates were withdrawn and Colonel Thompson was nominated and elected governor of South Carolina.

THOMPSON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Governor Thompson was inaugurated in December, 1882, and among other practical reforms urged the revision of the tax system of the State, to the end that the returns of taxable property should be more complete, which would have the effect of a fairer distribution and a lowering of the taxes. The principles to which he pledged his administration are indicated in the following extract from his inaugural address: "Strict economy in the conduct of government,

reduction of taxation of every kind to the lowest point consistent with the efficient administration of government; a judicious tariff; wise, equal and just laws, impartially administered; the prevention of oppressive monopolies; home rule, which under the Constitution of the United States, shall preserve the State governments in their proper spheres, while it maintains the General Government in its proper sphere; popular education as the only safeguard of free institutions; the sacred preservation of the public credit, Federal and State; a civil service reform which shall guard public offices as public trusts to be exercised for the benefit of the people and not for party purposes, and which shall make merit the test for appointment to and retention in office—these are some, at least, of the demands which the people make of their chosen servants. Let us see to it that South Carolina contributes her share to the pure administration of public affairs by keeping her State government true to the principles which formed the political creed of the founders of the republic."

THE MILITARY ACADEMY AND STATE UNIVERSITY

As was to be expected, Governor Thompson's administrations were above suspicion of corruption and were marked by the energy and impartiality which had given him so much prominence as the head of the educational department. The South Carolina Military Academy (The Citadel) at Charleston, had been reopened in the October preceding his inauguration as governor and while he was still State superintendent of education and he seconded Governor Hagood in his efforts to reestablish their alma mater in her old home, with assurances of future permanence. Upon the evacuation of Charleston in 1865 The Citadel was seized by the Federal forces and had been occupied as a garrison until 1878. The building was turned over to the State voluntarily and without conditions, and in 1881 the Legislature* authorized the education of sixty-eight beneficiary cadets (two from each county), with as many pay cadets as could be accommodated without expense to the State; \$10,000 was appropriated for repairs and \$5,000 for the expenses of the year. Colonel J. P. Thomas was chosen as superintendent, and the academy was opened with 180 students.

Not only was the resuscitated military academy in operation, with a bright future, when Governor Thompson's term began, but the "South Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanics"—as it had been styled in 1880—largely under the stimulus of his work and influence was developing along broader lines—the name being changed by omitting the words "of Agriculture and Mechanics." For three years the institution charged no tuition, as Thomas Cooper its second president has recommended fifty years earlier, but the opposition of the denominational schools was too strong, and to quiet agitation the Legislature fixed the tuition at forty dollars. About that time five additional professors were elected to its faculty and the attendance of students had reached 150 in a few weeks. Mr. Miles had resigned the presidency of the University in 1882, and Dr. John M. McBryde had succeeded him, filling the chair of Agriculture and Horticulture. At this time three science courses of study were offered, leading to the B. S. degree; two literature courses conferring B. A.; and three special courses, Practical Agriculture, Practical Surveying and Practical English. The university buildings were valued at \$250,000, and the library contained over 27,000 volumes, many of the books of rare value.

In 1884 the Law School was organized.

* Handbooks of South Carolina.

LARGE IMMIGRATION OF AGRICULTURAL LABORERS

It was during Governor Thompson's administration that many immigrants came to the State through the port of Charleston, who had been re-shipped from New York, to meet the great demand for agricultural laborers. The outcome of this experiment in drawing immigrants to the State is thus described in the "review of operations of the Department of Agriculture of South Carolina for the six years from its establishment to the end of the fiscal year 1885:" "In 1881, to meet a demand which had arisen in the State for agricultural laborers, a Bureau of Immigration was established and was placed under the charge of Dr. E. M. Boykin. The bureau was thoroughly equipped for its work. Arrangements were made with the authorities in New York for the shipment of immigrants, low rates were obtained from both foreign and domestic lines of transportation, pamphlets were distributed abroad, a home for the reception of the immigrants was established at Columbia in charge of a superintendent, who also served as interpreter; and immigrants were supplied to all parties making application for them. There were brought into the State about eight hundred persons, mostly of the peasant class, in families, with a few single men. Many of these, particularly where families were engaged, gave great satisfaction; while others, particularly the single men, were found to be very unreliable and fond of shifting their quarters. The bureau was in operation for about two years, when the demand for laborers of this class having ceased, either from a belief having arisen in their unreliability, or from the inability of our people to adapt themselves to the relations required by this new and unaccustomed class of laborers, or both, the office of superintendent was abolished by the General Assembly, and the active operations soon after brought to a close." During the period of the operations of the State Bureau of Immigration 860 immigrants were brought into South Carolina. The scheme to supply an insistent demand for agricultural laborers by the farmers and planters of the State, which was tested in Governor Thompson's administration, and temporarily abandoned, has been revived with varying success several times, since that period.

"Col. B. F. Crayton, * * * was always an earnest advocate of immigration and it was due to his efforts that a number of present-day well known Anderson families found their way into that part of South Carolina, and attained a degree of prosperity for themselves and their children that they could never have found in their original homes." *

Governor Thompson's administration was so acceptable that in 1884 he was again nominated, this time without opposition, and was discharging his gubernatorial duties, when, on June 30, 1886, he received the appointment of assistant secretary of the United States treasury from President Grover Cleveland, with whose policies he had been in complete accord. Afterward he was appointed Civil Service Commissioner.

JOHN C. SHEPPARD SUCCEEDS GOVERNOR THOMPSON

John C. Sheppard succeeded Governor Thompson as chief executive of the State. He had served as lieutenant governor since 1882, and had been speaker of the House of Representatives from December, 1877, when he succeeded Judge W. H. Wallace. A prominent lawyer of Edgefield County, of which he was a native, Mr. Sheppard commenced his service in the House during the memorable campaign of

* Hand books of South Carolina.

1876, being then but twenty-six years of age. He survives today (1920), and by common consent is regarded one of the ablest and most devoted of South Carolinians.

Governor Sheppard served out the unexpired term of Hugh S. Thompson. He was ardent in advocacy of an agricultural college, that the modern principles of scientific farming might be taught, and unprofitable and careless methods be corrected.

THE AWFUL CHARLESTON EARTHQUAKE

It was also during this short administration that Charleston was visited by the greatest physical calamity in her varied career of scourges; yellow fever epidemics, cyclones and bombardments. There was the usual "strange tropic warmth and hints of summer seas," that calm evening of August 31, 1886, but nothing to indicate that before ten o'clock nature was to add another horror to those already borne with such fortitude by that devoted city. No better description of the cataclysm, its effects and the wide area of its disturbances has been penned than the paper prepared for the Charleston Year Book of 1886 by Carl McKinley, the gifted editorial writer of *The News and Courier*. The narrative was prepared before the dust from the thousands of buildings which the earthquake had ruined had settled in the streets of the stricken city.

Mr. McKinley's introduction to "The Story of the Earthquake" is here reproduced, as a remarkable piece of descriptive writing: "When the bells of St. Michael's Church, in Charleston, chimed the third quarter after nine o'clock on the evening of Tuesday, August 31st, 1886, their familiar tones spoke peace and peace alone, to the many happy homes on every side within whose sheltering walls the people of a fair and prosperous city had gathered to rest, before taking up the burdens of another busy day. There was no whispered warning in the well known sounds, or in any subdued voice of the night, to hint of the fearful calamity so near at hand. Not the unconscious bells themselves were less suspicious of coming ill than were they whom their sweetly solemn notes summoned, as at other times, to seek forgetfulness in sleep.

"The streets of the city were silent and nearly deserted. Overhead, the stars twinkled with unwonted brilliancy in a moonless, unclouded sky. The waters of the wide harbor were unruffled by even a passing breeze. Around the horizon the dark woodlands hung like purple curtains shutting out the world beyond, as though nature itself guarded the ancient city hidden within the charmed circle. Earth and sea alike seemed wrapped in a spell of hushed and profound repose, that reflected as in a mirror the quiet of the blue eternal heavens bending over all.

"It was upon such a scene of calm and silence that the shock of the earthquake fell, with the suddenness of a thunderbolt launched from the starlit skies; with the might of ten thousand thunderbolts falling together; with a force so far surpassing all other forces known to men, that no similitude can truly be found for it. The firm foundation upon which every home had been built in unquestioning faith in its stability for all time, was giving way; the barriers of the great deep were breaking up. To the ignorant mind, it seemed in truth, that God had laid his hand in anger upon His creation. The great and wise, knowing little more, fearing little less than the humblest of their wretched fellow creatures, bowed themselves in awe as before the face of the Destroying Angel. For a few moments all the inhabitants of the city stood together in the presence of death in its most ter-

rrible form, and perhaps scarcely one doubted that all would be swallowed together and at once, in one wide yawning grave.

"The picture is not overdrawn, since it cannot be overdrawn. The heart and the hand shrink back from the task of trying to depict faithfully, in any terms, the scenes and emotions of that dreadful hour. No narrative of the great earthquake, however, will present a true account of its character and effects that fails to give sharp prominence to the element of fearful surprise involved in its sudden, unlooked-for coming, and to the overmastering dread which its manifestations inspired in every breast. The transition from a long-established condition of safety and peacefulness, to one of profound and general danger and terror, was absolute and instantaneous. Think of it; dwell upon every detail of attempted description as we may; the imagination still comes far short of the reality. Within seven minutes after the last stroke of the chime, and while its echo seemed yet to linger in listening ears, Charleston was in ruins. All the wreck had been accomplished in one, and the last minute of the seven. Millions of dollars' worth of property, the accumulation of nearly two centuries, had been destroyed in the time a child would take to crush a frail toy. Every home in the city had been broken or shattered—and beneath the ruins lay the lifeless or bruised and bleeding bodies of men, women and children, who had been stricken down in the midst of such security as may be felt by him who reads these lines at any remote distance of time or space.

"The cyclone of the year before was truly terrifying in its most furious stages, but was several hours in reaching those stages. When the storm had passed away, it was found that no one had been killed in the city. Many houses were damaged indeed, but the damage was nearly confined to their roofs, and very many buildings were unscathed. The earthquake came at one stride; lasted perhaps no longer than a minute; but, besides multiplying fourfold the loss of property caused by the storm, slew and wounded its victims by the score. When the cyclone raged at its worst, the affrighted citizens found shelter within their dwellings. In the shock of the earthquake the first and strongest, the irresistible impulse was to flee without the threatening walls—to dare the peril in the street in the hope of escaping certain fate that menaced everyone who tarried for an instant under their shadow.

"After the storm, the sunshine brought light and rest and gladness in its train. The earthquake was followed by hours of darkness, relieved only by the glare of burning ruins. The morning sun lit up a scene of devastation such as had never before greeted the eyes of the weary watchers, revealing to them the extent of the danger through which they had passed, and to which they were momentarily exposed anew. It was a fearful ordeal throughout, even for the strongest and the bravest, and the tender and the timid were exposed to its full fury. There is no possibility of exaggerating its horrors to any one who recalls the occurrences of the night with even a gleam of recollection of their dread import, and of the thoughts and emotions that they inspired."

The first shock in South Carolina antedated the great Charleston quake by four days, and was felt in Summerville, Dorchester County, in the morning of August 27th. Houses and stores were badly shaken, not only in the village, but for a radius of several miles around. Less than a day afterward Summerville had another distinct "shake." There was some alarm; but the general tendency was to "laugh it off," although an Italian workman is said to have remarked on Saturday

morning, following the second quake: "Two little shake; big one come soon."

The great quake and shake came to Charleston, as we have seen, at about ten minutes of ten on the night of the 31st of August. Mr. McKinley was then at work in the second story of The News and Courier building, and while the structure was shaking and quivering, and heaving as if about to be wrenched apart and dashed to pieces, it was emptied of its occupants who found the street crowded with shrieking women and children and shouting men, shrouded in the rising dust of shattered masonry. The dead are there, and the wounded, either prone or being borne away by relatives or friends. Buildings are rocking and crashing everywhere, and it is perhaps difficult to distinguish between their rumblings and the subterranean roars of the "quake" itself. Soon after the second shock, which occurred about eight minutes after the first great and destructive quake, Mr. McKinley started homeward as he says "to find the scenes enacted on Broad Street around The News and Courier office repeated at every step of the way. St. Michael's steeple towered high and white through the gloom, seemingly uninjured.* The Station-house, a massive brick building across the street, had lost its parapet and the roof of the portico, which had fallen in a mass—killing a woman whose body then lay under the wreck. A little further on, the portico of the Hibernian Hall, a handsome building in the Grecian style, had crashed to the ground, carrying down the massive pillars with it. All the way up Meeting Street, which in respect of its general direction and relative importance, corresponds with Broadway in New York, the ground was piled with debris, from the tops of the walls on either side. In passing the Charleston Hotel, which, to carry out the comparison above indicated, occupies the position of Stewart's up-town store in New York, the third shock was felt about ten minutes after the second, and, of course, caused the greatest alarm in that neighborhood, as elsewhere. At Marion Square, corresponding with Union Square, New York, a great crowd had already collected, as even the borders of the extensive plaza could not be reached by the nearest buildings in the event of their fall, and the number of fugitives was momentarily increased by new arrivals pouring in from every side.

"From this crowd, composed of men, women and children of both races, arose incessant calls and cries and lamentations, while over the motley, half-clad assembly, was shed the lurid light of the conflagration that had broken out a hundred yards beyond the square, immediately after the first shock, and now enveloped several buildings in flames. In three other quarters of the town at the same time, similar large fires were observed under full headway,† and the awful significance of the earthquake may be most fully appreciated, perhaps, when it is said that, with these fires blazing up at once around them, the people whom you met on the streets, or saw gathered together in groups in the open places, evidently did not give them a thought. No one watched the ruddy flames, or the black pillars of smoke rising high into the still night air. All were too intent on listening for the dreaded recurrence of that horrible growl or groan of the power under the sea and under the land, or on watching for the next manifestation of the mysterious force, to give a thought to the more familiar terror, though it had threatened his own home and every house in the doomed city.

* It was found the next morning that St. Michael's was badly torn and damaged.

† Nearly twenty buildings were burned, and all were on fire at the same time.

"Arriving at his home, the writer found the same condition of affairs that prevailed elsewhere. Every house in the vicinity was deserted. Interrupted in their evening pursuits, or aroused from sleep by the shocks and the sound of the fearful ruin being effected above and around them, the alarmed inmates had rushed into the streets, and were huddled together, trembling and fearful, awaiting the end, whatever it might be. Invalids had been brought out on mattresses and deposited in the roadway and, together with the aged and the infant, were cared for as tenderly as possible. No thought was given anywhere to treasures left behind in the effort to save the priceless treasure of life itself—suddenly become so precious in the eyes of all who were threatened to be bereft of it.

"The presence of the dead and wounded who were conveyed to the parks and public squares added greatly, of course, to the distress of the already dismayed refugees in those places. The bodies of the victims were laid on the ground in the midst of the camps, the dead being covered from sight by shawls or sheets, while skilled hands ministered to the sufferers who were yet within the reach of human aid. The physicians and surgeons performed their duty throughout the night with heroic devotion, and many chapters would be required to tell the story of their labors alone, as it should be told.

"Exaggerated rumors as to the number of the killed spread throughout the city soon after the shock, causing needless pain to many who, though spared the sight of the scenes of suffering and death so near to them, yet feared for the safety of relatives and friends, of whom no tidings could be heard.

"The long anxious watch between midnight and day was not less trying than the shock itself. The suspense was indescribably painful, and had no relief for a moment, save when it gave place to recognition of the approach and presence of renewed danger. That passed, the breathless vigil began again, and the moments seemed hours and the hours as moments until the next dread visitor had come and gone. Four severe shocks occurred before midnight. Three others followed at about two, four and half-past eight o'clock A. M., and every shock after the first caused even more alarm, naturally, than the first itself.

"The apprehension of further and perhaps greater ill was shared by everyone, and was not relieved for an instant. The character and extent of the disturbing force were not known, nor was there any reason to believe that the hardest shock had been experienced. Whether the blow had come from the sea or from the land, none could say. * * *

"The rising sun on Wednesday morning looked on empty and broken homes and on streets encumbered with continuous lines or heaped masses of ruins, amidst which the wearied and shelterless citizens gathered together in little groups, or picked their way from place to place wondering at the extent of the damage inflicted everywhere and with renewed thankfulness in view of the perils escaped. No one was prepared for the scene at daylight. Every house was in worse condition than had been suspected. Some were utter wrecks and many others were but little better off. For the first time the magnitude of the disaster began to be somewhat appreciated.

"Those who flattered themselves that the morning had brought an end to their terrors and trials, however, and who timidly ventured to return indoors to commence the work of temporary repair or to provide for the wants of the day, were quickly undeceived. Another shock occurred about half-past eight o'clock and caused more excitement and apprehension because of the knowledge, that had now be-

come general, of the dangerous condition of the buildings, and of the effects that might be expected to follow any further violent agitation. It had become known, too, that very many persons had been killed and wounded during the night,* and that the ground had opened in numerous places in and around the city, the number and extent of the fissures being, of course, greatly exaggerated. Some alleged authoritative predictions of further violent shocks had also obtained circulation and credence. The latest shock, therefore, naturally caused widespread consternation. Another occurred about 1 P. M., another at 5 P. M., and another about 8 P. M. Those of the day fully determined every one to avoid their houses until the disturbances had ended or appreciably moderated. Tents, awnings and rude habitations of varied description were erected everywhere for such protection as they could afford; the entire population of the city was collected in the parks and streets, except a few families that had found refuge on the ships in the harbor; there was no lack of food, except that caused by the limited means for preparing it; the day was spent in improvising such necessary arrangements for camping out as the circumstances required and permitted.

"The general aspect of the city is scarcely a subject for detailed description, and can more readily be conceived than put in words. It is enough to say that not more than a half dozen houses escaped injury, and that the damage to all would be represented by the demolition of one-fourth the buildings on Charleston Neck; by the leveling of the houses south of Broad Street; or by the destruction of a city larger than Columbia. The ruins lay piled in the streets, yards and gardens, and the houses from which they had fallen seemed ready to crumble of their own weight. Travel was confined to the middle of the streets and was impeded there. It is impossible to estimate, even approximately, the amount of masonry that was thrown into the streets, but it may be guessed at, in some sort, when it is said that the wreckage caused by the cyclone of the year before amounted to over ten thousand cartloads, all of which was removed within the week following. The debris in a few streets, after the Earthquake, would have equalled in mass all of a similar kind, that was caused by the storm, and every street was obstructed, more or less, throughout its length. The work of removal was continued for months, and at the end of the year and after, unsightly piles were still encountered in out-of-the-way places, where they did not interfere with public or private convenience."

In a footnote to this graphic description of the earthquake the following facts, which were afterward collected, are stated: The damage caused by the cyclone was finally estimated at about \$1,500,000. The records of the city assessor's office show that the damages caused by the earthquake were officially estimated, during the following week, at about \$5,000,000. The United States Engineering Commission, appointed at the request of the mayor to determine the condition of the houses, carefully examined nearly two thousand buildings. In their report they say: "We estimate approximately that the buildings upon which we have rendered reports cannot be thoroughly repaired for less than \$2,000,000. and the remaining buildings, while of slight consequence as regards their danger to their owners, their occupants and the public, will swell the moneyed value of real estate damages to a total of from \$5,000,000 to \$6,000,000." A Board of Inspectors, con-

* The number of killed, as shown by the official records, was 27: whites, 7; colored, 20. The number of wounded has never been ascertained. The total number of deaths attributed to injuries and exposure was 83, which is not believed to cover the actual deaths from these causes.

sisting of an architect and builder, were also appointed by the insurance companies transacting business in Charleston to investigate the condition of the houses. The Board reported that they had inspected 6,956 buildings; that 90 per cent. of the brick buildings were injured more or less, while frame buildings suffered from falling chimneys, cracked plastering and injured foundations; that "not 100 out of 14,000 chimneys escaped injury, and ninety-five per cent. of these 14,000 were broken off at the roof and went to the ground." The whole number of buildings adjudged unsafe and ordered to be pulled down was 102. Some of these were preserved by wholesale repairs, while others that were not condemned by the Commission, proved to be wrecks on closer examination.

RELIEF FOR THE REALLY NEEDY

Messages of sympathy and offers of practical assistance came to Charleston from all quarters of the globe and from all classes and stations, from Queen Victoria to the workmen clearing away the debris in the streets. The offerings, in fact, were so large and so prompt, that as early as October 5th, the Relief Committee, of which Joseph W. Barnwell was chairman, with the spirit of pride and independence, which have ever characterized the city, announced thankfully that enough relief was in sight to meet the situation. This combined spirit of conscientiousness, pride and thankfulness was thus expressed: "The committee have, after the most careful examination of the cases as far as received, arrived at the opinion that the sum of money already received by this committee, together with the estimated amount of collections now made and in progress of being made in the territory east of the Alleghenies, together with the estimated amount now in process of collection in Chicago and other points west of the Alleghenies, of which they have been advised, will, when received, place the committee in a position to substantially help the needy sufferers, for whose relief only this committee was formed.

"The larger and vaster loss, falling upon the Federal Government, the State, the county and the city, in the damage to public buildings, the great loss to churches, associations and corporations, and the widespread damages done to residences, stores, warehouses and other property of private persons, who are able, out of their private means, to replace and repair the losses, as great and distressing as their aggregate loss is to the public and to individuals, it has not been within the scope of this committee's efforts. simply because it was not the cause of charity to the needy earthquake sufferers.

"As the grateful recipient of the generosity and sympathy of those who have stretched out their helping hand to us, this committee have felt that they should be guided by facts and estimates of the actual loss of needy sufferers, and if on an untrodden path they might err, they prefer to err by limiting the estimate rather than placing it too high."

It was found, by the spring of the following year, that the total contributions made for the relief of these "needy sufferers" had amounted to \$646,109, of which amount New York had contributed \$181,000; Massachusetts, \$99,000, and Pennsylvania, \$69,000.

EXTENT AND NATURE OF THE EARTH'S COMMOTIONS

The islands around Charleston and the ships in the harbor felt all the shocks in a more modified form, and one of the largest fissures opened was that at Oak Grove, on the bank of the Ashley river, about

ten miles from the city. The commotions not only were distinct all over the northern part of the State, but subsequent investigations by the United States Geographical Survey indicated that the shocks were so widespread as to be felt as far as LaCrosse, Wisconsin, on the Mississippi river, 967 miles from Charleston; as far northeast as Boston and Lake Champlain, and as far west and southwest as Central Iowa, Central Missouri and Eastern Arkansas. In Eastern Kentucky and Southeastern Ohio the force of the shocks was noticeably great.

Throughout the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Northeastern Florida and, in general, anywhere within about two hundred and fifty miles of the center, the energy of the shocks was noticeable. At Columbia, Augusta, Raleigh, Atlanta and Savannah the consternation of all people was universal. "In all of the large towns within two hundred miles of Charleston, more or less damage was suffered by houses and other structures," says the report of the United States Geological Survey. "Walls were cracked to such an extent as to necessitate important repairs; dams were broken, chimneys were overthrown, plastering shaken from ceilings, lamps overturned, water thrown out of tanks, cars set in motion on side-tracks, animals filled with terror, fowls shaken from their roosts, loose objects thrown from objects, chairs and beds moved horizontally upon the floor, pictures banged against the walls, trees visibly swayed and their leaves agitated and rustled as if by a wind. These occurrences were general and were more strongly marked until they became terrifying and disastrous as the center of the disturbance was approached."

Earle Sloan, a native Charlestonian, a special agent of the Survey, spent several weeks in Charleston and vicinity, scientifically investigating the effects of the earthquake. One of his objects was to ascertain, if possible, the cause of the culmination of the subterranean forces at that particular locality. Without going into detail as to the steps in the reasoning which brought him to the conclusion that it was a series of force waves, at least two in number, which dashed together in the Charleston area and threw their pent-up energies to the surface—scientifically, he expressed the matter in this wise: "Many data of eloquent significance argue that the great earthquake shock experienced at Charleston, S. C., August 31, 1886, was a compound disturbance proceeding from a series of foci, progressively explosive in a line of action northeast to southwest, each propagating its waves of force radiating in all directions. Those waves from the great focus that proceeded southeasterly were the first to strike Charleston, which, while yet in its throes, was struck by a system of waves from a secondary focus, the energy of which was a little less than that of the major focus. This third system of waves, acting at Charleston from a westerly direction, combined with the first system to afford most marked expressions of concurrence and interference of waves producing, through the most varied resultants of force and resistance, not only horizontal and vertical actions, but even rotation—both right and left-handed—and, occasionally, counteracting influences afforded loci of comparative calm, where objects sensitive to violence were comparatively undisturbed, though closely contiguous to and surrounded by the most violent manifestations of energy. Again many, even delicate objects, in falling to the earth, at favorable periods of its vibrations, encountered a shifting, and therefore gradual arrest or translation of motion, saving them from an injury which is greatly increased when the period of vibration was in contrary direction to the line of overthrow. The experience of cool-headed men concurs in asserting that the shock was in its inception a vibration that culminated in the utmost

violence, which suddenly yielded to a phase characterized as more undulatory—affording inference of compound force abundantly sustained in object testimony, which we will now review."

In support of the theory of two (or more) successive forces, Mr. Sloan reviews the status of about a thousand monuments in and about the city, as well as the displacement of numerous objects. The upheaval of several railroad beds in the Charleston area (and there were several narrow escapes from wreck and injury) was a fruitful source of information in determining the most probable sources and the nature of the earthquake. Mr. Sloan's deduced theory also was that the reason Charleston experienced a damage out of all proportion to "its distance from the legitimate line of greatest disturbance" was because of the streams which inclosed its land surface and "its peculiar deep and plastic subsoil." In other words, when the great subterranean waves of force dashed together and came to the surface under Charleston, they were banked in by the encompassing waters, had no chance to spread laterally, and therefore mounted in their destructive career.

The area of greatest violence is thus described: "The tract which includes the most forcible action of the earthquake is an elliptical area about 27 miles in length, and with a maximum width of about 18 miles. The major axis of this area is not a straight line, but a line which is concave towards Charleston, and is situated 14 to 16 miles west and northwest of the city." Various testimony was given as to the height of the earth waves accompanying the great shock of August 31st, one citizen testifying that he saw two waves about two feet in height, coming respectively from the southwest and the northwest and that they came together in the middle of the street across which he was pitched.

From whatever angle the Charleston earthquake is viewed it is evident that it was one of the most extraordinary outbursts of subterranean forces ever experienced outside of the volcanic areas of the earth.

GOVERNOR JOHN P. RICHARDSON

When John Peter Richardson was elected governor of South Carolina in November, 1886, he was the third representative of his family to occupy the gubernatorial chair—one for each succeeding generation since the settlement of General Richard Richardson, of Virginia, on the fertile banks of the Santee river, in the present Clarendon County, during the period when the Old Dominion and South Carolina were colonies of Great Britain. The founder of the family was a commander of the forces of the colony in the "snow campaign," just preceding the Revolution, and was a victim of Tarleton's cruelties during those trying times in the up-country. James B. Richardson, the eldest son of the general, became governor of South Carolina in 1804; his grandson, John Peter Richardson, in 1840, and his great-grandson, also John Peter, in 1886. Three other descendants of General Richardson have filled the executive chair, Richard L. Manning, his son John L. Manning and his grandson Richard I. Manning, governor 1915-17 and 1917-19.

Governor Richardson's youth was spent in the neighborhood of the old family estate in Clarendon County, and he was educated at home and under private instructors until he entered South Carolina College, from which he graduated in 1849 in the same class with Judge W. H. Wallace and General James Conner. He served in the Con-

federate Army of the West under General James Cantey, during the War of Secession, was a hard-working farmer in greatly reduced circumstances for some years afterward; was a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1865 which framed a provisional government for the State and sat for several terms thereafter both in the House and Senate of the Legislature. In 1876 he was defeated for the House, but elected in 1878, and served as state treasurer from 1880 to 1886, inclusive. His selection as governor, in 1886, rounded out a career of steady progress.

ENTER B. R. TILLMAN

In the meantime, the Farmers' Movement had already gathered headway under the skillful manipulation and guidance of Benjamin R. Tillman, the inspiring speaker and successful farmer of Edgefield. He was also a strong writer for the agricultural papers and his pronounced views upon the needs of the farmers of South Carolina and the rights of which he alleged they had been defrauded and of the scientific and practical education which he claimed was not to be obtained at the State College, made him widely known and popular. At the meeting of the State Agricultural and Mechanical Society and State Grange at Bennettsville, Marlboro County, in August, 1885, Mr. Tillman was a delegate; then, virtually unknown in many parts of the State. *But he introduced at that "joint summer meeting" certain resolutions, and defended them (in the words of *The News and Courier* reporter) "in a speech full of hard sense, keen satire and good-humored badinage." They demanded, first, the establishment of an experimental farm; second, the making over of the South Carolina College into a real agricultural institution; third, more farmers on the Board of South Carolina College Trustees; fourth, enlargement of the State Board of Agriculture by adding one member from each Congressional District; and fifth, the establishment of farmers' institutes. The resolutions were voted down with the exception of the two relating to the experimental farm and the enlargement of the State Board of Agriculture, but Captain Tillman insisted that had the audience of farmers, outside of the members of the two societies, been able to vote, they would have been carried. Anyway, the speech instantly projected a comparatively unknown farmer into prominence.

That address had first brought him into prominence, and his standing with the farmers, and the public in general, had been strengthened. In May, 1886, the Farmers' Association held its first meeting at Columbia. That influential body, of which Captain Tillman was the acknowledged master spirit, resolved that the time had come for the building of an institution, the purpose of which should be a college education for the farmers' sons, as well as to provide for the education of the industrial classes generally. That was the germ which was to develop, throughout Governor Richardson's administrations, into the Clemson Agricultural College. The resolutions adopted at the meeting demanded for the support of the proposed institution, the Land Scrip Fund and the Hatch Fund, the latter provided by Congress and divided among the several States to encourage agricultural education. South Carolina's share amounted to about \$15,000 per annum. As another means of support, the convention also demanded that the fertilizer tag tax be doubled. As to the latter, Mr. Tillman said: "Although the farmers would have to pay it, they would not

* W. W. Ball's "An Episode in South Carolina Politics," paper read before the Kosmos Club in 1915 (unpublished).

feel it, as they would feel a direct tax." * All the movements undertaken under the auspices of the Farmers' Association and its dominating force, Captain Tillman, were calculated to set class against class. At that August meeting Captain Tillman declared that "the lawyers and merchants had dominated the Legislature for the past ten years."

The higher education of women received its first financial encouragement from the State at the outset of the first Richardson administration. The original suggestion to establish a State college for women was made in the House of Representatives by James G. Blue; but he proposed to transform the Citadel into a girls' school. Later, the Farmers' Association recommended such an institution, and on November 15, 1886, the Winthrop Normal or Training School for Teachers was organized at Columbia, under the auspices of the Board of School Commissioners of that city. Dr. D. B. Johnson, the city superintendent of schools, originated the movement which resulted in the organization of the school by obtaining \$1,500 from the trustees of the Peabody Educational Fund, and both he and J. L. M. Curry, the general agent of the fund, labored hard and unselfishly to bring practical results. In 1887, the Legislature voted an appropriation for the support of one scholarship (\$150) from each county in the State, which was the commencement of South Carolina's aid to the education of women.*

THE CLEMSON BEQUEST

The political contest over the governorship, in the fall of 1888, developed a strong opposition to Mr. Richardson, which largely revolved around the Farmers' movements, still led by Captain Tillman. Especially was there much discussion over the advisability of accepting the bequest of the late Thomas G. Clemson to establish an agricultural college on the estate of John C. Calhoun at Fort Hill, in the southeastern corner of Oconee County and the extreme northwestern part of the State. Mr. Clemson, who had died in April, 1888, was Calhoun's son-in-law, and had inherited that property from his wife. Colonel Richard W. Simpson, a legislator and lawyer of Anderson County, had been Mr. Clemson's confidential lawyer and had written his will, himself having advocated the establishment of an agricultural college. Mr. Clemson had also conferred with the gifted W. H. Trescot. Provision was made for an agricultural college in Mr. Clemson's will and Colonel Simpson named as one of its trustees. Seven of the trustees who were to control the property, valued then at from \$85,000 to \$100,000, were named in the will, and not more than six were to be selected by the State.† As the seven were to have the right to fill vacancies in their number, they constituted the permanent controlling force. Not long before his death, Mr. Clemson had consulted both Colonel Simpson and Captain Tillman about the establishment of such an institution; so that the two stood as the official sponsors of the Clemson bequest as made under the terms of the will. The will was contested by a grand-daughter of Mr. Clemson, defended

* "An Episode in South Carolina Politics:" W. W. Ball.

† Within the last decade a suit was brought against Clemson College for damages for causing overflow in the Seneca River, thereby injuring the property of a citizen. It was contended by the defense that Clemson College was a State institution, and therefore not suable without permission of the State. Ultimately the Supreme Court of the United States held that in view of the fact that a majority of the trustees were appointed under the will of a private citizen and were self-perpetuating, Clemson College was not a State, but was a private institution.

by Colonel Simpson, as executor of the estate, and its validity finally sustained by the United States Supreme Court.

CAPTAIN TILLMAN AGAIN DRAWN INTO POLITICS

Although Captain Tillman formally "retired" from politics and the public, in a long "farewell" letter to *The News and Courier*, in January, 1888, the death of Mr. Clemson in the April following, with the publication of his bequest, drew him from his short retirement to his Edgefield plantation into State politics. Appearing as an opponent of the Richardson administration, he was a leading figure at the Farmers' convention held during the month of Mr. Clemson's death, and which issued an address urging economy and the acceptance of the bequest.

Attorney General Earle was Governor Richardson's only contestant, although the former was not an avowed candidate, but Mr. Richardson was renominated in the convention by 191 to 114, and re-elected without serious opposition.

CLEMSON COLLEGE FINALLY FOUNDED

When the Legislature met, the Clemson will case was in the courts, and Governor Richardson advised the Legislature not to hastily accept the bequest until the validity of the will had been established judicially, "and before a positive and unquestioned ascertainment of the fact is had that the institution when established shall be and forever remain under the supreme and sole control of the State." The main ground of opposition to the bequest was that the State would not control the college and it was strongly urged that it should bear the name Calhoun rather than Clemson. The bill met with such strong opposition in the Senate, being carried only by the vote of the lieutenant governor which broke a tie. Before the session of 1889 the courts had sustained the will and there was now no obstruction in the way of perfecting the bill of acceptance. As stated by a well known South Carolinian who writes with authority: "The main question, therefore, before the Legislature of 1889, was whether the new college should be supported by direct appropriation or by an indirect tax. The bill as finally passed gave one-half of the land scrip to Clemson and one-half to the University, and the Hatch fund to Clemson, and also made a liberal direct appropriation for Clemson. Thus the legal steps in the creation of Clemson were completed, fifteen of the twenty votes in the Senate in favor of the measure being cast by men who were not Tillmanites, and Governor Richardson attaching his signature to the act." But the actual erection of the college buildings did not commence until 1890 and the doors open to students until 1893. The most interesting and historic of the structures embodying Clemson Agricultural College was already on the site of the campus—the Calhoun mansion standing on a beautiful knoll in the center of the grounds.

In December, 1887, the charter being again amended, the South Carolina College was changed to the University of South Carolina, which in October, 1888, was opened with a president, nineteen professors, one assistant professor, and seven instructors and tutors, and with the following departments: Graduate Department; College of Liberal Arts and Sciences; College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts; College of Pharmacy; Normal School; Law School. Those opposed to the agricultural college as a unit of the University, foremost of whom was Captain Tillman, seemed to desire an institution of lower requirements

MAIN BUILDING AND CHAPEL, CLEMSON AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

located outside of Columbia, thereby destroying its strength as a university; and they partially succeeded in their designs.

THE UNIVERSITY AGAIN A COLLEGE

In 1890, because of the establishment of Clemson College, another act of reorganization was passed by the Legislature. The agricultural and mechanical departments of the University were transferred to Clemson and the time honored center of learning again became "South Carolina College" and was continued under that name for sixteen years.* For a time, its numbers were smaller than at any period in its history, except during the last year of Dr. Thomas Cooper's presidency, but under the fostering care of its president and the skilled instruction of such men as Professor R. Means Davis, the South Carolina College gradually regained its former position.

CONVERSE COLLEGE ESTABLISHED

Toward the last of Governor Richardson's administration Converse College was established at Spartanburg. In 1889 it was founded by Dexter E. Converse, a Vermont man who had become experienced in cotton manufacturing in the East before he located in Spartanburg County (Glendale). There, for thirty-six years he developed a very extensive cotton manufacturing business, came to own the entire village of Glendale which was supported by his great industry, and extended his interests into Clifton and the surrounding country. By the early '90s, the Clifton Manufacturing Company, of which Mr. Converse was one of the largest stockholders, had not only founded the town by that name, but had developed it into a place of three thousand people, of which it was also the virtual owner. In 1891, Mr. Converse moved to Spartanburg, where he also had large business, industrial and financial interests, and that he might also give of his time and managerial abilities to the growth and welfare of the Converse College which he had founded two years before. The Legislature had incorporated the college in 1890, during Mr. Richardson's administration, and it had opened in October of that year, with Dr. B. F. Wilson as president. The grounds comprise forty-seven acres, and the institution has steadily grown in every way. It is non-sectarian and is the leading woman's college in the State.

STATE PRIMARIES LEGALIZED

Perhaps the most noteworthy piece of legislation in the General Assembly of 1888 was an act giving to primary elections the protection of law. James L. Orr, of Greenville, is by general consent given the most credit for bringing it about for he had long urged that reform. Captain Tillman, of Edgefield, first supported primaries as late as 1888. Even before primary elections were given the sanction, or protection of the law, they had been in operation in both county and congressional nominations. In 1888, however, Edward McCrady introduced a bill in the house, and,† doubtless at his request, in the Senate, the same bill was introduced by George L. Buist, of Charleston. Amendments offered by Major E. B. Murray, were incorporated in it. The act was approved by Governor Richardson, and so for the first time in the State the

* South Carolina Handbooks.

† W. W. Ball's paper read before the Kosmos Club, in 1915.

primary system received the stamp of legal recognition. In this year, too, General M. C. Butler was reelected United States senator by a Legislature all of whose members except those of one or two counties were chosen by primaries.

Another measure of Richardson's administration, worthy of note, was that which first provided for the pensioning of Confederate veterans by the State, and the initial appropriation of \$50,000 for that purpose.

The administration closed with a general feeling of satisfaction that the State had made progress all along the line, and especially that the growing demands of the farming element had been fairly met. In his message to the General Assembly of 1890, Governor Richardson made special reference to the progress of the public schools, showing that since 1886 they had increased 288 in number and 17,294 in enrollment.

PROGRESS OF THE STATE IN A DECADE

The census year 1890 indicated many notable improvements in the State. Since 1880 her population had increased from 995,577 to 1,151,149, or 15.6 per cent. Of the cities, those in the up-country, with the rise of the cotton industries, had increased most rapidly (in per centage), although Columbia had shown a remarkable proportionate growth. The State capital had increased in the decade, 1880-90, from 10,036 to 15,353, or 53 per cent.; while Charleston's figures were 49,984 and 54,955, respectively, or 9.9 per cent., the overwhelming disaster of the earthquake having had its inevitable effect. As to the cities in the up-country, Sumter had increased in population from 2,011 to 3,865, or 92.2 per cent.; Spartanburg, from 3,253 to 5,544, or 70.4 per cent.; Anderson, from 1,850 to 3,018, or 63.1 per cent. and Greenville, 6,160 to 8,607, or 39.7 per cent.

In 1890, the relative percentage of urban and rural population in South Carolina was 10.1 and 89.9, respectively. The population of the several counties in that year was as follows: Abbeville, 46,854; Aiken, 31,822; Anderson, 43,696; Bamberg (returns incomplete); Barnwell, 44,613; Beaufort, 34,119; Berkeley, 55,428; Calhoun (returns incomplete); Charleston, 59,903; Cherokee (returns incomplete); Chester, 26,660; Chesterfield, 18,233; Colleton, 40,293; Darlington, 29,134; Dillon (returns incomplete); Dorchester (returns incomplete); Edgefield, 49,259; Fairfield, 28,599; Florence, 25,027; Georgetown, 20,857; Greenville, 44,310; Greenwood (returns incomplete); Hampton, 20,544; Horry, 19,256; Kershaw, 22,361; Lancaster, 20,761; Laurens, 31,610; Lee (returns incomplete); Lexington, 22,181; Marion, 29,976; Marlboro, 23,500; Newberry, 26,434; Oconee, 18,687; Orangeburg, 49,393; Pickens, 16,389; Richland, 36,821; Saluda (incomplete returns); Spartanburg, 55,385; Sumter, 43,605; Union, 25,363; Williamsburg, 27,777; York, 38,831.

The race division, in 1890, indicated that 40.1 per cent. of the total population was white and 59.8 negro, and that 90.6 per cent. of the former and 98.2 per cent. of the latter were born in South Carolina.

In 1880, 69 per cent. of the land area of the State was included in farms, and since that year the total farm acreage has varied but little. By 1890 the total farm acreage had fallen to 67.6 per cent. In 1880 the value of the farm property in South Carolina was \$84,079,702, of which the land and buildings amounted to \$68,677,482, implements and machinery, \$3,202,710 and domestic animals, poultry and bees, \$12,199.-

VIEWS IN UP-COUNTRY TOWNS

Court House at Greenville (upper) : Abbeville's Public Park (lower).

510; in 1890, these three items had increased to, respectively, \$119,849,-272, \$99,104,600, \$4,172,262, and \$16,572,410.

In 1880, the entire valuation of all property was assessed at \$134,662,834, of which country real estate amounted to \$37,098,819; in 1890, the figures were \$150,602,451 and \$60,603,747. The tax levy was $4\frac{3}{4}$ mills in 1880 and $5\frac{1}{4}$ in 1890.

The writer now leaves the dry, but enlightening field of statistics, for perhaps the most spectacular era of shifting politics in the history of South Carolina.

CHAPTER LXIV

THE TILLMAN ADMINISTRATIONS

The calm before the storm of 1890 was broken early in the year by the manifestoes issued in January and February, by the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Farmers' Association, G. W. Shell. Although they were devised and written by Captain Tillman, as he subsequently admitted, they were known, and are still designated, as the Shell manifestoes. The first, issued on January 23d, was addressed to the Democracy of South Carolina. It called a convention to nominate candidates for governor and lieutenant governor and, while it proposed to act within the Democratic party, its criticism of the State administration and its general policies was so bitter and widespread as to alienate a number of leading Democrats from its support. Among such leading Democrats may be mentioned J. Lawrence Orr, Dr. Mauldin, and A. B. Williams, editor of the Greenville News, former Governor Sheppard of Edgefield, and W. G. Hinson of Charleston. The invitation of the Executive Committee of the Farmers' Association to the State Democracy to send delegates to the proposed convention of that organization, on March 27, 1890, was viewed with mingled emotions of indignation, suspicion, amusement and perplexity.

THE "SHELL" MANIFESTOES

* "A charge of the document was that the State was governed by an oligarchy of aristocrats; it denounced the failure of the Legislatures to call a Constitutional Convention, demanded "rotation in office," accused the administrations of extravagance, and, in masterly terms, from a rhetorical point of view, strung out insinuation and denunciation. * * * One of the charges, ludicrous in the light of later history, was that the weak administration of the laws was responsible for the numerous crimes and lynchings that had been occurring."

The Farmers' Alliance, which had taken root within the State, was a national organization of farmers founded on a platform of broad scope. Although the South Carolina alliances contained many anti-Tillmanites, those who supported the captain preponderated in those bodies. But whatever assistance he received from the Farmers' Alliance was individual, not collective; for Captain Tillman's Farmers' Association, with its platform and its policy, was for South Carolina alone, and, as after events showed, for Captain Tillman.

The second Shell manifesto, published on February 10th, repeated, although it somewhat condensed, the demands made in the first. Expenses of the State Government had to be "boiled down," and an Agricultural College was demanded, both practical and scientific in its scope. The Land Scrip, the Hatch fund and the revenues from the fertilizer tag tax should all be given to Clemson College, instead of to "existing institutions." It was demanded that the friends of the University cease their "opposition" to Clemson, and it was further de-

* See W. W. Ball's paper, "An Episode in South Carolina Politics," read before the Kosmos Club in 1915.

BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN

clared that the latter would not be safe until the farmers should take control of the Democratic State Convention and the Legislature, and so end "ring rule." The Railroad Commission should be made useful or abolished and the senators and representatives of the State Legislature reapportioned. The manifesto did not fail to reiterate its demand for the calling of a convention to form a new State Constitution.

The Shell manifestoes alienated not a few public men of strength who had previously supported the Farmers' movement and Captain Tillman, under the impression that neither had any ulterior object in view; that their sole aims were to improve the condition of the farmers of South Carolina, through education and the application of scientific methods of agriculture. Perhaps these were the original objects of both association and its master spirit, but the Shell manifestoes, behind which Captain Tillman was for a time hidden, showed a distinct departure from these definite objects and a determination of the organization, now that it had gained sufficient strength, to mould itself into an independent political body opposed, if need be, to the State Democracy—which had done so much within recent years for the good of South Carolina.

THE TILLMAN TICKET

When the convention met at Columbia, on March 27, 1890, Captain Shell tried to explain away his use of the word "nominate," saying that it should have been "suggest," and the newspaper reporters said that its delegates, by a vote of 117 to 116, decided to make no nominations at that time, but before the result was announced, Colonel J. L. M. Irby, of Laurens, a friend and admirer of Captain Tillman, brought over to the latter enough members from Charleston and Spartanburg to change the decision of the convention. Thereupon Captain Benjamin R. Tillman, of Edgefield, was "suggested" for governor, and Colonel J. C. Coit, of Cheraw (formerly comptroller general), for lieutenant governor. The latter was not a member of the convention and declined the nomination; whereupon Eugene B. Gary was named for the second place on the ticket. Nominations for the other offices were also arranged; but the interest of the campaign centered in the contest over the governorship, which brought out the electioneering and haranguing genius of Benjamin R. Tillman, seconded by his able lieutenant, John L. M. Irby.

JOSEPH H. EARLE AND JOHN BRATTON

The candidate of the Farmers' Association had, as his gubernatorial opponents two of the able and popular men of the State—General John Bratton and Attorney General Earle. Although Mr. Earle had served in the Confederate army he was too young to have made a prominent record. In 1886-1890 he had served two terms as attorney general of the State, after a long experience in both houses of the Legislature, and was conceded to be one of the ablest lawyers at the South Carolina bar.

General Bratton had fully earned his military title in the Wilderness campaign of the War of Secession, being promoted on the urgent request of General Lee. His brigade of 1,500 men had more men than any brigade in the army which Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox. He had served in the State Senate, been a delegate to the National Democratic convention of 1876, had one term as State Comptroller, completed an unexpired term in Congress, and had been a staunch sup-

porter of the State Democracy throughout all its trials and triumphs. These gentlemen were natural opponents of Tillmanism, but were powerless against its rapid advance.

The magnetism, ability and shrewdness of Captain Tillman, and the bullying tactics of his supporters, "howling down" the conservative candidates at nearly every meeting, carried all before them, and his faction elected delegates to the State Convention from all the counties except Charleston, Beaufort, Georgetown, Richland and Sumter. The Tillmanites also unseated the delegates from Fairfield, the home county of General Bratton, and from Sumter, Mr. Earle's county.

A PROTEST AGAINST TILLMANIA

The unseating of the delegation from Sumter, Mr. Earle's county was the immediate cause of a split in the party and the holding of two conventions in Columbia. The "straight-out ticket," headed by Col. A. C. Haskell for governor, was a protest against the charges of Captain Tillman and the conduct of the campaign by many of his infuriated followers. Very many South Carolinians who were opposed to Captain Tillman voted for him rather than imperil the party solidarity.

Daniel Webster differed absolutely from Calhoun's expositions of the principles justifying nullification, and yet declared that those principles "will descend to posterity under the sanction of a great name," and, in the same spirit many South Carolinians, though differing as to the "straight-out" policy, give respectful consideration to any declaration of political principles of which such men as Alexander C. Haskell, Chancellor W. D. Johnson, Joseph W. Barnwell and N. G. Gonzales were the proponents. In the Democratic State Convention Tillman received 270 out of 320 votes, and was enthusiastically, tumultuously nominated for governor, and Eugene B. Gary for lieutenant governor. In the campaign Haskell, Bratton and Earle addressed the people throughout the State and General Hampton came all the way from Canada to attend the meeting in Columbia on June 24, 1890, and spoke at Aiken and elsewhere, but all to no avail—Tillman was elected by an overwhelming majority.

DEATH OF GENERAL M. L. BONHAM

While this remarkable campaign was in progress, General Milledge L. Bonham died. He was the second war governor of the State and, during the early period of the struggle, a prominent officer. At Bull Run, he commanded all the South Carolina troops in action, as well as various artillery and cavalry units from Virginia. But this was not his first military service. A native of the Edgefield district and a graduate of the South Carolina College, he commenced the study of law, in which he was interrupted to participate in the Seminole war, and had been successfully practicing his profession for nearly a decade, when he again left the State for the seat of the Mexican war, in which he commanded an infantry regiment in the regular army. Prior to 1856, General Bonham had been elected solicitor for the southern circuit, had become major general of the State militia and had been in the Legislature for four years. In 1856 he was elected a representative of the Thirty-fifth Congress and was reelected to the succeeding Congress, thus serving until he withdrew, with other members of the South Carolina delegation, in December, 1860. He served as a commissioner from South Carolina to the Mississippi convention, and took a prominent part in the secession movement. He was one of the gen-

erals specially mentioned by Lee as entitled to the credit of the retrograde movements on Bull Run—"movements (in the words of General Lee) on which hung the fortunes of the army."

General Bonham was called from the front to serve as a representative in the Confederate Congress and thence to the governorship of his State, the term of his latter office expiring in 1864. He then returned to the army, in which he served until the end of the war. Subsequently, he served a number of years in the Legislature, was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention in 1868, and still later held the position of railroad commissioner. He held that office at the time of his death August 27, 1890.

The regime of Bonham, Bratton, Richardson and of many of the younger generation, men of pure and lofty character, of ability and intelligence, must, in the opinion of the large majority of the South Carolina white electorate, give place to younger, more forceful and more progressive leadership; a great "tribune of the people"—typified at that time by Benjamin Ryan Tillman. His inaugural address, delivered to the General Assembly on December 4, 1890, made the fact more than ever evident that a new power had entered the affairs of South Carolina.

TILLMAN'S FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

At the outset, Governor Tillman announced that the party he represented was one of Reform, and from that time on, he never hid its light under a bushel. "We come as reformers," proclaimed his address, "claiming that many things in the Government are wrong, and that there is room for retrenchment and reduction of taxes. Our task is to give the people better government, and more efficient government, as cheaply as possible. We must, however, never lose sight of the fact that niggardliness is not always economy. The people will pay even more taxes than at present if they know those taxes are wisely expended, and for their benefit." In reviewing the painful experiences of the State, he excoriated the memory of "the carpet-bag vampires and baser native traitors," and spoke a word of pity for their tool, the negro voter—but, he added: "The whites have absolute control of the State Government, and we intend at any and all hazards, to retain it. The intelligent exercise of the right of suffrage, at once the highest privilege and the most sacred duty of the citizen, is as yet beyond the capacity of the vast majority of colored men."

Then the governor denounced "lynch law" in this wise: "With all the machinery of the law in our hands, with every department of the Government—Executive, Legislative and Judicial—held by white men; with white juries, white Solicitors, white Sheriffs, it is simply infamous that resort should be had to lynch law, and that prisoners should be murdered because the people have grown weary of the law's delay and of its inefficient administration. Negroes have nearly always been the victims; and the confession is a blot on our civilization. Let us see to it that the finger of scorn no longer be pointed at our State because of this deplorable condition of affairs."

PROPOSES TO IMPROVE THE FREE SCHOOLS

As to the free school system, which he denied was fitting the youth of the State for the practical duties of life, he remarked: "Among the farmers in the country, the good school is the exception, while inferior schools, which run three or four months, are the rule. There is just

enough effort by the State to paralyze private schools, and there is absolute retrogression in education with corresponding increase of illiteracy. We spend in round numbers for free common schools per annum about five hundred thousand dollars, and for higher education about one hundred thousand. This is fifty-two cents per capita of population and allows less than two dollars to each child of school age. It must not be forgotten that the whites pay nearly all of this, except what is obtained from the poll tax.

"Without giving reasons, which will readily occur to every thinking mind, I suggest the following scheme to improve the free school system as a basis of permanent and lasting schools: The respective counties should be divided by a reliable surveyor into school districts as nearly square as their contour and the larger streams and swamps will permit. These should be of an area not greater than thirty-six, nor less than sixteen square miles, in proportion as population is dense, and with one white and one colored school in each, all the public school funds should be concentrated to run these alone. The trustees should be elected by the residents of said districts, only free holders being eligible to that office. The poll tax should be three dollars, instead of one dollar, as now, and this will require a constitutional amendment. Empower the trustees to erect suitable buildings as near the center of districts as practicable, with money borrowed for that purpose, and set apart for each year so much of the school fund as may be necessary to liquidate the debt in ten years, principal and interest. Then allow the voters of each district to levy at their option and without further legislative action a supplementary tax for its sole use and benefit up to five mills, if they so desire, with the privilege to each taxpayer of designating the school to which this additional tax shall be applied." He suggested also that South Carolina, in association with other Southern States, arrange, if possible, "to have suitable school books compiled or published and furnish them to scholars at cost—histories especially, in which Confederate soldiers were not designated as 'rebels' and Southern statesmen as 'traitors.'"

NO USE FOR A GRAND UNIVERSITY

When it came to the higher institutions of learning Governor Tillman did not deal in generalities. After declaring that "the whole system must be overhauled and readjusted in accordance with the will of the people as shown at the recent election," he asserted that "the people have decided that there is no use for a grand university at Columbia, but they are equally determined that the South Carolina College as a school of liberal education in the classics, in the theoretical sciences, and in literature 'shall be liberally supported.' After consultation with the president and some of the professors and trustees, I recommend that the University system be abolished, the Experimental farm at Columbia be sold and the proceeds covered into the treasury, the mechanical department with all its belongings transferred to Clemson College, and that a complete reorganization be ordered. A 'liberal' appropriation and one which will suffice to give the institution stability and character ought to be made. Thirty thousand dollars for all purposes and tuition fees can be profitably used, in my opinion, and I hope it will receive that amount by perpetual annual grant, so as to remove the College altogether from political influences and antagonisms." He then considered Clemson College, which with the sale of the building and farm of the former Agricultural and Mechanical College at Columbia, the further transfer of the fertilizer fees to the new in-

stitution, and the income from the Clemson bequest, would have a building fund of at least \$65,000. The College he said could be "started" in two years. After suggesting other ways of raising money for the furtherance of Clemson, the governor had "little to say" of the Citadel Academy, which he had once dubbed a "dude factory." Although he did remark that "at present the Citadel is doing better work in proportion to cost than the University" and "there are too few lights in South Carolina for us to wantonly put out any of them," he continued: "When, however, the latter (the University) shall be reorganized as proposed, and when Clemson College shall furnish the military training and practical scientific education which can now be obtained only at the Military Academy, that school will have to show cause for its existence as a charity school for military training."

THE LUNATIC ASYLUM AND PENITENTIARY

Governor Tillman earnestly recommended the establishment of an industrial school for girls, the continued support of the Winthrop Training School for Teachers and the appointment of a commission to report the cost of a State Woman's College. He severely criticized the management of the Lunatic Asylum for admitting so many harmless paupers into the institution, thus overcrowding it and diverting it from its legitimate uses, "as a hospital for dangerous and incurable lunatics." He therefore advised that a commission of three physicians and two citizens be appointed to make a thorough examination of the inmates and return to the counties from which they came all persons who could be safely sent away. There were 445 white and 333 colored patients in the Asylum. The total was about the same as the number of convicts in the State Penitentiary, and he believed, with proper management, the proceeds from convict labor should support the Asylum. To effect this, it was suggested that all restrictions should be removed on leasing or hiring the convicts, and that they should be allowed to be employed "in any work, public or private that pays best."

A convention to form a new constitution to replace the one "forced upon an unwilling people by aliens," was strongly urged, although while the present instrument was in force it should be strictly obeyed. The Legislature should reapportion its representation, especially as regards Charleston county. He recommended the adoption of the Georgia railroad law, which ignored sectional lines in the selection of commissioners, but considered only their qualifications.

THE EQUALIZATION OF TAXES

The all-important question of equalizing taxes was carefully considered and pronounced, under the system then in vogue, "an absolute and pitiable failure." Though "both the law and the people are to blame." The basic reason for this failure was that the assessments and "equalization" were made by men who acted under political influence and whose responsibility was divided. He then proceeded to give examples of assessed valuations of property, some in his own county of Edgefield, which were notoriously false, instancing in particular: "The phosphate miners, protected by the Constitution, return land bought at enormous prices at the price of agricultural land, and either put down no output, or return it at about one-fifth of its selling price. The sworn returns of such land mines as I have been able to get show that while the gross output of land rock in this State is about \$2,000,000, less than \$400,000 is returned for taxes.

"The Haile Gold Mining Company, of Lancaster, whose output, as I am reliably informed, is at least \$75,000 per annum, returns nothing but machinery, etc., and land."

"The best and only effectual way of securing comparative equality in assessments," concluded the speaker, "as it is the only way of securing economy and efficiency in county affairs, is township government, such as exists all over the Northern States, and such as existed here before the war in our local boards of Road Commissioners, etc."

RAISING THE STATE'S CREDIT

Many of the concluding paragraphs of Governor Tillman's address were devoted to the consideration of the privileges which the State had granted to the phosphate industries, and particularly to the Coosaw Mining Company, and inadequate returns to the commonwealth in proportion to the profits realized by the operating corporations. He reasoned that, these matters fairly adjusted, would tend to lessen the burdens of the tax payers and elevate the financial credit of the State.

The company mentioned had obtained from the Radical State Legislature of 1870 the exclusive right to mine in Coosaw river for a period of twenty-one years from March 1, 1870, at a fixed royalty of \$1 per ton. The attorney of the Coosaw Mining Company claimed that its lease ran in perpetuity "so long as that company shall make true returns," etc.

In the opinion of Hampton's distinguished attorney general, James Conner, in which Attorneys General Earle and Y. J. Pope concurred, the claim of the Coosaw Co. was, as Governor Tillman said, "preposterous," and he accordingly advised the General Assembly "to move forward and act promptly and decisively as though no such litigation was threatened." The litigation threatened was in view of the movement being made by the State to materially increase its income by raising the royalty, because of the enormous profits which the mining company had realized. The output of the company for 1890 had been 107,000 tons, worth \$7 per ton F. O. B. The total royalty secured by the State from its phosphate beds had been \$2, 000,000, of which more than a half had been received from the Coosaw Company. Governor Tillman and his platform demanded "a survey of the phosphate territory and its lease at auction to the highest bidder, after a minimum royalty has been fixed by the Board of Control upon each district surveyed." The entire royalty coming to the State for 1890 had been \$237,000, nearly all paid by six large mining companies, operating in a territory within a radius of twenty miles of Beaufort. It was the governor's belief that the profits derived from the industry would reasonably warrant a royalty of \$2, instead of \$1, to the State.

The proposed survey of the phosphate territory would also tend to bring about an equitable assessment of property, which the governor considered worth \$300,000,000, instead of \$150,000,000, at which it was assessed. The two combined—a just assessment of property and doubling the State's income from the phosphate industries—would have the inevitable effect of strengthening the State's credit, at home and abroad, "and our bonds can be placed at a low rate of interest so that the debt which matures in 1893 can be paid promptly and easily." Such other legislation was suggested to raise the public credit, as requiring State Banks of Deposit to secure the State funds by placing as security State bonds with the treasurer of South Carolina; that all

State banks have at least one-fifth of their capital stock in State bonds, and that all insurance companies doing business in South Carolina also deposit \$25,000 in bonds of the commonwealth with the State treasurer, as a guarantee of solvency and a protection to investors.

In conclusion, Governor Tillman reiterated the principles of the platform on which he was elected, as to economy, the abolition of useless offices, reduction of salary and fees of all offices, State and county, the responsibility of public officers, etc.; spoke of the "fearful responsibility" resting on him, and, in the matter of appointments, mentioned particularly the importance of the jury commissioner and the trial justice. Regarding the latter, he says "no man who ever drinks to intoxication should hold it." One fine passage in this strong address was the injunction by Governor Tillman: "Let us in future know no sectional line in the State and in selecting men for positions of honor or trust, ask not whether a candidate is a 'Reformer' or not, but whether he is the best man for the place."

DEATH OF CHIEF JUSTICE SIMPSON

Shortly after the adjournment of the General Assembly of 1890, on December 26th, came the news of the death of Chief Justice Simpson, who had presided over its Supreme Court with such rare ability and high honor since 1879. He had been reelected in 1886 and his opinions had been widely quoted and had sustained the reputation of the South Carolina judiciary. His career as a Confederate officer and congressman, his brave and dignified defiance of Radical misrule in the days of reconstruction and his record as governor of his native State succeeding Wade Hampton, were well rounded-off by his record as chief justice of South Carolina.

JOHN L. M. IRBY CALLED TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE

On March 4, 1891, John L. Manning Irby succeeded Wade Hampton in the United States Senate and served in that body until March 3, 1897. His was a character of keen insight, of bold, active intellect and manly directness. In his generation he had no equal in South Carolina as a political strategist. He died at his home in Laurens in 1900.

STATE OCCUPIES THE PHOSPHATE TERRITORY

For Governor Tillman to recommend was equivalent to the adoption of a policy, or the enactment of a law, and when the regular session of 1891 closed, the Legislature had largely carried out his wishes and the measures proposed by the party platform. In January, of that year, an act was passed creating a Phosphate Commission, of which he was an ex-officio member, and which thoroughly investigated the industry. It was found impracticable, on account of the required expense, to conduct a scientific survey of the phosphate territory, but part of the \$10,000 appropriated for the purpose was used in the purchase of a steam launch to be used by the inspector in his examination of the mining properties. On the 1st of March, in accordance with the provisions of the act creating the commission, the State took possession of Coosaw river and issued licenses to three companies for mining privileges. Two of these entered the river, but were enjoined in the United States Court and the matter was in litigation for a time. These court proceedings interfered with production. It was found by the inspector that the mining companies had been "paying less royalty than the law requires, by reason of not making due allowance for the moisture expelled in drying the rock."

As a consequence the State had lost more than \$132,000 since mining operations were begun and over \$86,000 since the establishment of the Agricultural Department in 1880, and its control of the industry. For the fiscal year ending October 31, 1891, which was all that could be legally collected, the loss had amounted to \$13,000.

NEEDS OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE

In noting the reorganization of the South Carolina College, under the act of December, 1890, Governor Tillman, in his message to the General Assembly of 1891, said: "I cannot refrain from expressing regret that so much money has been wasted in the past three years for the salaries of professors and tutors who had no pupils, to the neglect of the buildings and library. There is dilapidation everywhere about the institution, and a woeful lack of modern books in the library. It is to be hoped the General Assembly will act liberally so as to put the buildings in repair and supply the more pressing needs of the library."

WINTHROP NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE INCORPORATED

By a joint resolution of the Legislature, Governor Tillman had been authorized to appoint a commission of inquiry with reference to the establishment of an "Industrial School for Women." Upon a favorable report by the commission, composed of Professor D. B. Johnson, superintendent of the Columbia city schools, Miss Mary Yeargin and Miss Hannah Hemphill, an act incorporating "The Winthrop Normal and Industrial College of South Carolina for the Education of White Girls" was passed by the Legislature in December, 1891. The Board of Trustees located the college at Rock Hill, and began the erection of suitable buildings in 1892. They were completed and occupied in 1894. It was Representative Blue of Marion who suggested the establishment of a State College for Women as early as December, 1885, but nothing came of it, nor of the recommendation of like import by the Farmers' Association in 1886. The Winthrop Training School for Teachers in Columbia, from which Winthrop College was developed, was established through the untiring labor of David B. Johnson, superintendent of the Columbia schools. An able and efficient coadjutor of Mr. Johnson was Prof. Edward S. Joynes of the University of South Carolina. Governor Tillman from the first heartily cooperated with Mr. Johnson, and used all his influence in furthering the establishment of Winthrop College and providing for its successful conduct.

INCREASED ASSESSMENT OF RAILROAD PROPERTY

The Railroad law, based on the Georgia statutes, failed of passage. In his message to the Legislature of 1891 the governor stated that the assessment of railroad property had increased in valuation \$8,000,000 over the previous year. The total passenger earnings of the South Carolina roads had been \$2,552,666 in 1890. It was recommended that the assessing of railroad property be placed in the hands of the railroad commissioners instead of the State treasurer, comptroller general, secretary of state and attorney general.

Governor Tillman recommended certain reforms in criminal law and the treatment of criminals. He believed that the main reason why so many criminals went "unwhipt of justice" was because the cases were not properly prepared by the trial justice or coroner, while

the prosecuting officers of the State were "often confronted by the ablest lawyers at the bar, who live in the county and are acquainted with witnesses, jurors, etc."

RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO CRIMINALS

In the punishment of criminals, he recommended the introduction of the Indeterminate Sentence, "which provides a maximum and a minimum punishment for the different classes of crime. The prisoner when convicted is sentenced in the discretion of the judge, but he can by his behavior in prison reduce or increase the punishment by giving evidence of being a hardened reprobate or showing a desire to reform. The law in this case imposes upon the prison authorities the duty, and gives them the power by a fixed ratio, to increase or diminish the prisoner's punishment, in accordance with his behavior. The offender thus enters prison with every incentive to reform and grow better. Another matter which I would strongly urge is the incorporation of a requirement in the law that the penitentiary directors shall separate all criminals under the age of sixteen, and such others as shall exhibit exceptionally good behavior, from the others, and that these classes be employed on the State farm away from the more hardened criminals."

INEQUALITY OF LIQUOR LICENSES

One of the concluding paragraphs of Governor Tillman's message to the General Assembly of 1891 relates to "liquor licenses," and is quoted because of the contrast it affords with an alleged reform during his administration which gave it a country-wide notoriety. His words were: "I desire to direct your attention to a question of great importance, with which the welfare of society and the economical administration of the government are closely connected. It is the matter of licensing the sale of liquor. Without entering into any discussion of the prohibition question, I will call your attention to a gross inequality and injustice to a part of our citizens, entailed by the present system. Section 1732 of the General Statutes reads: 'No license for the sale of intoxicating liquor shall be granted by any municipal authority in any city, town or village in this State, except upon the payment by the person applying for the same to the Treasurer of the County in which said city or town is situated the sum of \$100 in addition to the license charged by such city, town or village, for the use of said County, to be applied to the ordinary expenses of the County.'

"It will be seen that by this provision of law only a small proportion of the tax derived from the sale of liquor goes to the general fund. Now, while I do not believe that it is practicable, or even desirable, to attempt the absolute prohibition of the sale of liquor in this State, no sensible man will deny that one-half or three-fourths of the crimes committed in the State are traceable directly to the drinking of whiskey. In order to punish these crimes, the machinery of the law is set in motion. The courts are supported by general taxation and largely by the country people, and yet the State permits municipal corporations to maintain or license what many men regard as nuisances and breeders of crime, while two-thirds or three-fourths of the money accruing therefrom is retained by the corporations. The anomalous condition is presented then of a community allowing itself to be unjustly taxed as a whole for the suppression of a crime produced by the action of a part—the tax being largely for local benefit, while the

abuse is general. The people in the country not only pay tribute to those who sell liquor—by means of which the towns are beautiful and adorned—but they pay tax for the suppression of crime produced by the maintenance of these bar-rooms. It is unjust and unequal and ought to be stopped.

A RADICAL RECOMMENDATION

"I therefore strongly recommend that all municipal corporations be prohibited from levying any license at all, and that all tax derivable from the sale of whiskey shall go into the State and county treasuries, leaving the matter of local option as at present; and if any municipal corporation desires to license the sale of liquor, let it derive no special benefit from it. There are, as I am informed, 700 or 800 bar-rooms in the State. How many municipalities would relinquish the sale of liquor if they derived no money benefit from it, I cannot even guess. What decrease may follow the enactment of such a law is equally unknown. With a high license imposed on each dealer in the article, either at wholesale or retail, and all of this fund going to support State and County governments, it appears to me we would have a large increase of revenue, as well as a large decrease in crime, with a corresponding decrease in court expenses and consequent reduction of taxes."

GOVERNOR TILLMAN'S MESSAGE OF 1892

Governor Tillman's message to the General Assembly delivered at the beginning of the regular session, on November 22, 1892, epitomizes the progress made in the public affairs of the State. He presented an instructive table indicating the assessed valuation of taxable property in South Carolina since the control of the government had been resumed by the respectable white element in 1876-77. Although the figures did not show a continuous increase, year by year, on the whole the valuation was progressive, and had increased from \$135,856,009, in 1876-77, to \$168,871,227, in 1891-92.

In this connection, the governor said: "The property of the State, if assessed according to law, would approximate three hundred millions. This would double the school fund, while it would reduce the tax levy for the State from about 5 mills to 2½ mills. In the governor's opinion it was not a good showing, and indicated "that there is a large amount of property which escapes taxation, or is undervalued for taxation." He compared the South Carolina exhibit with that of Georgia which showed an infinitely greater proportional increase, and declared that "no sane man will claim that the average South Carolina County is not as prosperous as the average Georgia County."

SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE

A large portion of the Governor's message was devoted to the educational institutions of the State, especially to the new status of the South Carolina College—discontinued as a University. The statements are sometimes palpably absurd and some of them only half true, but are quoted here as a side light on those troublous times. He said, in part: "The adherents of the old regime have largely withdrawn their patronage from the College because they could not have their way in controlling it, and the county of Charleston, which has always supported the College zealously, has at this time no student within its

walls. The adherents of the new order of things, while paying taxes to maintain the school cheerfully, and indicating their intention and purpose, in no uncertain manner, to sustain it liberally, have felt no inclination to patronize it because of the inhospitable atmosphere surrounding it. Another thing: There is competition between the College and the denominational institutions at Greenville, Spartanburg, Newberry and Due West,* to which schools the Reformers of the State are sending their sons in preference to sending them here; and this will continue as long as the present conditions of social and political antagonism exist in Columbia. The wealthier class of boys from both political elements are being sent out of the State to Harvard, Yale, Princeton and the University of Virginia. The competition and consequent unfriendliness of the denominational colleges to the South Carolina College can be gotten rid of in only one way, and that is to make this College so much better and higher in its requirements and facilities for teaching, that their students will seek its walls to complete their education, and when this is done the incentive for young men to go abroad will no longer exist."

As to the Citadel Academy, the governor reported the attendance, 137 students, as satisfactory, but declared that there had been "considerable complaint of favoritism, though the Board of Visitors appear to have exercised every precaution. Such things are inseparable from an institution of this kind. * * * What the State wants, and what was contemplated when the Citadel was founded, was to take the brilliant youths among the poorer classes and give them a practical education. The welfare and popularity of the school will depend on this scheme being honestly carried out and the elimination of the abuses which now certainly exist." He suggested that the cadetships be open to poor boys as prizes to be contended for and awarded under the auspices of the County Teachers Association, and that the scholarships be doubled in number and halved in value—reduced from \$300 to \$150.

Claffin University, at Orangeburg, for the education of both sexes, was referred to in high terms as one of the best colored colleges in the South. There were then over six hundred students in attendance, trained in the industrial and mechanic arts, as well as in the English branches.

CLEMSON NOT YET READY TO OPEN

On account of the failure to receive the benefit of the proceeds expected from the sale of Agricultural Hall and the falling off of the privilege tax (an item for its support), the Clemson College had not been able to open its doors. The "new idea" had also met with such favor that instead of provision being made for 250 students, preparations were being made to accommodate 600. The Board of Trustees therefore asked the Legislature for \$50,000, in order that the college could be opened in the spring of 1893; the Governor thought that \$40,000 would be sufficient.

THE CELEBRATED AGRICULTURAL HALL CASE

The reason that Agricultural Hall had not been sold was that "it was in the courts." It was put up at auction on the 1st of February, 1892, and announced as sold to W. H. Lyles, as attorney, as it

* Furman University, Wofford College, Newberry College and Erskine College, respectively.

afterward developed, for one J. W. Alexander, of North Carolina. There was some irregularity in the papers, the deed presented to the Sinking Fund Commissioners, not having the name of the purchaser, and Mr. Lyles requesting that the title be signed in blank. Upon presentation of the mortgage and the acceptance of the check for the cash portion of the purchase money, by the state treasurer, the attorneys for Alexander received the deed for the property. By the terms of sale the purchaser was allowed to anticipate the payment of the purchase money, and the same day his attorneys made to the state treasurer a tender of what was known as the "Revenue Bond Scrip" and upon the refusal of the treasurer to accept it, gave notice of their "intention to refuse to pay the balance or any interest thereon." In the absence of the secretary of state and the attorney general, Governor Tillman then rescinded the order to place Lyles in possession of the Hall, putting therein his own guardian of the property, who refused the attorney entrance. At the request of the lawyer to be enlightened, the governor assumed entire responsibility for his actions and was sustained by the commissioners of the Sinking Fund.

It is safe to say that no official act of Captain Tillman while he was governor was more warmly approved by South Carolinians of all factions than this bold stand to prevent the acceptance of the notorious Revenue Bond Scrip. A warm correspondence ensued between Tillman and Lyles, which appears in the governor's message. W. H. Lyles was, and is (1920) a highly respected and leading member of the Columbia bar and had represented Alexander in the Agricultural Hall case in the due course of professional business.

TILLMAN'S RIGHTEOUS WRATH

The following final letter to Mr. Lyles, which shortly preceded the commencement of proceedings in court against Governor Tillman and the constable whom he directed to hold the property against any possessor but the State, was written by Governor Tillman on February 17, 1892:

"Your letter of this date informing me that you consider my action in refusing to surrender possession of Agricultural Hall 'unwarranted by my official position and will consider me individually liable for damages,' received. I desire to notify you that I, as Governor, am chairman of the Sinking Fund Commission and that, acting for the Commission, I have refused to consummate the sale of the property or deliver it to you in my dual capacity. I am resisting an attempt to swindle the State out of ten thousand dollars of deferred payments and to prevent litigation. No one knows better than yourself that the Revenue Bond Scrip which you tendered for the balance due is worthless; and if my action in resisting this initiatory step to bring in question the settlement of the State's debt by the Bond Court and saddle several millions of illegal Radical bonds on the taxpayers is 'unwarranted by my official position,' I cheerfully assume the responsibility and all individual liability, and will leave the question to be decided by the courts."

Governor Tillman in his message made this closing comment: "Whatever may be the result of this suit to me personally, I am confident that the court and jury will not award to these conspirators possession of property that belongs to the State, and of which I am not, and never have been, in possession, or force the State to engage in a tedious and vexatious controversy in the United States Court to test the validity of the 'Revenue Bond Scrip.' The State is not a party

to this suit, and cannot be made a party to any suit without its consent, and the 'Revenue Bond Scrip' has been passed upon by our own court, which declared invalid this debt created by the infamous government in South Carolina."

DISTRIBUTION OF DIRECT TAX

Announcement was made that in April, 1892, \$221,711.26 had been paid into the State Treasury of the direct tax collected of the people of South Carolina just after the War of Secession, and that an act had been passed for its distribution. Under the direction of Hon. T. J. Kirkland, of Camden, commissioner, and the masters in equity at Beaufort and Charleston, 2,010 claims, amounting to \$162,280.99, had been paid up to October 31, 1892. The balance consisted of small claims and certain sums tied up by a Washington law firm, under an old and outlawed agreement calling for a thirty per cent. commission on sums collected for a certain class of claimants.

APPEALS TO PATRIOTISM

The governor again recommended the completion of the rolls of Confederate commands and individual soldiers by the adjutant and inspector general of the State. He expressed the opinion that the soldiers themselves would rather be provided with pensions and live among their relatives, friends and neighbors than to be provided with a Home. Under this plan, "the pro rata share of each county should be on the basis of the number of ex-Confederate soldiers in that county."

In connection with the exertions of W. A. Courtenay, of Charleston, to restore the tomb of Francis Marion, in Berkeley county (which had been partially destroyed by a falling tree) and provide a fitting memorial, Governor Tillman made the following comments and suggestions: "In this connection I desire to direct the attention of the General Assembly to the painful dearth within the walls of the State House of memorials, mementoes, pictures or other souvenirs of South Carolina's great dead. No State of the original thirteen suffered in the Revolutionary War as much as ours and, excepting Virginia, I might add, in the Confederate War. Upon the soil of none were so many Revolutionary battles fought, and none furnished a brighter galaxy of brave and patriotic officers in both these wars. From some cause the history of South Carolina's share in those days and those heroes has never been written in a fitting way, and Time's ravenous tooth has left us little except their names. Then coming to a later period, our annals are adorned with brilliant orators, wise statesmen and eminent jurists; and here, too, the student of our history is struck with the painful lack of authentic record of their lives and reminders of how they looked. There are three or four paintings in the Senate Chamber and the Hall of Representatives of some of our later worthies, and one Georgian who lent valuable aid to the State at a most critical period, but here the catalogue ends. The Library walls, up stairs, and all other rooms are bare, and the thousands of visitors from this State and others, who annually inspect the State Capitol, cannot find any 'counterfeit presentment' of South Carolina's great men. It may be considered extravagant to attempt to supply what every lover of the State would wish to see supplied, but I take it that there can be no difference of opinion as to the value and desirability of memorials of the men who have illustrated our history. A people who do not respect

their ancestors cannot hope to be respected by their posterity, and sentiment at last is the mother of patriotism. The promptness, without caviling, with which your predecessors gave money to copy the records in England bearing upon South Carolina's history, leads me to suggest that a small annual appropriation be made to provide paintings of the men whose virtue and greatness we have heard extolled, but have never read, because their lives have never been written. Then visitors to the State House may see at least

“Some frail memorial still erected nigh”

to teach our youths both how to live and to die for South Carolina.

“One thousand dollars a year given to the State House Commission and an invitation to the descendants and families of these great Carolinians to present such pictures would in a short while relieve the painful blankness which now exists in our Capitol.”

PROPOSES THE GEORGIA DISPENSARY SYSTEM

In view of the violent campaign fought over the Dispensary law, “the distinguishing act of the Reform movement,” during the last portion of Governor Tillman's administration, it is pertinent to note his first official mention of the alleged reform. In his message of November, 1892, he repeated he again inveighed against granting liquor licenses to town dealers who realized the profits of the business and the benefits of the tax at the expense of the country districts, where the sentiment was largely in favor of prohibition. To illustrate this division of sentiment, he presented a table showing the number of bar-rooms in the State by counties, with the exception of seven counties. The total was 613, and the value of the licenses paid by the town bar-rooms was \$134,372; while only \$81,100 was paid to the twenty-eight counties. “Town after town in the State had tried prohibition,” he said, “and, finding the adverse sentiment so strong and the evasion of the law so common, they returned in disgust to the license system.”

At the last session of the General Assembly a prohibition bill had passed the House, but failed in the Senate, and, he added: “At the recent Democratic primary the question was submitted to the people as an abstract proposition, without any definite legislation being indicated, and received a majority of the votes cast on that subject, although not a majority of the total vote cast. This would indicate a wish on the part of a large number of our people that there should be some restrictive legislation in regard to the liquor traffic.” He then proceeded to make his first direct reference to the introduction of the Dispensary system in South Carolina: “Granting the possibility of doing something towards abating the nuisance of bar-rooms, I would call your attention to the law now in force at Athens, Georgia, by which a dispensary for the sale of liquors is provided, and which, after trial is pronounced a success by the prohibitionists themselves, who, in despair at the failure of prohibitory laws, had it enacted by the Georgia Legislature.”

Without following all the steps by which the Georgia law was introduced to the favorable notice of the South Carolina legislators, it is sufficient for the present purpose to state that the first Dispensary measure was passed, and was approved by Governor Tillman, on the

24th of December, 1892, and his own words are quoted as to the results of its operation: *

"The law went into effect July 1st, and on the night of the 30th of June every bar in the State closed its doors. The work of preparation, organization and arrangements for the control of so mammoth a business had been going on for several months. The illness of Comptroller General Ellerbe and the heavy burden of litigation which the attorney general had to bear (my colleagues on the State Board of Control) together with the long-continued illness of the State Commissioner, Mr. D. H. Traxler, devolved most of this work on my shoulders; and this, together with the organization and direction of the State Constabulary provided to enforce the law, has more than doubled the labors of the Executive office. It is safe to say that no member of the General Assembly, and very few others—certainly not myself—ever conceived the magnitude of the undertaking; and yet, after it has been in operation four months, the ramifications, complications, and ultimate growth of the business are still subjects of conjecture and wonder.

"All of the legal whiskey traffic has been turned into one channel, flowing to Columbia, the central distributing depot. Agricultural Hall, a large two-story building with a cellar, thus making three stories 167 by 35 feet, has been turned into a bottling works. It is only a question of time when the erection of much larger quarters on the railroad will be necessary. Fifty-four employees, working ten hours a day, are kept busy bottling, and we find it almost impossible to keep the local Dispensaries in stock, and that, too, when I think it safe to say that not more than one-half of the liquor being drunk in the State at this time has been passed through the Dispensary. Large quantities were purchased in advance, or in anticipation of the law going into effect, by consumers, while there is hardly a train entering the State, day or night, passenger or freight, which does not haul contraband liquor. Some of the railroads are yielding a measure of obedience to the law, but most of them openly defy it or lend their assistance to smuggling liquor into the State. The Richmond and Danville systems and the South Carolina railway in particular are bending every energy to defeat the law. So much for the present conditions.

I have prepared tables covering the operations of the State Dispensary and of the County Dispensaries up to the 31st of October, the end of our fiscal year. They are printed in a separate report by the Commissioner. A careful examination of these figures will show the following results: The Dispensary has been more than self-sustaining, and the net profits to the State for the first four months have been \$32,198.16. The gross sales to consumers have been \$166,043.56; total expense of State Dispensary, \$72,566.36; of County Dispensaries, \$19,890.00. The three principal items of expense, as will be seen, are freight, glass bottles, and the Constabulary."

SECOND DISPENSARY BILL PASSED

The first Dispensary bill was rushed through the General Assembly as "a compromise between the wishes of the ultra-prohibitionists and the whiskey people."† It was carelessly drawn and the Supreme Court pronounced it unconstitutional. When the Legislature

* Message to the General Assembly commencing November 28, 1893.

† "Our Whiskey Rebellion;" article by Governor Tillman in North American Review for May, 1894.

met in November, 1893, another bill was presented and passed and caused all kinds of trouble.

THE DARLINGTON RIOT

The riot at Darlington, on March 30th, in which two citizens, and one constable lost their lives and a number on both sides were wounded, was an incident connected with the operation of the second law, although the acts of violence had their origin in a private quarrel between two young men of the town. The citizens of that place were violently opposed to the law, some of them being prohibitionists, and a few of them followers of Governor Tillman. They not only had refused to buy anything of the dispensary, it is claimed, but encouraged the illegal sale of liquor. The citizens had formed themselves into a company to resist the search of private houses for liquor by the constables, and Governor Tillman had sent twenty-two of his officers to the rebellious town, fully armed, to enforce the law as to search, seizure and illegal sale of liquor. The constables appeared to have accomplished little—Governor Tillman says “they had finished their work”—and were preparing to take the train from town, on the afternoon of March 30, 1894.

It appears that two young men of Darlington, Floyd and Rogers, had had a fight in which the latter had been worsted, as he claimed unfairly. Rogers renewed the quarrel, and the town chief of police, attempted to placate them. Then the victim of the fight pointed to a constable named McLendon as the person who had held him while Floyd had pummeled him. The constable denied it, in a most insulting and threatening manner, which angered Frank Norment, a respectable citizen, who repaid the constable in kind. McLendon immediately shot him dead, and the riot was at once precipitated between the constables and the citizens. In the encounter which followed, a citizen named Redmond was also killed, and a number were wounded on both sides. After the death of their chief, Pepper, the constables were routed and driven out of town.

The outcome of the Darlington riot and bloodshed is thus described by Benjamin F. Taylor of Columbia, who at the time, was a resident of Darlington, and an oil mill superintendent: “In the meantime the whole State was thrown into the most violent excitement. The governor declared the counties of Darlington and Florence in a state of insurrection. He ordered out troops to quell the rebellion; many of the companies refused to obey the call, and a riot was barely averted in Columbia. The Governor’s Guards of that city were paraded before the governor himself, and when he harangued them and told them it was his order that they go to the supposed scene of action, the men stepped out of ranks and cast their arms and accoutrements at his feet. The Zouaves, as a company, under the command of Captain Capers, refused to respond to the call. Bishop Capers advised the men that it was not a soldier’s duty to obey such orders.

“Such companies as obeyed the order mobilized at Columbia near the penitentiary, and Col. A. C. Haskell at the head of a crowd of citizens went there to address these soldiers and persuade them also to refuse to obey. As he approached, John Gary Watts, the assistant adjutant general, stopped them, and ordering his men to load and aim, said if Col. Haskell advanced he would fire. Volunteer companies were organized among the friends and supporters of Tillman to supply men for service. Soon all were aboard train and sent to Darlington. The governor took charge of the telegraph lines and viced all dis-

patches. He dishonorably discharged all those who refused to obey orders, without trial by court martial, and laid the ground for that ridiculous episode in the Senate when he was attacking Roosevelt for the discharge of the Brownsville rioters; and an opponent read Tillman's orders in this case which were almost identical, sentence for sentence, with Roosevelt's.

"The dispensaries at Darlington and Florence had been broken into by mobs and the liquor stolen and wasted. * * * The newspapers and Tillman's opponents all blamed the riot on the governor with some degree of justice. Norment's brothers and friends had more occasion, perhaps, to be angry with Tillman because of Norment's death, not knowing all the circumstances.

"On the arrival of the troops at Darlington, they found everything quiet and the Darlington Guards in full control of the situation. There never was any need for any of the soldiers except the Darlington company. And the panic of the governor was wholly responsible for all the expense and the mortifying predicament of having the militia mutiny."

GOVERNOR TILLMAN STATES HIS CASE

In the May following the Darlington riot, the governor published a paper in *The North American Review* entitled "Our Whiskey Rebellion," presenting his side of the case regarding the opposition to the Dispensary law, and the Darlington riot in particular.* Following are some salient extracts from the article: "In the fall of 1892, the General Assembly passed the Dispensary Act as a compromise between the wishes of the ultra-prohibitionists and the whiskey people. This law gets rid of the worst features of the liquor traffic, while not removing liquor beyond the reach of those who desire to drink it in moderation. It was natural that the men who had been engaged in the liquor business should try to evade the law and sell liquor in violation of it. They opened 'blind tigers' for the sale of contraband liquors. The Dispensary law provided for the commission of whatever number of constables was deemed necessary for the discovery and suppression of these places. The Bourbons made this feature the point of attack upon the law; their many papers hounded down these men, calling them 'spies' and 'sneaks,' and applying to them all manner of abusive epithets, thus seeking to stir up against them the anger of the people in the towns and cities, the inhabitants of which constitute the opposition to the reform movement which resulted in my election.

"The law gives the constables, when armed with proper warrants from the civil authorities, the right to search private residences for the seizure of contraband liquors. Were this provision absent from the law, it would be practically inoperative, as men would turn their private residences into 'blind tigers,' where they could sell liquor with impunity.

"The papers supporting the combination of the whiskey men and the old political leaders alleged that the Dispensary law gave the constables the right to search private residences indiscriminately and without warrant, which is something to which Anglo-Saxon blood will not submit. These falsehoods stirred up bitter, unreasoning passion in the

* George R. Koester, editor of *The (Greenville) Piedmont*, said in the issue of that paper for Oct. 21, 1916, that he was the author of the article in the *North American Review*, and that he received \$25 therefor, but did "not know what Tillman got for signing it." The manuscript was submitted to Governor Tillman who revised it before it was sent to the publishers.

cities and towns against the constables, and threats were freely made against them. Being in danger of bodily harm, after having been mobbed and pelted with rotten eggs on more than one occasion, the constables were armed for their own protection. Hypocritical use was made of the old adage that 'A man's home is his castle' to incite violence. 'A man's home is his castle,' but he has no right to turn it into a saloon and expect to exercise the same rights there he would have in a private dwelling.

"These were the conditions of thought and feeling existing at the time of the whiskey rebellion, which broke out last month.

"The towns of Darlington, Florence, and Sumter are points of a triangle connected by railroads. Darlington and Florence are ten miles apart and both are about forty miles from Sumter. Certain people in those towns banded together for opposition to the Dispensary law, especially the constabulary feature of it. Several constables were sent to Darlington. The leaders of the conspirators spread abroad reports that the constables were there for the purpose of searching private houses without warrants. This was not true; the constables, under the Dispensary law, could not search private residences without warrants,* and they had no intention of searching any residence in Darlington—all of their warrants being for the search of public places, where contraband liquors were stored and sold. But the false report was spread and had its due effect, when the execution of the warrants began. * * * * *

"The trouble at Darlington culminated on Friday, March 30, at 4 P. M. Valuable time was lost that evening and night while waiting to mobilize the militia which failed me at the last. Orders did not go to the companies which responded until Saturday morning; the first company that could be depended on arrived in Columbia on Saturday evening, at 5 P. M. As a more dangerous mob had assembled in Columbia on Friday night than was pursuing the constables at the scene of the disturbance, I deemed it wise to concentrate troops there to overawe it and not leave the capital unprotected, or move on Darlington until I had a force to do both. Saturday night and Sunday, militia and volunteer companies of farmers continued to arrive, so that on Sunday evening I felt warranted in ordering three hundred men to Darlington and had as many more in the city of Columbia. This last force was mostly volunteers who had taken their horses from the plough, and, shouldering their shotguns, hastened to sustain the government of their choice.

"One of the most potent factors in the suppression of the rebellion was the seizure of the telegraph lines and the railroads. It is hard to say how much mischief would have been done had I not availed myself of the old statute which was doubtless placed among our laws for just such an emergency. By this means excitement was allayed and the insurgents were kept from being reinforced. The people had been wrought up to a frenzy of excitement by the many blood-curdling and sensational despatches sent out before the seizure of the wires, and I feel sure that had I not stopped their transmissions we would have had collisions between the excited and angry countrymen and townspeople in several parts of the State. The railroads obeyed the order and co-

* That was true, but warrants were sworn out on the flimsiest pretexts. The home of the widow of Col. William L. Trenholm, of Charleston, controller of the currency under Cleveland, was searched on the pretext that liquor had been stored therein. The Right Rev. Ellison Capers was accosted by a liquor constable who inquired as to the contents of the leather case he carried, and did not desist until he was assured that it contained the robes of a bishop.

operated with me without a protest, deserving great credit therefor, but I had to invoke the assistance of the judiciary by injunction on the telegraph company until I could use the military and seize the offices of the company by force. This caused considerable dissatisfaction among the newspapers, but under like circumstances I would do the same thing again, even without authority of a statute, for the public welfare demanded it."

MAYOR DARGAN REPLIES TO GOVERNOR TILLMAN

In the July, 1894, issue of the *North American Review*, W. F. Dargan, who was mayor of Darlington at the time of the riot, answered Governor Tillman, reviewing both Dispensary legislation and the Darlington riot, its causes and its outcome. After referring to the fact that the Democratic primaries of the 1892 campaign showed a Prohibition majority of 10,000, and that while Governor Tillman's supporters wanted Prohibition he himself did not, Mr. Dargan proceeded to describe the passage of the first Dispensary bill of 1892, as follows: "So when he (Tillman), within forty-eight hours of adjournment, had prepared his now celebrated Dispensary bill, and tacked it on as an amendment to a prohibition bill, then about to be passed, by striking out all of the latter except its title, and substituting the Dispensary bill, it passed. It is not supposed that one-half dozen members of either house ever heard of such a system before,* and it would have been an impossibility for such a measure, so introduced, to pass that or any other legislative body except under this peculiar condition of affairs.

"This Dispensary bill has been declared unconstitutional and a subversion of the functions of government, by our Supreme Court; hence, it is useless to discuss its merits or demerits. Though extremely stringent and drastic in its provisions, having been gotten up hurriedly, it was very imperfect, yet it recognized local option. A dispensary could not be placed in a prohibition town or county, and before it could be established in any town a majority of the freehold voters had to join in a petition for it.

"In 1893, when the Legislature met, another Dispensary bill was passed, and its measures were still more severe and arbitrary. One or more dispensaries could be established for each county in the State, with this difference: that to prevent its establishment a majority of the voters of the township in which such dispensary was to be located had to be obtained to a petition requesting that no dispensary be established in that township, whereupon some other place could be designated. In counties, towns and cities, where liquor selling was prohibited by law, a dispensary could be established upon a petition signed by one-fourth of the qualified voters of such county, town, or city, being filed with the county commissioners, or town or city council, respectively; then an election was required to be held, submitting the question to the voters of such county, town or city, and if a majority of the ballots cast was found to be for a dispensary it was required that one be established. In two of the prohibition counties, Williamsburg and Marion, an exception was made, and dispensaries could be established without such election. In the neighboring town of Timmons ville, where liquor selling had been prohibited for years by its charter, a dispensary was established with the aid of Negro votes and against the earnest protest

* Incorrect; Governor Tillman had referred to the system in his annual message delivered before the passage of the first Dispensary law.

of the most intelligent voters and property owners of the town. Thus it appeared to be the policy of the administration to establish dispensaries wherever money could be made out of them.

"The Dispensary Law amply provided for its enforcement, authorizing the appointment of as many constables as were deemed necessary. The methods resorted to by these constables in their search for contraband liquor were often as annoying as they were novel. Of all the reckless acts of the governor, the selection of some of these men has been the most unpardonable. While a few of them are sensible men of experience, most of them are desperate characters.

"The governor's statements that 'large numbers of armed men gathered in the streets' and that 'the five or six constables in Darlington were followed by this armed mob, which gayed, cursed, and abused them,' are without foundation, the fact being that no constable or body of constables was ever followed in that town by any armed man or body of men; and yet after this body of five or six constables had executed every process in their hands except one, and had broken into one private apartment without a warrant, meeting with no resistance, Governor Tillman ordered from Charleston his chief constable, with a force of seventeen men, armed with pistols and Winchester rifles. Before doing this he had ordered out the Darlington Guards, without the request of any civil officer in the county, and on the next day, when his band of constables arrived in Darlington, he ordered the Sumter Light Infantry to report to the sheriff at Darlington, in face of the fact that he had been assured by the sheriff of the county, the mayor of the town, and the captain of the Darlington Guards that no troops were needed, as no trouble was anticipated, and all was quiet. The ordering of these constables to Darlington was announced in the morning papers, and naturally caused apprehension and excitement all over the State, and especially in the neighboring town of Florence. The advent of this unusual number of armed men into our peaceful community excited anxiety among our best citizens, as no cause could be assigned for their coming, yet there was no assemblage of persons, and no demonstration whatever. A few of the citizens of Florence and Sumter, being apprehensive, came to Darlington, and as they with our people could see no reason for this display of force, they naturally supposed that Governor Tillman would order his constables, backed by the State militia, to search private residences, even of citizens who did not make bar-rooms of their homes. They met therefore in an orderly manner in the courthouse, and passed resolutions to the effect that they did not propose to have their residences searched by whiskey constables, and notified the constables of their action, but at the same time informed the sheriff that any process placed in his hands could be served without resistance, even were it for the search of a private house. They had no intention of protecting any one who made a saloon of his residence, but fully intended to defend their homes. This meeting was not composed of whiskey sellers, but in it were some of the best men in the State. Upon the following morning the only remaining warrant in the hands of the constables was served without the least interest or demonstration on the part of the citizens, and in the afternoon four of the constables went to one depot and nineteen to the other to take their departure.

"Governor Tillman says: 'Two boys, citizens of the town, got into a fight at the depot where the main body of the constables was. One of them, who was whipped, ran up town, and returned, followed by an armed mob.' The fact is that the young man alluded to, on his

way to town, in the omnibus, met five other young men walking to the depot, one of whom was to take the train. He got out of the omnibus, told them he had been imposed on, and wished them to return with him and see fair play. To this they agreed. It turns out that of these five young men, three had pistols on their persons and participated in the fight with the constables. One was killed, and one shot in five different places. This was the composition of the 'armed mob' which followed the young man back to the depot. In the fight were two other citizens, besides the chief of police with one assistant, who were commanding the peace. These men armed with pistols, all, except one, of less than 38 calibre, were pitted against nineteen constables armed with the most improved rifles and pistols.

"We will not attempt to give an account of the fight, how it occurred, or who precipitated it. The record has been made and by the governor himself. That the investigation by the coroner, and its results, should be absolutely unprejudiced, he appointed a military board of inquiry to sit with the coroner's jury, to hear the evidence, through the coroner to examine witnesses, and to make its report to him. This board was composed of four officers and one private, who were from different sections of the State, unconnected with and unknown to our people. After reviewing the evidence, they in a written report unanimously found that the constables started the trouble, that two of them were guilty of felonious murder, and that fifteen others were accessories."

COLLECTING RAILROAD TAXES IN 1893

Recurring to Governor Tillman's messages as indices of the progress of State affairs, it should be noted that his message submitted to the General Assembly, which convened November 28, 1893, devotes most of its space to the discussion of the first Dispensary law, and the contest being waged by the administration with the railroads over their right to obstruct the collection of taxes on their properties through court proceedings. "Unfortunately," said Governor Tillman, "out of a total railroad mileage in South Carolina of 2,552 miles, 1,419 miles, considerably more than half are in the hands of receivers, and the question which presents itself to us is, whether, during the life of the receiverships, which depends on the will of the courts, the State shall be denied the right to collect the taxes assessed in accordance with her laws and shall receive only what the alien owners of the roads, who select the receivers see proper to pay." The governor thought that the State should not be denied that right, although he was aware that the Federal Court attempted to administer railroad properties in the hands of receivers. He therefore recommended that "a law should be passed limiting the life of receiverships in the State, and a memorial addressed to the United States Congress setting forth the conditions which exist here, calling attention to the abuses which have arisen, and asking legislation to restore to the State the rights of which the Supreme Court's decision has robbed it, and the enactment of such laws as will throw the necessary restrictions around receiverships in future. Since the last decision of the court the situation has become intolerable." He called attention to the fact that one-fifth of the total railroad mileage of the United States, representing a capital of more than \$1,400,000,000, was then in the hands of receivers, and therefore under the control of the Federal Courts, which he called "the unholy marriage between the 'dignity' of the Federal Court and these harlot

corporations." In South Carolina, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, \$59,931 was still due from the railroads in State, county and school taxes.

THE RED CROSS AND SEA ISLAND SUFFERERS IN 1893

The following extract from Governor Tillman's message is self-explanatory: "The 27th of August last (1893), witnessed the most disastrous storm and tidal wave on the coast from Beaufort to Charleston of which our annals have any record. The exact number of lives lost is unknown, but it was considerably over a thousand, and there was a total loss of crops on the more exposed islands all the way from John's Island to Hilton Head. Over one-half of the houses were also blown down or washed away, and the unfortunate people would have long since succumbed to starvation but for the timely assistance and charity rendered by our own people and those living abroad. The management of the work of relief was taken in hand by local committees; but believing that methodical business arrangement and experience were better, Miss Clara Barton of the Red Cross Association, with her lieutenants, was asked to take charge of it, and this noble lady with her corps of assistants has been on the ground since the 20th of September, laboring in the cause of humanity. The extent of the disaster cannot be understood except by personal inspection. The question of relief and how best to administer it, is a difficult one; even the amount absolutely necessary to prevent starvation is unknown. Although the State is poor and the crops everywhere a failure, it is not the will of the people of South Carolina that any of her citizens, no matter how humble they may be—even the poorest negroes—should starve, and when you send your committee to investigate the Phosphate industry at Beaufort as recommended by the Phosphate Commission, it would be well, I think, to instruct it to report fully also on the condition of those islands and as to the advisability of an appropriation to aid Miss Barton in relieving the suffering which is inevitable.

"There is one measure of relief which is certainly demanded: These people owe taxes which they are unable to pay. The storm left their lands as bare as though fire had passed over them; and the struggle with them for the present is how to live. A subsequent storm wrought equally as great havoc around Georgetown and on the Waccamaw, though there was no such great loss of life as in the previous visitation. A great number of the sufferers have appealed to me for relief in the matter of taxes, and I would recommend that the comptroller general be allowed to suspend the collection on all property within the devastated region in Beaufort, Colleton, Berkeley and Georgetown, and to remit the taxes of all kinds where in his judgment it is proper to do so. No other course is practicable or feasible, because the territorial limits cannot be described except in general terms, and even within these limits are many who can pay without serious injury to themselves, and the matter may be safely left to the direction of the comptroller general after the power has been given to him."

CAMPAIGN FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE

When Governor Tillman presented his fourth and last annual message to the General Assembly of South Carolina for the regular session commencing November 27, 1894, he was already in the midst of

his exciting campaign with General M. C. Butler for the United States senatorship. Of course, the governor conducted his canvass on the "Reform" platform including a denunciation of all "Gold bug Democrats." General Butler defended the Carlisle tariff bill in the Senate (tariff for revenue only) and Governor Tillman opposed it, declaring the tariff bill "a humbug and a cheat" and a betrayal of the South and West. In one of his speeches delivered at Anderson, in August, 1894, Tillman said that "the only place the Alliance had won the fight was in South Carolina, because he had kept the Alliance out of the Third Party. The politicians, he charged, were in league to defeat him. * * * South Carolina need not go into the next Democratic Convention or into the Populist organization if it preferred not. The best way to stay inside was to vote for governor next Saturday, and when the candidates for the Legislature come around ask them who they will vote for. He charged that there was a bribery fund of half a million to defeat him. He warned the boys to keep their eyes open. He thought that he would get all the satisfaction he wanted and let his speech go out in a blaze of glory by having a hand primary, so he called upon all those who were willing to follow him into a new party and who wanted him for United States senator to raise up their hands. Up shot the hands of the crowd accompanied with a series of hurrahs." *

Earlier in the campaign (in May, 1894), in a letter to Thomas P. Mitchell, of Woodward, S. C., chairman of the South Carolina Executive Committee of the Alliance party, Mr. Tillman had definitely defined his position as a candidate for the United States Senate. As stated in that communication, it was as follows: "The financial policy advocated by the Alliance embraces three things:

"1. The abolition of national banks and the issue of paper money direct by the United States Government.

"2. The free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

"3. The increase of the circulating mediums, gold, silver and legal tender greenbacks, to at least \$50 per capita of population.

"These fundamental ideas or demands are accompanied by the scheme for a government system of banking, incorporating the sub-treasury idea and the lending of money to the people at a low rate of interest.

"To the three propositions set forth above I can, and do, give my earnest support, and will strive, if elected senator, to see them incorporated into law and become the fixed policy of our government.

"I also can advocate and fight for all the other 'demands,' except that I doubt the wisdom or practicability of the government owning and running all railroads, telegraph and telephone lines. I will take occasion during the campaign to discuss all these matters fully. The one essential point on which I differ with the Alliance is the lending of money to the people."

The speeches made by the governor, during the campaign, were based on these pronouncements, and upon that basis, or platform, he was first elected to the United States Senate by the Legislature of South Carolina, over Senator M. C. Butler, his Democratic opponent, by a vote of 131 to 21. It was another triumph of his masterly policy of keeping the farmer's vote consolidated for himself—whether controlled by the Association or the Alliance.

* Report in The News and Courier, August 7, 1894.

THE DECISION WAS AN OUTRAGE

Governor Tillman thus graphically describes a temporary set-back which befell the Dispensary law:

"Two weeks after the Darlington riot the Supreme Court, to the surprise and disgust of a large majority of the people, declared the Act of 1892 unconstitutional. The effort to enforce the law of 1893 had brought on a riot—riot had resulted in bloodshed and insurrection; but the law had triumphed and order been promptly restored, so that we had every reason, and, in fact, there was every evidence to show, that the fight was won, and men were ready to yield obedience and cease to obstruct the law—not willingly, but from necessity and fear. I had by proclamation taken control of the municipal police throughout the State, under Section 519 G. S., and ordered Constables to confine themselves to seizures of liquor in transit, and to watching the authorities of the towns and cities. Conferences were held with the Mayors of those municipalities where the illicit sale of liquor had been most flagrant, and everything pointed to a satisfactory solution of the vexed question, and a quiet and efficient co-operation between the Constables and the police for the enforcement of the law. But, alas! all my work of nine months was undone in an instant. The whiskey dealers, who had closed their doors, or were preparing to quit and leave the State, opened up their bars in grand style. Bonfires were kindled in Charleston, and a triumphal procession, headed by a wagon containing a whiskey barrel, garlanded with flowers, paraded the principal streets of that city. The opinion by the Court was illogical and strained, and so muddled that no one knew or could say just what was the status established by it. In a supplemental case brought before them, the two Judges who had united in the decision declared that the act of 1892 was all a dead letter, except the provision prohibiting the issuing of licenses; that we had in effect prohibition, rock-ribbed and steel-hooped.

"While the decision was on the act of 1892, I knew the same general principles underlay both acts, and that if one was unconstitutional the other must be also. I therefore ordered all the Dispensaries to be closed, stock to be taken, and all accounts to be adjusted as soon as possible. * * *

"I fully anticipated a case being brought under the act of 1892 and a decision of like nature to the first, and as I had put forth all my energies to make men obey the law, I felt compelled to obey it myself—although I felt, as did most of the people, that the decision was an outrage and the result of partisan bias. It would take too much time and space to give my reasons for this opinion, but I will mention that the Judge of the United States Court and five of our eight Circuit Judges had sustained the constitutionality of the law, and the Supreme Court itself in the Chester case had declared it was a police regulation and not a revenue measure.

"RESOLVED TO THWART THE COURT"

"But while I obeyed what I thought was the law under the decision of the Court, I resolved to thwart the Court if I could, and every effort was put forth to prevent the act of 1893 from coming before the Court as it was then constituted. In the meantime we had a whiskey deluge. During the period from July 1st, 1893, when the Dispensary law went into effect, to April 21st, 1894, when it was suspended, two hundred and seventy-seven United States retail licenses were issued. In the

time the Dispensaries were closed, April 21st to August 1st, one thousand one hundred and seventy-four were issued. All the old dealers—those who had left the State and those who remained—laid in stocks. Men who had never sold liquor went into the business, and at every town, hamlet and cross-roads, whiskey could be bought, with no effort at concealment. * * *

ENORMOUS STOCKS OF STATE LIQUOR

"The stock of liquors on hand at the State Dispensary, with other necessary supplies, was valued at \$99,601.26, and the amount held at the several dispensaries was \$96,932.72, while the debts due by the State Commission amounted to \$84,528.93. These liquors were being held at a heavy expense for rents, salaries, insurance, etc., while the State was flooded with liquor sold contrary to the law.

"A CHANGE IN THE COURT"

"The act of 1893 had been ignored by the Court in two cases, and a change in the Court made me feel it my duty to revive the act of 1893 and test the question of its constitutionality once for all. So July 22d I issued a proclamation ordering the Dispensaries to be reopened August 1st, and warning all public carriers and illicit dealers to obey the law. The Constabulary had been dismissed April 21st. The force was reorganized about the middle of August and put to work, being gradually increased and instructed to close down on the liquor sellers by degrees. Every facility was offered those so desiring to get rid of their liquors and ship them out of the State.

"At this time, I have sixty-five men employed as constables and detectives employed as constables and detectives, and the expense has been very heavy. But it was to be expected that both time and work would be required to regain the lost ground, and reach even the position occupied 21st April, when the illicit traffic had almost ceased in three-fourths of the counties. * * * The act of 1893 has been declared constitutional by the Supreme Court and it is not likely that any further trouble of a serious nature will arise."

Although the main features of the Dispensary law were incorporated into the State Constitution of 1895, its enforcement was always a serious problem, and was followed by the abolition of the State Bottling plant and the introduction of local option, as steps toward State-wide prohibition. At no period while the Dispensary Act was on the statute books, did it work smoothly or effectively. There was always friction and frequent disorder;—and as the event proved, wide-spread corruption.

TILLMAN NOT THE PROTAGONIST IN PRIMARY SYSTEM

Although Governor Tillman himself takes credit for "the inauguration of the Primary system of party nominations for all offices in the gift of the people," it is difficult to square that claim with his record. That record has never been given more succinctly, or forcibly, than by W. W. Ball in "An Episode in South Carolina Politics," read before the Kosmos Club in 1915, and which is as follows: "The primary was adopted, beginning in 1876, first in the white counties and then in nearly all the counties, for the nomination of county officers and legislators. Then, in 1886, the demand for primaries to nominate Congressmen and Circuit Solicitors came from these same

white counties, a group of progressive Greenville Democrats taking the lead in it. The demand for a State primary was defeated in the State Convention in 1886, and again in 1888, but the people, taught to realize their power by the operation of the primary in county and Congressional elections, would not be satisfied until it was extended to be the method of choosing all officers. Inevitably as the primary grew in popularity, it forced on the Democratic party a narrower racial character and put an end, about 1886, to the occasional election to office of negro Democrats in counties having large negro majorities. Captain Tillman, in his stirring of the farmers between August, 1885, and January, 1890, apparently failed to observe the revolution in political affairs that the oncoming of the primary was effecting and only in the two Democratic State Conventions of 1888 exerted himself to accelerate it. Meantime, energetic efforts had been made by the Greenville leaders to induce the adoption of the State Primary in the Convention of 1886. Then, in 1890, Captain Tillman deliberately receded from the position that he had taken in 1888, by writing a platform for the convention of farmers that 'suggested' him for Governor from which the State Primary plan was carefully excluded, and this exclusion was sustained by the convention, by the active agency of himself and his close associates. The State Democratic Convention, in the following August, controlled by his friends, called solely to determine the question of nominating by convention or primary decided against the primary for that year, and in 1892, Captain Tillman on the stump emphasized that the Farmers' platform had not promised a direct primary, the election of delegates to the State Nominating Convention by county primaries, provided for in 1892, having failed to satisfy the Anti-Tillman faction. The State Democratic Convention of 1894, by amendment to the party constitution, ordered a direct primary for 1896. Captain Tillman was never a candidate in a direct State primary until 1900. The nomination of Joseph H. Earle for United States Senator in 1896, over Governor John G. Evans, was the first great contest decided by a direct State Primary in South Carolina.

"Whether the primary is superior to the convention, or whether a primary by which counties choose delegates to a State Nominating Convention, thus preserving the relative strengths of the counties, based on total and not white population in making nominations, is preferable to the direct primary is not here discussed. It is certain that the substitution of the State Primary for the State Convention has revolutionized South Carolina politics; that it became inevitable before the advent of Captain Tillman as a political factor; that he exerted his influence in 1890 to retard rather than to advance its adoption; that the credit or responsibility for the change rests in the main on the white counties of the northwestern section of the State, and that the late James L. Orr, the late William L. Mauldin, and other prominent Greenville Democrats were most influential and effective in the series of contests that finally led to its acceptance by the people of the State."

TILLMAN'S MEASURES OF REFORM

In Governor Tillman's fourth and last message to the General Assembly in November, 1894, he said: "Since I have been chief magistrate of South Carolina I have had more complex questions of grave consequence to deal with, have been confronted with greater problems pressing for solution, than have marked the civil history of the State during all the balance of its existence"!!!

In an address at Bennettsville, just nine years after his first attack upon the oligarchy, Governor Tillman thus summed up the chief accomplishments of the "Tillman Movement": "The first thing Reform did was to choke Coosaw in submission; next the people were given the right to see candidates before voting for them; having railroad commissioners elected by the people direct; reapportionment of the State; primary elections; refunding the State debt; building Clemson College and the Woman's College; collection of railroad and bank taxes, and making corporations obey the law after we had a hard fight; calling a Constitutional Convention, and last and greatest, the Dispensary Law"!!!

The judicious reader will weigh these claims, Governor Tillman's services to the State, and Reforms real and alleged, accomplished by the "triumphant Democracy" of which he was the guiding spirit, at times the dictator, and will draw his own conclusions.

CHAPTER LXV

ADMINISTRATIONS OF EVANS, ELLERBE AND McSWEENEY—THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

The period covered by the administrations of Governors Evans, Ellerbe and McSweeney is one of agricultural, industrial and political unrest—relieved by one great step forward, the adoption of the State Constitution of 1895. It is true that the Spanish-American war was waged during the administration of Governor Ellerbe, and that the call to arms was received with enthusiasm, but South Carolinians, with a few notable exceptions, were afforded no "place in the picture near the flashing of the guns," and the war was but an incident which had no appreciable effect upon the development of the State.

Upon the expiration of Governor Tillman's second term, it was the general expectation that his successor would be a farmer, for the Farmers' Alliance was still a power in the land. The conservatives had no candidate in the field, and William H. Ellerbe, a farmer, and very efficient comptroller general under Tillman, was one of several candidates of the Reform party who, it was supposed, would easily secure the nomination. But that was not to be, for Tillman, Irby and the Dispensary "machine" exerted all their influence in support of an accomplished young lawyer, John Gary Evans, who received the nomination for governor from the Democratic Convention which was almost solidly "Reform." By a device known as "the Colleton plan" all the Reform candidates except one were eliminated. The Conservatives, who would have voted for Ellerbe, by this Colleton plan were "deprived of any real voice in the choice of the Democratic nominee." It is claimed by a well known "Reform" journalist that "the disintegration of the Reform movement that began when Tillman turned from Ellerbe to Evans was accelerated by the operation of the Colleton plan." The "plan" made Evans governor, but it "made and kept him a private citizen after the one term as governor obtained thereby was ended."

Although the Constitution of 1868 was mainly the work of alien politicians, white and black, whose aim was, through it, to control the negro vote and thus rule South Carolina, that instrument had many excellent features. It was modeled upon the ultra-democratic Constitution of Ohio and, obviously, made radical changes in the government which was practically based upon South Carolina's great Constitution of 1790. Among its leading features were the Free School law; the apportionment of representation to population only; the homestead law and manhood suffrage—prisoners, paupers and lunatics excepted. Ten years before Tillman appeared on the hustings a Constitutional Convention had been talked about and advocated, but when John Gary Evans succeeded Tillman as governor in 1894 the demand had grown in intensity, and the Legislature that year provided for the election of delegates to a convention which should frame a new constitution. Governor Evans was the son of N. G. Evans of "the Old Army," a West Point man who had been conspicuous as an Indian fighter, and had had a notable record as a Confederate brigadier general. The mother of Governor Evans was the sister of Gen. Martin W. Gary, one of the most dashing cavalry leaders of the Army of Northern Virginia, and

an ardent and devoted supporter of Gen. Hampton in the campaign of 1876.

Young Evans had left Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., in 1882, after the death of General Gary, and studied law with his uncle, Major W. T. Gary of Augusta. In 1886 he opened a law office in Aiken, and two years afterward began his active political career as member of the Legislature. He was one of the leading figures during his four years of service in the House and introduced the decisive resolution for the call of the Constitutional Convention. In 1892 he was elected to the State Senate and during his term of service was elected governor of the State.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION ASSEMBLES

The Legislature of 1894 provided for an election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention. The 160 delegates elected assembled at Columbia, September 10, 1895, and continued with several adjournments until December 4th of that year. The permanent officers of the convention were John Gary Evans, of Aiken County, president; W. J. Talbert, of Edgefield County, and Ira B. Jones, of Lancaster County, vice presidents, and S. W. Vance, secretary.

ROBERT ALDRICH'S ADDRESS

Robert Aldrich, of Barnwell County, was elected temporary chairman. In his short instructive address, he referred to the Constitution of 1790 as "the only valid constitution South Carolina ever had," and advised the delegates to take that as the basis of their work. The organic law of 1868, he thus scored: "The Convention of 1868 was the fruit of the Reconstruction Acts, which were notoriously unconstitutional, of which one of the most eminent men in Congress, and a leader of the party in power at the time, had the hardihood to say there were only two fools in the United States who considered them constitutional; and if unconstitutional they were invalid. That Constitution was made by aliens, negroes and natives without character, all the enemies of South Carolina, and was designed to degrade our State, insult our people and overturn our civilization. It is a strain upon the reputation of South Carolina that she has voluntarily lived for 18 years under that instrument, after she had acquired full control of every department of her government, but it is a lasting honor to the people of the State that when they took control of their own affairs they set to work to do away with this instrument of their humiliation, in their day of defeat, and in its place to have an organic law which shall be the work of their own hands."

GOVERNOR EVANS SPEAKS AND ADVISES

When Governor Evans took the chair as president of the convention he recalled the prophetic words of Governor Orr to the delegates of the convention that framed the Constitution of 1868, "when he admonished them that no law passed by them, unless framed with a view of preserving the rule of intelligence and virtue, could be perpetuated. This has proved true," he continued, "and we are here to make the prophecy and blot out a constitution made to perpetuate the reign of ignorance and vice over wisdom and virtue.

"The chief executive should be clothed with power to remove any and all officials guilty of malfeasance or malpractice in office, or to sus-

pend such officers until such charges may be preferred and disposed of. Under the present Constitution a sheriff may lead a lynching bee, a clerk of the court may defile the sanctuary of justice, a county supervisor may rob and plunder the people, and still retain their offices in defiance of the executive, whose duty it is under the Constitution to see that the laws are duly and properly enforced. If you deem this power too broad, specify in what cases it should be exercised, or abolish any article or section requiring the governor to enforce the laws. If we are to have a chief make him such; if a subordinate, define his province."

Governor Evans recommended a reduction in the number of officers elected by the Legislature and that all should be elected by the people; that special legislation and the granting of special privileges by the Legislature should be abolished; that a general law should be enacted "for the chartering of all corporations by the secretary of state," and that the terms of legislators should not exceed two years. Judges should be elected by the people. "Our inferior courts as at present constituted," said Governor Evans, "are a farce. The trial justice system is expensive, inefficient and fails to meet the requirements of the people. County courts should be established with jurisdiction over misdemeanors and felonies less than capital, the terms of which should be quarterly, and all convicts sentenced directly to the county chain gang. This would insure speedy justice, economy and good roads. Let the chairman of each township board of commissioners be made a committing magistrate with no trial jurisdiction and the system will be complete."

Far-reaching and practical suggestions were made as to the means of protecting residents in their homestead rights and encouraging them to become permanent dwellers in the land. "A reasonable homestead should be provided for heads of families, without power to mortgage, and exempt from attachment, levy and sale * * * It is appalling to witness the rapidity with which the lands of the State are passing into the hands of aliens and foreign corporations. If it is not checked our people will soon become as the Arabs of the desert or the wandering Jews of Russia, and patriotism will be dead. Let us preserve our homes for South Carolinians and perpetuate that individuality so characteristic of our people."

After referring to the indisputable benefits of education, the governor thus brought the subject home to South Carolina: "Experience has proved the wisdom of separate education of the races and the Constitution should provide for the maintenance of a white and colored school in each district in the State. Give to the citizen the right to designate the school to which his tax should be applied and leave to the trustees the distribution of the tax of corporations upon an equitable basis. * * * No fixed amount of taxation should be placed in the Constitution; it should be left in the hands of the people who pay it or to their representatives in the Legislature.

As to Suffrage, only an educational qualification was suggested, in these words: "There should be an educational qualification for the right of suffrage, if the supremacy of intelligence is to be preserved. It is no injustice to any man, black or white, to have such a qualification, for only the intelligent are capable of governing. We must do our duty in this matter boldly and fearlessly, without regard to the censure of foreigners and aliens. We have experienced the cost and hardship of the rule of the ignorant, and know what it means."

Finally, the governor of the State and the president of the convention urged: "Ample provision should be made to protect the people

against the encroachments of corporate wealth and influence—against plutocracy. Corporations in South Carolina are becoming most powerful. In the last four years the capacity and wealth of manufactories have more than doubled. Our laws, our climate, and our labor offer special inducements for the operation of cotton mills in the State and, while you owe a duty to them, you owe it to the people as well. The operatives in our factories are neither anarchists, socialists, nor foreigners; they are native-born South Carolinians, with all that that word implies. You should see to it that in their poverty they are not oppressed. Whether a special officer should be appointed to look after this, is for you to determine in your wisdom. In my judgment the small salary he would be paid would be fully compensated by the good he would accomplish.

"Especially should some provision be made against corrupt influences in elections, and the intimidation of electors by corporate authorities. In municipalities there is corruption and dishonest means and influences used in elections. It is your duty to throw around such municipal elections the same safeguards used in State elections, and thus insure to the people of towns and cities the same fairness and honesty practiced by people in the country."

THE NEW STATE CONSTITUTION

It will be impossible to follow the steps by which the Constitution of 1895 finally became an entity and the supreme organic law of the State. The student of the State's constitutional history will find a mass of material in the daily reports of two newspapers: The State of Columbia, and The News and Courier of Charleston, and in the "Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of South Carolina," a volume of over 740 pages, published in 1895. Unfortunately no official daily record of the proceedings was ever made or published. From the Journal he will learn that the fifty-nine days, during which the convention sat, were busy ones and that its 160 delegates faithfully considered the very many questions of preeminent importance presented.

PERSONNEL OF THE CONVENTION

It is interesting to note that the agricultural element was represented in the convention by an overwhelming majority, more than 80 of the delegates being "farmers"—only one delegate gave his occupation as "planter!"—some of whom combined with such labors various activities connected with banking, county affairs, manufactures, or with the medical, legal and ministerial professions. Nearly 60 of the delegates were lawyers and the remainder were chiefly editors, physicians and clergymen. It is evident from a consideration of the list that the "farmer" was still the man of the hour and that the manufacturer was not in the ascendant. He was represented by only two of the delegates, and even then agriculture did not wholly absorb their activities; as the delegate from Adams Run, Colleton County, was both "manufacturer and farmer," and the representative from Fort Mill, York County, was "banker, manufacturer and planter." But as the State interests were then constituted, the convention of 1895 was undoubtedly representative of the people.

The "Declaration of Rights," or preamble to the Constitution, states so many general principles which are accepted by all good Americans that only a few of its declarations which refer more specifically to

South Carolina need be noted, such as: * That property qualifications are not necessary for the holding of public office; that acceptances of challenges to fight duels work forfeiture of the right to hold office; that corporal punishment shall not be inflicted; that the power to punish for contempt shall not extend in any contingency to imprisonment in the State Penitentiary; that no person can be convicted of treason except upon the testimony of two persons who witnessed the same overt act, or upon open confession in court; that militia must be maintained

FARMERS AND FARM TRACTORS OF THE 90's

by the State alone; that the General Assembly alone can give authority for the exercise of martial law.

THE SUFFRAGE

In Article II the Constitution declares that all elections by the people shall be by ballot, which ballots must never be counted in secret; that no person shall hold two offices of honor or profit at the same time, except the party may also be an officer of the militia or a notary public. The qualifications for the suffrage are, in brief, as follows: The voter must be a citizen of the United States, a man who has paid six months before election any poll tax † then due, and can read and write any section of the State Constitution, or can show that he owns and has paid all taxes due the previous year on property assessed in the State at \$300 or more; previous residence of two years in the State, one year in the county and four months in the town or precinct.

All felons and persons convicted of bribery (unless pardoned), the insane and paupers, are prohibited the ballot.

* Handbook of South Carolina, 1907.

† In answer to the inquiry of a woman suffragist, as late as November, 1920, the attorney general of the State gave it as his opinion that women of South Carolina were exempt from the poll tax. He quoted as his authority Sec. 286, Art. I, Chapter XIV, Vol. I, code of laws of 1912, which names as subject to that tax "all males between the ages of 21 and 60 years, except those incapable of earning a support from being maimed or from any other cause."

The General Assembly is required by law to provide all the machinery for the carrying out of the provisions of the constitution as to the franchise.

THE LEGISLATURE

The General Assembly of South Carolina is composed of the House of Representatives and the Senate. The House comprises 124 members, based on population, chosen by popular elections every second year and representatives of the counties of the State. If any county has not a population equal to a 124th part of the whole number of inhabitants in the State, it is, nevertheless, allowed one member in the House of Representatives. Bills for raising revenue must originate in the House.

The Senate is composed of one member from each county, elected for a term of four years—the elections so arranged that every two years half of the members of that body are chosen. Senators must be at least 25 years and representatives 21 years of age.

The annual sessions of the General Assembly begin on the second Tuesday of January, and the per diem of members is limited to 40 days. Every act or joint resolution having the force of law must relate to only one subject. Each must be read three times in each house on separate days and must be ratified in the Senate Chamber in joint session. The lieutenant governor is president and presiding officer of the Senate, and the House of Representatives elects one of its members as speaker. As president of the Senate the lieutenant governor has no vote unless that body is equally divided. The Senate also elects a president *pro tem.*, who, in the event of the lieutenant governor becoming governor, succeeds to the presidency of the Senate as well as the lieutenant governorship.

The old English custom of presiding officers wearing robes is practiced, and the historic Mace of State, ante-dating the Revolution, is placed on the speaker's desk at the opening of each day's session.

THE STATE'S OFFICERS

The governor is the chief executive of the State and the commander-in-chief of its militia. In him is vested the pardoning power, all applications first passing through the State Board of Pardons, and its recommendation to the governor being advisory, not mandatory. The governor commissions all officers of the State. He has the usual veto power and the General Assembly, the customary privilege of overruling it by a two-thirds majority of both houses. The governor's term of office is two years and he must be 30 years of age.

The other constitutional State officers are the secretary of state, the comptroller-general, the attorney-general, the state treasurer, the adjutant and inspector general, the state superintendent of education and three state railroad commissioners who are elected for varying terms. The foregoing are elected by the people.

Since the constitution went into effect, various State departments have been created by legislative enactment. As to the heads of these departments—the commissioner of agriculture, commerce and immigration, the state geologist and state bank examiner, all of whom have an official term of four years and are appointed by the governor, who also selects the superintendent of the State Hospital for the Insane and members of the Board of Regents. The state librarian, the state insurance commissioner, and the superintendent and directors of the State

Penitentiary are elected by the General Assembly. The members of the State Historical Commission were originally appointed by the governor, but the Legislature has since designated the professors of history in the three State Colleges, a representative of the Confederate Veterans, and a representative of the South Carolina Historical Society to compose the Commission, while the secretary of the Commission is elected by its members.

THE JUDICIARY

The judicial department of the State consists of the Supreme Court, comprising a chief justice and three associate justices,* who are elected by the General Assembly for a term of eight years,† and two Circuit Courts, one of which (the Court of General Sessions) has criminal jurisdiction only and the other (the Court of Common Pleas), civil jurisdiction. In order to reverse the court below, three of the justices must agree; in case of equal division, the decision of the lower court stands.

Special provision is made for the calling into consultation of all the Circuit judges of the State, but the Court of Common Pleas and the Court of General Sessions are required to sit in each county at least twice every year. At the Criminal Court, prosecutions are conducted by circuit solicitors who are elected by the people. Each county has also a probate judge chosen by popular election. The magistrates, appointed by the governor have jurisdiction in minor matters, both civil and criminal.

LIABILITY FOR LYNCHING

In line with Governor Evans's recommendation, the following became the State law:†† If a prisoner is lynched through the negligence of any State, county or municipal officer having him in charge, the officer is subject to trial for misdemeanor and, upon the rendering of a true bill, vacates his office until the determination of the trial. The trial must be in a county other than the one in which the lynching occurred. In all cases of fatal lynching the county in which the lynching takes place, without regard to the conduct of the officers, becomes liable in damages of not less than \$2,000 to the legal representatives of the victim, and the county has redress against the parties who commit the lynching.

COUNTIES AND MUNICIPALITIES

The Constitution provides full machinery for the formation of new counties. No new county can have less than 400 square miles and no old one be reduced to an area of less than 500 square miles. Each county is an election district and, for purposes of taxation, is divided into townships.

Provision is also made by law for the acquirement of water works and lighting plants, the levying and collection of taxes, the issuing of licenses (other than for liquor), and the regulation of the bonded

* By an amendment to the Constitution (1911), the number of associate justices was increased to four.

† The amendment of 1911 makes the term of the chief and associate justices ten years.

†† This provision remains in the Constitution, but apparently it is impracticable or impossible to enforce it.

debts of the cities, towns and villages of the State. Cities and towns are also permitted to exempt for a period of five years, by ordinance, certain classes of manufactories from all taxes, except for school purposes.

The Constitution of 1895 prohibited for all time the issuing of licenses by municipal corporations for the purpose of selling liquor.* Prize fighting was also prohibited.

REGULATION OF CORPORATIONS

Following the recommendation of Governor Evans, the Constitution provides that the secretary of state be, upon proper showing, authorized to issue charters to corporations operating in South Carolina. All transporting and transmitting corporations are taxed as such and are not permitted to make any contracts relieving them of common law liability in reference to the carriage of passengers. All operating corporations must maintain agents and offices in the State, where legal documents can be properly served. Railroads are not permitted to buy competitive lines, the State being otherwise protected against the formation of trusts. No foreign corporation can build or operate a railroad in South Carolina without first becoming domesticated by obtaining a charter in the State. Provisions are made for the examination and inspection of all banking and fiscal corporations. The State is protected by law against the formation of trusts and combinations of interests for the destruction of competition. The rights of railway employes are thoroughly protected as much so as those of the passengers. The laws of the State in regard to the liability of stockholders of corporations are complete.

The constitution of 1895 provides for direct taxation upon all property except upon that exempted for municipal, educational, library, scientific, charitable or religious purposes. Provisions relating to public education are fully treated in another chapter, LXIX.

The Constitution provides that all male citizens of the State, between 18 and 45 years, except such as are exempted by the laws of the United States or of this State, "or who, from religious scruples may be averse to bearing arms," are subject to service in the militia of the State.

All impeachment proceedings are conducted by the State Senate.

Those who deny the existence of a Supreme Being are debarred from office. Lotteries are not permitted. A married woman is protected in the real and personal property of which she was in possession when single.

DIVORCE PROHIBITED FROM 1670 TO 1868

Section 3, of Article XVII reads: "Divorce from the bonds of matrimony shall not be allowed in this State." An effort was made in

* The General Assembly by Joint Resolution, ratified and the governor approved in February, 1918, the following Article:

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this Article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress of the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This Article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an Amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided by the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress,

the Constitutional Convention to provide for divorce under certain circumstances, but, though vigorously pressed, it utterly failed. Prior to the Constitution of 1868 divorces were unknown to the laws of South Carolina during the Proprietary Government, under the Royal Government and for 91 years thereafter. That instrument declared (Sec. 5, Art. XIV): "Divorces from the bonds of matrimony shall not be allowed but by the judgment of a court, as shall be prescribed by law." In 1872, an act was passed allowing divorce for adultery or wilful desertion for two years, caused by extreme cruelty or non-support. That act was repealed in 1878, and the Constitution of 1895 even more forcibly stamped upon the social fabric of the State the sentiment of its people against the institution of Divorce for any cause.

PATTON'S SPEECH AGAINST DIVORCE

The discussion of the question of divorce was the occasion of perhaps the most brilliant speech in the convention, that of H. Cowper Patton, of the Richland delegation, who argued with telling effect that the State should return to her ancient and unique prohibition of divorce for any cause, and that in South Carolina the home should remain inviolate and inviolable. Governor Evans relinquished the chair and took the floor contending ably in favor of divorce for certain causes; but all to no avail; the logic and the eloquence of Patton swept the convention off its feet.

TWO NOTABLE DISCUSSIONS

Had a stenographic report been made of the proceedings of the convention, some of the debates, eloquent and sometimes scathing denunciations, and occasional outcroppings of bitter political antagonisms, would have been preserved in their entirety for the students of history and sociology of a later day. This may be inferred from the hurriedly written but graphic and admirable sketch reports of August Kohn in *The News and Courier*. Probably the most dramatic clashes were on the suffrage problem and the discussion and determination of the name of the new county, carved mainly out of Edgefield. The delegation from Beaufort was composed entirely of negroes and mulattoes, three of whom, Smalls, Whipper and Miller, were men of ability and good speakers. They opposed the report of the Committee on Suffrage, and were hopelessly outnumbered, but, as a Democratic reporter said, "One could not help admiring the spirit and ability with which they carried on their hopeless fight against white supremacy. The work of handling them in debate was largely left to the Edgefield delegation. Governor Sheppard's perfect familiarity with the findings of the South Carolina fraud commission * * * enabled him to present coolly and logically the reasons which compelled the white men of the State to take such action as would prevent any possibility of a return of that rule." * Smalls and the astute but notorious Whipper had been proved guilty of bribe-taking and fraud in the report of the commission. The fight over the naming of the new county created by the convention was one of the most interesting debates in all the proceedings of the convention. Senator Tillman successfully argued that the county be named "Saluda," and his accomplished brother, former Congressman George D. Tillman, forcibly contended on sentimental and historical

* George R. Koester, in *The Greenville Piedmont*, November, 1916.

grounds for "Butler," the name of a distinguished South Carolina family, claiming that the Saluda Indians had been sufficiently remembered by having one of the principal rivers of the State and a range of mountains named after them.* Aside from the highly satisfactory work of the Constitutional Convention, and trouble in carrying out the Dispensary law, necessitating, in the opinion of the governor, the imposition of metropolitan police upon the city of Charleston, the administration was uneventful. The State, under Governor Evans, had to face a general depression of business caused largely by the low price of cotton during the period when prosperity and enterprise virtually depended upon the status of a single standard product—before diversification of crops was much considered and at a time when the home man-

FORCING THE COTTON YIELD

(See part of field fertilized with potash)

ufactures of cotton had not taken solid root. As noted, the governor was earnest in his efforts to curb the aggressiveness of corporations and big business interests, at the expense of weaker proprietors and the laborers themselves. For some time before he assumed office, many protests had been made against the system of hiring out convicts to private individuals and corporations. Thus convict labor was brought into competition with free, and it was largely through the efforts of Governor Evans that the practice was abolished and the convicts were put to work upon the public roads of the State.

In 1896, William H. Ellerbe, who had been a rival candidate two years before, succeeded Governor Evans, the retiring chief executive returning to his law practice. In the summer of 1896 he was defeated by a small majority for the nomination as United States Senator by

*There have been very many amendments to the Constitution of 1895, some of which have been cited in footnotes to this chapter. The large majority of such amendments apply to specific communities or districts and are not of State-wide importance. Thirteen amendments were submitted to the people on November 9th, 1920, and have received their approval. Of these thirteen probably the most important were the change of the fiscal year, and the change allowing the Legislature to pass local or special laws regulating the compensation of county officers.

The fiscal year will now (1920) run from July 1 to June 31, instead of from January 1 to December 31.

the Hon. Joseph H. Earle. Mr. Earle's senatorial term commenced March 4, 1897, but his death occurred on the 20th of that month, and a week later Governor Ellerbe appointed John L. McLaurin, former congressman, to succeed him. In January, 1898, was elected for the term ending March 3, 1903.

At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Mr. Evans served as inspector general on General Keifer's staff, in Cuba. Afterward he was transferred to the staff of Major General Ludlow and assisted the latter in organizing the civil affairs of the Department of Havana, of which General Ludlow was governor. At the conclusion of this service, Mr. Evans returned to South Carolina and opened a law office at Spartanburg, where he has since made his home.

WILLIAM H. ELLERBE

Governor Ellerbe was one of the youngest in the long roll of men, eighty-eight in all, who had ruled South Carolina, but his record as comptroller-general, to which office he had been elected in 1890, indicated executive abilities of a high order. His father was a wealthy planter of Marion county, and several generations of his family had resided in the region of the upper Pee Dee. Captain Thomas Ellerbe, his great-great-grandfather, served under Marion in the Revolutionary War.

Governor Ellerbe was educated at Wofford College, and at Vanderbilt University, but his health failed while a student at the latter institution. He was both a planter and a merchant. In 1886, he joined the Farmers' Alliance, but was suspended from membership when he became a merchant. Then came his successful experience as comptroller-general of the State, and the governorship. He had stood by Evans in the fight made upon him by Sampson Pope as an independent. This had given him the goodwill of the friends and supporters of Evans.

The early portion of Governor Ellerbe's administration was also beclouded by low-priced cotton and such business depression that even the paying of taxes was a burden. The liquor question, with the continuous and sometimes unsuccessful efforts to enforce the State Dispensary law, was a public irritant, and the dissatisfaction of the people induced by the "hard times" was a bar to optimism and progress.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

In the circumstances, the coming of the Spanish-American War was perhaps not unwelcome, as it temporarily lifted the distressed South Carolinians out of their domestic troubles. Albeit the opportunity was not afforded, the State made a most creditable preparation for active participation in the war.

On the night of February 15, 1898, the United States battleship *Maine* was blown up in Havana harbor with the loss of 226 members of her crew. As it was proved that the ship had been exploded from the outside by some enemy contrivance, and as no satisfactory explanations or regrets were expressed by Spain, the United States declared war against the oppressor of Cuba, on the 25th of April following (1898).

At the time war was declared J. W. Floyd was adjutant and inspector general of South Carolina and not long after the conclusion of hostilities he compiled a record of the State's participation in the struggle. The book was dedicated to the First and Second Regiments

of Infantry, the Heavy Battery of Artillery and the three divisions of the Naval Militia, which comprised the South Carolina units raised for the war. A condensation from General Floyd's account follows:

Under the joint Congressional resolution of April 22, 1898, President McKinley was authorized to call all the land and naval forces of the United States into active service, and on the following day issued a call for 125,000 volunteers to be known as the Regular and Volunteer Forces of the United States. Each governor was advised of the special quota which he was required to raise.

At that time the colonel and lieutenant colonel of the First and Second Infantry Regiments of South Carolina and the captains of the Heavy Artillery and Naval Reserves were active officers of the State Militia. About a month after Governor Ellerbe issued his proclamation, the First Regiment and Battalion of Infantry and the Heavy Artillery had enlisted their full complement, 2,500 men having been physically examined before the ranks were complete.

The commander of the Heavy Battery of Artillery was Captain Edward Anderson, a graduate of the South Carolina Military Academy. His command was mustered into the service on May 21, 1898, 26 days after President McKinley's call. In less than ten days the required number of men—166—had been raised, but on account of rejections for physical defects more than 300 were examined before the organization was filled. The battery was mustered in at Columbia, on the date named, and ordered to Sullivan's Island, Charleston, where it remained until the war was over, and was mustered out on April 4, 1899.

The First Regiment of Infantry was mustered in June 2nd, 1,000 strong, with Joseph K. Alston, colonel, and James H. Tillman, lieutenant colonel. Most of the field and staff officers were in the State Militia, at the opening of the war, and several were military school graduates.

DEATH OF COLONEL ALSTON

Colonel Alston died before the regiment was mustered out, and was an unusually efficient and popular officer. He was a Fairfield County man, who had been educated at Carolina Military Institute, Charlotte, and at the Virginia Military Institute. He had been an active member of the Richland Volunteers before he settled in Columbia to study law, and had established the successful firm of Alston & Patton before the war. In 1897 he was commissioned captain by Governor Ellerbe and colonel at the muster-in of the First Regiment.

The First Regiment left Camp Ellerbe, Columbia, on June 6th, for Chickamauga Park, Georgia, and the men arrived at Camp Thomas with practically no equipment. Afterward the regiment was well equipped and ordered to Jacksonville, Florida, to join the Seventh Army Corps under General Fitzhugh Lee. Arriving there on the 29th of July, it was ordered to Camp Cuba Libre, whence the men hoped to be called to Cuba; but they were disappointed, as on a previous occasion, and remained in camp there until September 21, 1898, when they were mustered out of the service, arriving in Columbia on the following day.

In the meantime Colonel Alston had been stricken with disease and James H. Tillman promoted to the command of the regiment. Colonel Alston died on October 21, 1898.

The Second South Carolina Volunteer Infantry was organized at Shandon Hill, near Columbia, on August 22d, with Colonel Willie Jones

as colonel and a strength of 1,013 officers and privates. Under orders it reported to General Fitzhugh Lee, at Jacksonville, Fla., on September 16th, and went into camp at Panama Park, four miles from the city and opposite the camp of the First Regiment. There eight men died of disease. It was ordered to Savannah, Georgia, in October, and was the first regiment of the Seventh Army Corps to report there. When the Second marched through Savannah bound for Havana, Cuba, on January 3, 1899, it was 840 strong. The troops went into camp at Camp Columbia, five miles from the city and half a mile from General Lee's headquarters at Buena Vista. Orders to prepare for home were received on March 20, 1899. The regiment saw no active warfare although it had been put through several severe marches, and was fully prepared and eager for service. The men finally left Havana in four sections, from March 22-26th and arrived at Camp McKenzie, Augusta, Ga., as a whole, about a week afterward. The Second Regiment was mustered out from that point April 19, 1899. Sixteen of its men had died in the service.

The Independent Battalion, S. C. V. I. (finally incorporated with the Second Regiment), commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Henry T. Thompson, was the first organization in the State to be mustered into the service of the United States for the war with Spain. The Darlington Guards, the first unit of that command, was under Captain Thompson when they volunteered for the war, on April 27, 1898. Before they were ordered to Columbia (May 3d), their captain was promoted to major, in charge of the Independent Battalion, which had then been formed from the Darlington Guards, the Sumter Light Infantry, the Edisto Rifles and the Manning Guards. All these companies came from the contiguous counties of Darlington, Sumter, Orangeburg and Clarendon, and they were mustered into the service in the order named. On the 22nd of May, the Battalion was declared complete by the United States authorities. Two days afterward, the organization left the Fair Grounds, where it had been stationed, and moved to Shandon. The camp was then named "Fitzhugh Lee."

On the day of its removal to Shandon, the Independent Battalion was presented by Col. James D. Blanding, on behalf of the Survivors' Association of the Mexican War, with the famous flag of the Palmetto Regiment—the first American emblem to be planted on the walls of the City of Mexico during the war with our turbulent Southern neighbor.

On June 3d, the Sumter Light Infantry was transferred to the First Regiment, and, on account of this depletion of the Battalion that regiment was sent to Chickamauga Park instead of the Battalion. The latter was again disappointed in its call to active service, and soon after its reorganization, made necessary by the loss of the Sumter company, it was made a part of the Second Infantry, for which two more battalions had been organized. A fourth company was afterward added to the Independent Battalion which, on June 27th, was designated as the First Battalion of the new Second South Carolina Infantry. Thereafter its record is interwoven with the history of the regiment. It was at that time that Major Henry T. Thompson was promoted to be lieutenant colonel of the regiment, retaining his command of the First Battalion.

The Naval Militia of South Carolina was commanded by Lieutenant Robert H. Pinckney, in charge of the Fourth District Coast Signal Service extending from North Carolina to Florida. It consisted of 21 officers and 302 men. The Naval Militia manned the Celtic, the Chickasaw and Waban, and some of its officers and men were detailed to other United States ships. They also manned the naval batteries

COTTON MILL OF THE FAR UP-COUNTRY (OCONEE COUNTY)

at Port Royal and the coast signal stations of the Fourth District, and furnished details of officers and men to the Port Royal Naval Station and the United States Navy Yard, New York. They all did their duty well. The Celtic was at Santiago when the Spanish ships were destroyed.

* A number of South Carolinians were prominent in the Spanish-American War outside of the State organizations. General M. C. Butler, a distinguished cavalry leader of the Army of Northern Virginia, served in the United States Volunteer Army as a major general; Major Micah Jenkins was an officer in the famous regiment of "Rough Riders," and was conspicuous for his gallantry in the charge on San Juan Hill. In the regular army Captain George H. McMaster distinguished himself in the Philippines, and Lieutenant Victor Blue's record in the navy, in the operations about Santiago, made him one of the shining lights in the country's naval history.

When war came Narciso Gener Gonzales enlisted under Gomez and fought for Cuban liberty. The eldest brother, Ambrose E. Gonzales, became a major in the United States army of occupation, being stationed at Santiago. The youngest brother, William Elliott, now ambassador to Peru, became a captain in the Second South Carolina volunteer regiment, and went to Cuba with Gen. Fitzhugh Lee's army corps. Later he was appointed United States minister to Cuba by President Wilson, where he represented the United States with distinction. These gentlemen were sons of General Ambrosio Jose Gonzales of Matanzas, one of the most distinguished of Cuban patriots, and afterward colonel and chief of artillery under General Beauregard in the War of Secession. Jefferson Davis declared him: "A soldier under two flags but one cause; that of community independence."

MILES B. MCSWEENEY, GOVERNOR

Governor Ellerbe died in office in 1899, at the age of thirty-seven. He was succeeded by Lieutenant Governor Miles B. McSweeney of Hampton County, a native of Charleston and an old newspaper "man" from early boyhood. His independent record in the field of journalism began in 1877, when as a young man he published the *Ninety-six Guardian* and, subsequently, the *Hampton County Guardian*. He was active in politics, serving as chairman of the Democratic State Committee in 1884-94. In the latter year he was elected to the Legislature, and was lieutenant governor from 1896 to 1899. His standing with his brothers of the Press is indicated by the fact that he was for eight years the president of the State Press Association, and his election as governor in 1900 was a popular declaration that his good qualities, not accident, entitled him to the office. He had joined the "Farmers' Movement" under Tillman, but had never been an extremist and had not, like several of the Reform leaders, made bitter enemies among the conservatives.

When Governor McSweeney began to serve the unexpired term of his predecessor, "times" had materially improved for South Carolina. Cotton and cotton seed oil manufactures, as well as the lumber industries, were active. In fact, during that year the cotton industries had advanced next to Massachusetts in the number of spindles employed and in their general importance.† In that notable year, eleven new cotton mills were organized and sixteen old mills enlarged. In response to this pronounced industrial development, the railroad system of the

* South Carolina Handbook.

† Simms's revised "History of South Carolina."

GRANITE QUARRY OF THE UP-COUNTRY

Material used in various Carolina memorials and State buildings; granite also exported to Pennsylvania, Cuba and elsewhere.

State had also expanded, Governor McSweeney, in his first message to the General Assembly making note of the fact that 237 miles of railroads had recently been completed in South Carolina.

When the census figures for 1900 were available, South Carolina realized how wealthy she was. Almost immediately after the Spanish-American war the price of cotton began to rise, and as the State's crop in 1900 * amounted to 780,000 bales, here was surely a long start toward good times. Her corn crop was 17,429,610 bushels; oats, 2,661,670 bushels; wheat, 1,017,319 bushels; hay, 213,246 tons; cow-peas, 1,162,705 bushels; and eggs, poultry and vegetables showed large sources of income, and indicated that South Carolina was learning the lesson of diversified products. In 1900, South Carolina's agricultural products were valued at \$68,266,912; all farm property at \$153,591,159 and live stock, at \$20,199,859.

In 1901, the South Carolina and West Indian Exposition, held in Charleston, was an instructive and striking display of the State's resources, and its development since the War of Secession. The exhibit was also a reminder of the early periods of the State's history when the civil, political and commercial relations of South Carolina were so intimate with the British colonial life of the West Indies.

The second year of Governor McSweeney's administration, by election, was also marked by the action of the Legislature of 1901 in providing for a memorial to the South Carolina troops who fought and died on the Chickamauga battlefield. That body appropriated \$10,000 for the purpose, and a fitting monument of Carolina granite was erected on the spot so heroically held by Kershaw's brigade. The names of the dead are appropriately inscribed on the face of their memorial.

DEATH OF WADE HAMPTON

The close of Governor McSweeney's administration was saddened by the death of one of the conspicuous leaders of the Confederate armies and South Carolina's greatest soldier and most devoted son, Wade Hampton. In 1891, the venerable Wade Hampton returned to Columbia and his ruined home, and died on the 11th of April, 1902, one day more than twenty-five years after he received from the hands of Chamberlain, the governorship of his beloved State. He had "fought a good fight," he had "kept the faith," and not since the death of Calhoun had the great heart of South Carolina throbbed with emotion so wide-spread—"Deep as first love, and wild with all regret."

* South Carolina Handbook.

CHAPTER LXVI
ADMINISTRATIONS OF GOVERNORS HEYWARD,
ANSEL AND BLEASE
(1902-1915)

The fourteen years during which Governors Heyward, Ansel and Blease occupied the executive chair represented a period of substantial progression in the industries, water-power development, building of electric lines, and education. During this period new counties were established and changes made in county lines.

Parts of Darlington, Kershaw and Sumter counties were taken, in 1902, to form Lee County; portions of Lexington and Orangeburg created Calhoun County in 1908; part of Marion was split off, in 1910, to form Dillon County; part of Lexington was annexed in 1901, to Newberry County; part of Williamsburg was annexed to Florence, in 1905; and Orangeburg County incorporated a part of upper Berkeley, including the Revolutionary battle-field of Eutaw Springs, in 1910.

DEATH THROES OF FACTIONALISM

The administration of Governor McSweeney, as has been noted, was not marked by any notable event in the economic or agricultural affairs of the State, but during his term and a half as governor there were evidences of very significant and important changes in the body-politic. There was much latent, and more blatant, dissatisfaction with the administration of the Dispensary law, and good men in both factions of the Democratic party, tired of the old factionalism of 1890, which was now moribund, were determined to get together. As a result Duncan Clinch Heyward, a young rice-planter of Colleton County, a man who had taken no active part in State politics,* and who probably did not have an enemy in South Carolina, received the nomination for governor, defeating W. Jasper Talbert a prominent politician.

GOVERNOR HEYWARD AND HIS ADMINISTRATIONS

Governor Heyward, who succeeded Miles B. McSweeney in 1903, was of an old South Carolina family of rice planters and cultured men and women. He received a broad and thorough education, both in his native State, in the East and in Virginia, and upon leaving Washington and Lee University in 1885 continued his ancestral calling on a large rice plantation on the Combahee River, Colleton County. He was thus engaged when called to the gubernatorial chair.

During Governor Heyward's two administrations, from 1903 to 1907, there was a general revival of industries (including those connected with agriculture), in South Carolina. The liquor question, however, was a menacing and disturbing problem. While theoretically

* Mr. Heyward was known to belong to the conservative faction, for in the Tillman-Sheppard campaign he had been a delegate on the Sheppard ticket. He spoke at all the meetings held in Colleton County, making the first political speech of his life at Black Creek, near Hendersonville. Ten years later, when he ran for governor, the Reformers made no reference to his part in that campaign and he received over 98 per cent of the vote in Colleton County.

opposed to the State embarking in the liquor business, Mr. Heyward, in common with nearly all the rice planters thereabout, did not at first oppose the law as there was no dispensary in his neighborhood, and the result was practically prohibition, whereas under the license system the planters had been cursed with bar rooms at nearly every cross roads. Early in his administration Governor Heyward used every effort in his power to have the General Assembly amend the Dispensary law so as to minimize the opportunities for graft. At that time the opponents of the Dispensary had little or no hope of its early abolition. The bill to amend and reform the Dispensary law, introduced by Senator Raysor of Orangeburg, at the instance of Governor Heyward, was completely changed by the amendments proposed by Senator R. I. Manning.

SOUTH CAROLINA'S IMPROVED COUNTRY SCHOOL

and the miserable law remained on the statute books of the State until the advent of Governor Ansel.

During Governor Heyward's administrations the spirit of amity again revived in the State. Among his ardent efforts which met the approbations of all good citizens were those diverted toward the prevention of lynching. Of the permanent improvements in the educational system, none is more creditable to the State Government of that period than the inauguration of the movement to improve the school buildings and grounds in the rural districts. The year 1903 marked the beginning of this movement, largely through the initiative of President D. B. Johnson, of the State Board of Education; O. B. Martin, superintendent, and Miss Mary Nance, president of the State Association for Rural School Improvement and general field agent. This association was subdivided into county and local organizations, which, largely under the earnest work and propaganda of women, spread rapidly and accomplished much. Old buildings were repaired, improved and made sanitary and attractive and grounds, which previously had been unsightly plots for the wear and tear of the school children were made restful and pleasant, as well as useful.

It was during the first of the year 1903—on the 19th of January—that the brilliant editor N. G. Gonzales, died, the victim of a political opponent. He had founded *The State*, on February 18, 1891, and was one of the ablest of the young South Carolinians who had come to the front after the War of Secession; a man of unquestioned courage and of lofty ideals. In appreciation of his services and his character, the citizens of Columbia and South Carolina erected a beautiful and ornate memorial at the intersection of Senate and Sumter Streets.

COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

For a number of years—before he became chief executive—Governor Heyward had been a pioneer in the movement to bring the system of interior waterways in direct connection with coastwise and European steamship service, and secure a profitable outlet for the cotton and other products of the State. Charleston was, obviously, to be the chief port for South Carolina. The movement inaugurated by Governor Heyward is still (1920) gathering momentum.

One of the State Handbooks noted: "He has been an earnest advocate of all measures leading to the opening of the South Atlantic seaboard to trans-Atlantic service, realizing the immense value of the South's dealing directly with the consumer. As governor, he urged this project; as a citizen and as president of the Southern Immigration and Industrial Association, he has labored earnestly to accomplish the desired end. In all the efforts made by the South Carolina Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Immigration to accomplish this purpose he has rendered invaluable aid. His successor, Governor Martin F. Ansel, has likewise taken an active interest in the effort to accomplish such excellent results as must follow the permanent establishment of such service, and during 1907 personally attended the National Rivers and Harbors Congress in Washington."

THE VOYAGE OF THE WITTEKIND

Through the efforts of the State Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Immigration, the steamship "Wittekind," of the North German Lloyd, arrived at Charleston, Nov. 4, 1906, bringing 476 Belgian immigrants and a full cargo of German rainit. She carried back, on sailing from Charleston, November 23d, 10,349 bales of cotton, "saving considerably" (says the South Carolina Handbook), "in freight charges and affording a fine practical illustration of the incalculable advantages of direct service to the material interests of the South. A considerable quantity of miscellaneous merchandise was also carried. The first sailing was so successful from the steamship company's viewpoint that a second attempt was made, the ship arriving on February 9, 1907. Unfortunately, this sailing took place while the Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Immigration was without funds, in the legislative appropriation interim, and so late in the cotton season that a full return cargo could not be supplied. The result was unsatisfactory and led to a cessation of the North German Lloyd's efforts to open the port of Charleston."

PROTECTION OF BIRDS, FISH AND GAME

During the last year of Governor Heyward's administrations, the Audubon Society of South Carolina, which became one of the largest organizations of the kind in the Union was organized. The charter was

RAISING SOY BEANS FOR SOIL INOCULATION

obtained from the General Assembly in 1907. The Society had for its objects the passage and enforcement of laws for the protection of birds, fish and game. B. F. Taylor became its first president and James H. Rice, Jr., secretary. Under their leadership, the society has done a great work in educating the people as to the value of insectivorous birds, and proposed most of the laws which have been placed on the statute books with reference to licenses and protection of game birds.

EXPANSION OF TRUCK FARMING

Another evidence of substantial prosperity during this period was the expansion of truck farming in the counties of the low-country. The Agricultural Department gives some suggestive facts on this practical subject. During 1905, for instance, one truck farm in Charleston County produced as follows: Irish potatoes, 22 acres, value of product, \$3,300; sweet potatoes, 12 acres, \$1,500; cabbage, 17 acres, \$2,500; lettuce, 6 acres, \$2,500; cucumbers, 10 acres, \$3,000; beans, 15 acres, \$2,250; watermelons, 8 acres, \$800; cantaloupes, 3 acres, \$450. Total 93 acres; value of products, \$16,300.

In 1905 a planter in Bamberg County made \$12,000 on 160 acres of cantaloupes, and another in Charleston County made \$200 per acre. A Bamberg County planter, in 1906, on a medium-sized farm, raising cantaloupes for the Eastern markets, netted the handsome sum of \$15,000.

Two young men from Rhode Island, the Whipple brothers, who knew very little of farming at the outset, made a record, in 1906, on their small place of 36 acres at Beaufort. They first planted in radishes, took off the crop, and planted again in radishes, realizing \$10,000 net from the two crops. Later, on the same ground during the same season, they planted and secured a crop of peas, following that with cucumbers, both crops making good yields. After the cucumbers had been gathered they planted the entire place in corn and raised over 50 bushels to the acre. It is thus seen that five crops in rotation were gathered from the same 36 acres in one year; and the planters were virtually novices.

WORLD'S RECORDS IN CORN RAISING

Although the total corn crop of South Carolina can stand no comparison with the great cereal producing states, such as Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska and Missouri, and even ranks third or fourth among the Southern States, in its yield per acre its growers have made a number of world's records. As early as 1857, Dr. J. W. Parker, then superintendent of the State Insane Asylum, gathered from two acres of the farm, about a mile north of Columbia, 359 bushels, one acre yielding 200 bushels and 12 quarts. That was then said to be the world's record. Dr. Parker's record stood unchallenged until 1889, when the American Agriculturist's contest in corn growing, open to the world, took place. In that contest Captain Zachariah Jordan Drake, of Marlboro County, South Carolina, won the grand prize, with a record of 255 bushels of crib-cured corn from a single acre. He began to fertilize the ground with stable manure, guano, cotton seed meal and kainit, and cultivate with the plow and harrow late in February, and the planting of Southern white dent corn commenced March 2nd. Followed thinning, replanting of missing spots, reploting and reapplication of fertilizers, until the harvesting of the wonderful crop on November 25th, "before several reputable witnesses." The "Book of Corn," the standard author-

(1)

1. CUP AWARDED TO CAPT. Z. J. DRAKE, OF BENNETTSVILLE, WHOSE
RECORD FOR PRODUCTION OF CORN ON ONE ACRE HAS NEVER BEEN EQUALLED.

2. JERRY MOORE, WHO BROKE THE WORLD'S RECORD FOR THE GREATEST
YIELD PER ACRE OF CORN GROWN BY A BOY.

(2)

ity of the United States on corn growing, says that the crop was harvested on that date "before several reputable witnesses," and that the acre yielded 254 bushels and 49 pounds (56 pounds to the bushel) of shelled corn, or 239 bushels of kiln-dried corn, the grain containing ten per cent. of water.

"No further attempt at a contest open to the world," says one of the South Carolina Handbooks, "was made until the year 1906, when the American Agriculturist undertook a repetition, but with more attention to detail, than in the contest of 1889. This contest was participated in freely by South Carolina growers in competition with growers from all parts of the country. It was conducted not only alone under the auspices of The Agriculturist, but also under a State Commission consisting of the commissioner of agriculture, the president and the professor of agriculture of Clemson Agricultural College, and the General Assembly provided for separate prizes. The contest was won by Mr. A. J. Tindal, of Clarendon County, S. C., a young farmer who had been educated at Clemson College. His yield was 182 bushels of shelled corn. The crop was scored by points, and the score was as follows, the possible number of points being in parentheses: Purity and selection of seed 7 (10), methods of culture 25 (25), record or reports, its clearness, completeness, accuracy, care bestowed upon it, etc., 10 (15), yield of contest acre 25 (25), quality of crop, market grade, salability, feeding value, etc. 10 (10), profits resulting from the entire operation 15 (15)—92 (100)."

The contest of 1906 was not only interesting of itself, but was a noteworthy illustration of the advancement being made by South Carolina planters in both scientific and practical farming.

THE STEAM RAILWAYS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

In 1905 the steam railway mileage in South Carolina amounted to 3,159.87, or about 22 miles of line for every 10,000 inhabitants, and there was a small increase every year thereafter for a decade. Columbia was the hub of the State system, the lines radiated in every direction. The Southern, the Atlantic Coast and the Seaboard Air lines are the north to south routes connecting Washington and the northeastern states with Georgia, Florida and the Gulf states, and they, in turn, are closely connected with all the great trunk systems centering in Chicago and netting northwestern United States. South Carolina, even in 1905-06, had become one of the great logical commercial links destined to connect the United States with the Caribbean islands and the southern continent. In the summer of 1904, the steam railway properties operating within the State were valued at \$75,500,000. The Southern railway had more mileage in South Carolina than in any other State in the South.

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

During Governor Heyward's administrations there was substantial development of educational institutions. In 1904, the Methodist College, which had been founded and conducted by Dr. Samuel Lander, at Williamston, Anderson County, since 1872, and which bore his name was moved to Greenwood. The new location was farther toward the southeast and center of the State. The old cornerstone from the Williamston building was relaid by Dr. Lander in the Greenwood building. A good work accomplished, the founder of Lander College rested from his labors July 14, 1904. The institution which he established, for thirty

years offered several unique features in the education of women. Briefly, they were: (1) The organization of new classes every session of twenty weeks, instead of once a year. (2) Instead of prizes for excellence, deductions from regular tuition fees were allowed. (3) The "one study plan," by which the session was subdivided into four sections of five weeks each, and some particular branch was made the major study and some associate branch the minor study. (4) The graduation of the student eight times during the year as soon as she had completed the round of studies. (5) Private graduation with no public exhibition; but the students subjected to rigid examinations. In June, 1907, the trustees of Lander College discontinued this system with its radical departures from the schemes of education which generally prevailed in standard American institutions of higher education.

The Columbia Female College (Methodist), in September, 1905, moved into its new and spacious home north of the city, erected at a cost of more than \$150,000, on a superb site. It contained 224 rooms.

In 1906 the Chicora College of Greenville, which since 1893 had been conducted under the auspices of the three local Presbyterian churches, became the property of the six Presbyteries which compose the Synod of South Carolina. Thus another college for women was stabilized and broadened. Since its removal to Columbia it has grown in influence and standard, and is now (1920) preparing to build a beautiful and costly home in the suburbs of Columbia.

REFORMATORIES FOR WHITE AND COLORED BOYS

It was during 1906, or toward the last of Governor Heyward's second administration, that the South Carolina Industrial School at Florence was founded. It was designed for the reformation of white boys. Juvenile male criminals of the colored race were retained at the reformatory for youthful males established in connection with the State Penitentiary in 1900. One of the chief reasons for establishing the industrial school at Florence was to bring about this segregation of the races.

After leaving the governor's chair in January, 1907, Governor Heyward engaged in business at Columbia for a number of years and then resumed rice planting. More recently he has been the leader in the movement to utilize the former rice lands now lying fallow in the raising of diversified crops, and has attracted the attention, and money, of great northern capitalists. Since 1913 he has been collector of internal revenue for South Carolina, with headquarters at Columbia.

MARTIN F. ANSEL SUCCEEDS GOVERNOR HEYWARD

A prominent lawyer of the famous Greenville district, a dozen years the solicitor of the circuit and a stalwart supporter of the Hampton administration in the trying days of Radical rule, as well as a member of the State Legislature—Martin F. Ansel was a worthy successor of Governor Heyward in 1907. Mr. Ansel was the son of a German emigrant who with characteristic thrift had built up a successful business in Charleston, his adopted home. It was remarked, on the accession of Governor Ansel, that he was the first chief executive since 1785 (Benjamin Guerard, the Huguenot), who was not of English, Irish, Scotch or Scotch-Irish extraction. His opponent in the race for the nomination—equivalent to an election—was Richard I. Manning, of an old and distinguished family, who was afterward to serve so ably as governor for two terms beginning in 1914. The State Dis-

pensary was the main issue in the campaign. The change in the political temper of the South Carolina electorate is shown by the acceptability of Heyward and Ansel to a faction which had been unsuccessful in naming a governor after Richardson's election in 1888.

During Governor Ansel's first administration the Dispensary was substantially abolished; for, despite the protests of Senator Tillman, it was transformed into a local option system under which the citizens of each county were privileged to decide by their votes whether or not they desired a County Dispensary. At first the sentiment was divided between the Dispensary counties and the Prohibition counties, but within two years all but half a dozen counties had gone over to the Prohibition ranks and the Dispensary experiment was dead beyond recall.

NEW HIGH SCHOOL LAW

Early in Governor Ansel's administration a High School law was enacted, by which the secondary schools were placed under State aid and State supervision, thereby making the links complete and continuous between the primary schools and the State University. Through the efforts of the State Board of Education, the Association of City Superintendents, the State Teachers' Association and a few earnest legislators, the law was passed in February, 1907. Under its provisions, no high school could receive from the State more than fifty per cent. of its own income, nor more than \$1,200 aid. Each high school receiving State aid must employ at least two teachers and have not less than twenty-five pupils. The courses of study and the details of management were left to the local high school boards; to the State Board of Education was given the duty of inspection and classification. Under the law, a county, a township, or aggregation of townships, or an incorporated town of not more than one thousand inhabitants, could establish a high school and receive State aid. The South Carolina Handbook of 1908 made this prophecy regarding the new law: "Fifty-eight high schools are in operation under this act at this time, December 1, 1907. Nearly all these schools will be established either by several rural school districts combining to form a high school district and levying a high school tax, or by the union of a larger town with some adjoining rural districts. The high school movement means the enlarging of high schools already in operation by lengthening and broadening the courses of study; the establishment of schools where none exist; the employment of more competent teachers; the raising of college entrance requirements and college standards, and the bettering of agricultural and other industrial conditions." The foregoing prophecy made by the State's official publication is still in process of fulfilment.

DR. JAMES WOODROW

Dr. Woodrow, the eminent scholar, theologian and educator, died at his home in Columbia, January 17, 1907. Born in Carlisle, England, on the Scotch border, like many of his distinguished forbears he became a Presbyterian clergyman. His father moved to America and the son entered Jefferson College, Pa., from which he was graduated in 1849. He pursued his scientific studies at Harvard, under Agassiz, and subsequently, under Bunsen, at Heidelberg, where he received the degree of Ph. D., *summa cum laude*; chemistry, geology and the natural sciences occupying most of his time. His theological

studies at home had resulted in his ordination to the Presbyterian ministry, in 1860, and he performed much missionary work in Georgia. After leaving Oglethorpe University, in 1861, he became identified with the faculty of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, at Columbia, but his views on Evolution, formed during his scientific studies, were not acceptable to the majority of its members, and his connection with that institution was finally severed. During the War of Secession, he enlisted in the Confederate Army, and when Sherman's men burned Columbia, the Confederate laboratory for making powder, of which he was in charge, was destroyed with not a few other valuables.

Since 1869, Dr. Woodrow had held at various times the chairs of chemistry, pharmacy, mineralogy and geology, or natural philosophy and geology (with an interruption of several years on account of ill health) at the South Carolina College and University of South Carolina—as its title happened to be. It was said with justice that he could fill acceptably any chair in the University organization. At its organization as the University of South Carolina, in 1888, he was appointed to the chair of geology and mineralogy. He retained that position on the faculty until 1892, when he was elected president, serving with great ability until 1897. The last years of his life were largely devoted to the cause of Presbyterian missions, and in this work he was among the leaders in the South. Dr. Woodrow was a doctor of four degrees, Ph. D., M. D., D. D. and LL. D.—was a member of numerous scientific societies in the United States and Europe and, to add to the remarkable scope of his attainments, he also exerted a strong influence in the business and financial circles of his home City and State.

LEGISLATIVE ACTS OF 1908

The General Assembly of 1908 passed a number of important measures. It created the county of Calhoun, in the central part of the State. To form its area, about 364 square miles were taken from Orangeburg County and 62 from Lexington.

The State Insurance Department was also created, with a commissioner, elected by the General Assembly, at its head. Another new office was also added to the State list by the Legislature—that of State health officer, who was to act as secretary of the State Board of Health. That officer is appointed by the governor upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee of the State Board of Health. He has full power in cases of epidemic and contagious diseases in all parts of the State and its navigable waters and over water supplies, sewage systems, etc.

In 1908, the number of judicial circuits was increased to twelve. The General Assembly also provided for a new registration of all the voters for General Election purposes. Further, it made an appropriation to establish and maintain an Infirmary for Confederate Veterans, to be located on the property of the State near Columbia, known as "the Bellevue Place or Wallace Land."

Asbury C. Latimer, who had succeeded John L. McLaurin in the United States Senate in 1903, died February 20, 1908. Frank B. Gary served out his unexpired term, concluding March 3, 1909.

Ellison D. Smith, of Florence, commenced his first term in the United States Senate, March 4, 1909, was re-elected in 1915 and his second term expires March 3, 1921.

The launching of the "South Carolina," at Cramp's Shipyards,

Philadelphia, in July was an interesting event of the year 1908. At that time it was the most powerful battleship in the American navy.

DEATH OF GENERAL AND BISHOP CAPERS.

Early in the year one of the State's distinguished representatives of the former Confederacy closed his notable career as soldier and a churchman—General and Bishop Ellison Capers. He died in Columbia, and was succeeded as Episcopal bishop of the South Carolina diocese by Bishop W. A. Guerrey, formerly coadjutor. Bishop W. W. Duncan, of the Methodist Church, also died during 1908.

One of the last events of public interest in Governor Ansel's administration was the Act of the General Assembly enabling Columbia to adopt the commission form of government on April 2, 1910.

COLEMAN L. BLEASE, GOVERNOR

Coleman L. Blease, who was chosen governor in the summer of 1910, had practiced long and successfully as a lawyer of Newberry, and was one of the best known legislators in the State. He had served four years in both houses of the Legislature, and became speaker of the lower body and president pro tem. of the Senate. So that few governors of the State have assumed their duties with a more thorough knowledge of practical public affairs—and of practical politics.

Governor Blease's conduct of the State government was so extraordinary and his public acts and utterances attracted so much comment throughout the Union that a brief consideration must be given to the "movement" which landed him in office. It is thus explained by George R. Koester, former editor of the Columbia Register, which had strongly supported Governor Tillman. "Blease was socially what the bone and sinew of Tillmanism thought the chief executive of this State ought to be, a man actually as well as in sympathy one with the common people. This was the force that strengthened with each State canvass he made and finally got up enough steam to put him across the primary line a winner of the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1910. Other things contributed to his victory but not in equal measure. The main note in the rejoicing of the mass of his supporters was that at last one like themselves was to be governor.

"The masses expected practical results from that victory. Tillman had created a hunger for social justice that had not been satisfied by his administrations or those of his successors, whether they were Tillmanites or Antis. He had taught the people to believe that through politics they could receive industrial benefits. He had convinced them that because of his office a governor had power to be an effective leader in a fight for social justice. And yet they had never seen Tillman, Evans, Ellerbe, McSweeney, Heyward or Ansel while governor evidence such leadership. * * * The hunger remained and Blease whetted it by exciting hopes of practical results to be obtained through his election as governor. This hunger was second only in importance to class consciousness among the forces that brought about his election." A very large element of Blease's strength was his hold on the factory vote. Mr. Koester explains that "it is the exception when a mill worker knows a candidate for governor personally; * * * many of them cannot read and a large part of those who can read either do not take papers or have been taught to disbelieve what they see in the papers." Blease knew the factory voters; more factory operators than any man in South

SOUTH CAROLINA'S COTTON INDUSTRIES

Cotton marketing scene in town (upper)

Loading cotton from boat to cars (lower)

Carolina." He hunted them out and cultivated their personal acquaintance. Moreover, he made "many speeches at points and hours that permit of their attendance in large numbers." They felt that "he valued them and their support and it was perfectly natural that they should vote accordingly."

In his first message to the General Assembly, Governor Blease noted some of the main features illustrating the progress of the State, such as the construction of electric lines, the development of the water power of the State and the growth of the agricultural and cotton industries.

THE POPULATION BY COUNTIES (1890-1910)

The general progress for the decade 1900-1910 is conclusively indicated by a comparison of the population of the several counties in the two census years:

Counties	1910	1900	1890
Abbeville	34,804	34,400	¹ 46,854
Aiken	41,849	39,032	31,822
Anderson	69,568	55,728	43,696
Bamberg	18,544	17,296	...
Barnwell	34,209	35,504	⁹ 44,613
Beaufort	30,355	35,495	34,119
¹⁰ Berkeley	23,487	30,454	55,428
Calhoun	16,634	...	...
Charleston	88,594	88,006	59,903
Cherokee	26,179	21,359	...
Chester	29,425	28,616	26,660
Chesterfield	26,301	20,401	18,468
Clarendon	32,188	28,184	23,233
Colleton	35,390	33,452	¹¹ 40,293
³ Darlington	36,027	¹² 32,388	¹² 29,134
⁸ Dillon	22,615	...	...
Dorchester	17,891	16,294	...
Edgefield	28,281	25,478	¹⁴ 49,259
Fairfield	29,442	29,425	28,599
¹⁶ Florence	35,671	28,474	25,027
Georgetown	22,270	22,846	20,857
Greenville	68,377	53,490	44,310
Greenwood	34,225	28,343	...
Hampton	25,126	23,738	20,544
Horry	26,995	23,364	19,256
⁶ Kershaw	27,094	24,696	22,361

¹ County total includes population of territory added to Greenwood County between 1890 and 1900.

³ Part annexed to Lee County in 1902.

⁶ Part annexed to Lee County in 1902.

⁸ Organized from parts of Marion County in 1910.

⁹ Includes population of five townships taken to form Bamberg County between 1890 and 1900.

¹⁰ Part annexed to Orangeburg.

¹¹ Includes population of six townships added to Dorchester County between 1890 and 1900.

¹² Includes population of three townships and other territory added to Lee and Florence counties in 1890 and 1900.

¹⁴ Includes territory annexed in 1890 and 1900 to Saluda and Greenwood counties.

¹⁶ Part of Williamsburg County annexed in 1905.

Counties	1910	1900	1890
Lancaster	26,650	24,311	20,761
Laurens	41,550	37,382	31,610
⁷ Lee	25,318	...	...
¹³ Lexington	32,040	27,264	22,181
¹⁵ Marion	20,596	¹⁷ 35,181	¹⁷ 29,976
Marlboro	31,189	27,639	23,500
² Newberry	34,586	30,182	26,434
Oconee	27,337	23,634	18,687
⁴ Orangeburg	55,893	59,663	49,393
Pickens	25,422	19,375	16,389
Richland	55,143	45,589	36,821
Saluda	20,943	18,966	...
Spartanburg	83,465	65,560	⁵ 55,385
⁷ Sumter	38,472	¹⁸ 51,237	¹⁸ 43,605
Union	29,911	25,501	¹⁹ 25,363
²⁰ Williamsburg	37,626	31,685	27,777
York	47,718	41,684	²¹ 38,831
Totals	1,515,400	1,340,316	1,151,149

In 1910, then, South Carolina had forty-three counties, with a total population of 1,515,400. The counties ranged in population from 16,634, in Calhoun, to 88,594, in Charleston County. Colleton County, with 1,333 square miles was the largest in area and Bamberg County, with 371 square miles, the smallest. The cities and incorporated towns of the State contain 14.8 per cent of the population and the rural territory 85.2 per cent. In 1910, of the total population, 679,161, or 44.8 per cent were whites, and 835,843, or 55.2 per cent, negroes—which is a statistical indication of the race problem in South Carolina.

AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS

From 1900 to 1910, there had been an increase in the value of the farm property of South Carolina of \$238,537,155, or 155.3 per cent—the figures for the latter year being \$392,128,314. The farms had been steadily decreasing in size but increasing in value. Another encouraging tendency noted at this time was that the owners of farms were increasing in numbers, while the number of mere managers was growing smaller and the percentage of tenants remained the same. The average size of the farms operated by white farmers (120.2 acres) was nearly three times as large as that of the farms of colored owners.

² Part of Lexington County annexed in 1901.

⁴ Parts annexed to Calhoun County in 1908 and to Berkeley, in 1910.

⁵ Includes population of territory annexed to Cherokee County between 1890 and 1900.

⁷ Organized from parts of Darlington, Kershaw and Sumter counties in 1902.

¹³ Part annexed to Calhoun County in 1908, and to Newberry in 1901.

¹⁵ Part annexed to Dillon County in 1910.

¹⁷ County totals include population of four townships annexed to Dillon County since 1900.

¹⁸ Totals include population of territory annexed to Lee County since 1900.

¹⁹ Includes population of territory annexed to Cherokee County between 1890 and 1900.

²⁰ Part annexed to Florence County in 1905.

²¹ Includes population of Cherokee Township annexed to Cherokee County between 1890 and 1900.

TWO COUNTY SEATS OF EASTERN CAROLINA
Marion Court House (upper). Georgetown Court House (lower).

COTTON AND CORN

The agricultural progress for the decade preceding 1910 had been most marked. Cotton, especially, showed a decided increase in acreage. All the counties had added to their acreage except the northwestern group, comprising Laurens, Union, Chester and Fairfield. With the exception of Orangeburg and Barnwell Counties, in the lower part of the State, the leading counties in the acreage of cotton were still Anderson, Laurens, Spartanburg and Abbeville, in the western and northwestern portions of the State. These four counties reported more than one-sixth of the total acreage.

In the acreage of corn, only Horry showed an increase. As a rule, the largest acreages were and are found in those counties lying

FIRST-PRIZE EXHIBIT OF SOUTH CAROLINA TOBACCO

along the Savannah river, and two others situated in the northwestern portions of the State, although Orangeburg County, near the center reports the largest acreage for a single county. Orangeburg, Aiken and Barnwell, forming a group just southwest of the center of the State, reported almost one-seventh of the total corn acreage (1,565,832 acres).

OTHER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

In the acreage of oats but one county, Marlboro, showed a decrease. Except in Orangeburg and Sumter Counties the most important acreages were reported from those counties lying in the northwestern quarter of the State. Nearly one-fifth of the total acreage was in Edgefield, Saluda, Newberry and Greenwood counties, lying mainly in the valley between Saluda and Broad rivers. In the acreage of hay and forage, only Lancaster and Fairfield had decreased. The largest increase was noted in Clarendon County. About one-fourth of the total acreage of sweet potatoes and yams was reported from the coast

counties of Beaufort, Colleton, Charleston and Horry. Tobacco was raised mainly in the northeastern quarter of the State, Horry County being credited with more than one-sixth of the total crop. In the case of Irish potatoes, as of sweet potatoes and yams, the important acreages were in the counties along the Atlantic seaboard—almost one-half in Beaufort, Colleton and Charleston counties.

AS TO MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

Within the decade, South Carolina had not changed its national rank as a manufacturing State, being still thirty-second, although it had made heavy strides forward. The capital invested in its industries had increased from \$62,750,000 to \$173,221,000 and the value of manufactures from \$53,336,000 to \$113,236,000. The manufacture of cotton goods and small wares continued to take decided precedence over all the other industries, its output being more than 58 per cent of the total and an increase of over 33 per cent within the decade 1899-1909. The lumber and timber products were valued at over 11 per cent of the total; oil, cotton seed and cake at considerably more than 9 per cent and fertilizers at 8 per cent. Measured by value of products South Carolina was third in order of importance among the States in the production of cotton goods. That the percentage of increase added by manufacture was much less from 1899 to 1904 (28.7) than from 1904 to 1909 (59.4) was due in part to the fluctuation in the price of raw cotton. The number of establishments engaged in the manufacture of lumber and timber (851) largely exceeded the number engaged in any other industry in the State—the total of all industries being 1,854. The value of the products in this line, which include logs and bolts, rough lumber, lath, shingles, cooperage stock, packing boxes, sash, doors and blinds, interior finish and other mill work, was \$13,141,000.

COMMERCIAL FERTILIZERS

If the industries covering extraction of oil from cotton seed and the manufacture of cake from the raw material, are classified with the by-product of cottonseed meal as a fertilizer, the value of these out-puts would exceed that of the lumber and timber products. As a rule, however, the cotton seed and the phosphate products are placed together as commercial fertilizers. These two groups showed the greatest percentage of increase of all the South Carolina industries. In 1909, the oil, cottonseed and cake industries were producing to the value of \$10,903,000 and fertilizers (largely from cottonseed) were being manufactured to the amount of \$9,025,000.

"South Carolina," says the United States census supplement for this State, in 1916, "was the first State in the Union to mine and utilize phosphate rock as the basis of a commercial fertilizer. For many years following 1867, when the rock was first mined, this State produced the larger part of the world's supply. The rapid growth of the cottonseed industry in the State has caused a marked development of this industry, for cottonseed meal is one of the best ammoniates and is an important ingredient in the manufacture of fertilizers. The value of products for the industry was \$4,882,506 in 1899 compared with \$3,637,576 in 1904 and \$9,024,900 in 1909, a decrease from 1899 to 1904 of \$1,244,930, or 25.5 per cent, but an increase of \$5,387,324, or 148.1 per cent from 1904 to 1909.

"Measured by value of products, the fertilizing industry was third

in importance in 1899 among the industries of the State, whereas in 1904 and 1909 it held fourth place. In 1899 South Carolina was the second State in the Union in this class of manufactures. It dropped to sixth place in 1904, and by 1909 it had nearly regained its former position by becoming third in importance."

In a supplement to the general report it is learned that the cotton seed crushed in all the mills of the State had increased from 156,642 tons in 1899 to 346,550 in 1909; the oil extracted from 6,162,218 gallons to 15,745,552; the meal and cake from 57,986 tons to 156,729; the hulls from 71,542 tons to 103,795, and the linters from 3,223,892 pounds to 14,356,169.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND ILLITERACY

In 1910, the total number of persons of school age in the State was 564,260, of whom 291,307, or 51.6 per cent attended school. In urban communities the percentage of children attending school was 71.4 and in rural, 61.5. There were 276,980 illiterates in the State, representing 25.7 per cent of the total population ten years and over, as compared with 35.9 per cent. in 1900. The percentage of illiteracy was 38.7 among negroes, 10.3 among native whites and 6.8 among foreign-born whites.

MEASURES OF THE BLEASE ADMINISTRATION

Among the most important measures passed during Governor Blease's first term was that which substituted electrocution for hanging, as a punishment for capital offenses, the expansion of the chain gang system by which the counties might place those convicted of crime in their courts at work on the roads and other public enterprises. The acts looking to these ends were both passed by the General Assembly of 1911.

Governor Blease was re-elected in the following year after a most active campaign.

The new State Bureau of Marketing had been beneficial to thousands of households and to the truck farming industry. As a measure in conservation of the public health, an act was passed through the General Assembly of 1913, at the earnest recommendation of Governor Blease and the State Board of Health, to abolish the hosiery mill at the State Penitentiary. It was a wise precaution against the spread of tuberculosis and other diseases from the persons of the convicts. Soon afterwards the chair factory was discontinued within the prison walls, thus eliminating convict labor from competition with free, in the State of South Carolina—that is, as it is applied to the manufacturing industries. It was largely upon the recommendation of Governor Blease that the State Anti-Tuberculosis Sanitorium at State Park, near Columbia, was erected.

Among other recommendations made by Governor Blease to the General Assembly may be noted: (a) Extending State aid to the "Medical College of the State of South Carolina," at Charleston, which has largely helped to make it a standard institution; (b) a marriage license law, which the Legislature adopted, and which fully recognizes the sanctity of the marriage relation; (c) an act to prohibit the sale of certain drugs and patent medicines, which was incorporated into a law by the Legislature of 1919; (d) segregating the white and negro

convicts of the county chain gangs (finally enacted into law); (e) * declaring that the Columbia Canal had reverted to the State (act passed to that effect); (f) establishment of the State Warehouse system and providing for the reduction of acreage in cotton, both recommendations being enacted into law at the special session which he called in 1914.

WAR DISTURBANCES IN COTTON

The last few months of Governor Blease's second term covered the first few months of the World war. That cataclysm, which burst upon the world in August, 1914, closed the high seas to export movements and threatened with disaster all the cotton-producing States. "With terrible force," wrote Commissioner E. J. Watson, of the State department of Agriculture, Commerce and Industries, "came the realization that the South, accustomed to buying all foods and feeds away from home in order to raise cotton, accustomed to get cash in the early fall each year, would be unable to do so; that the South had a debt because of the credit system based on 'how many bales of cotton are you going to plant?' Of \$550,000,000 piled up against that cotton crop that it would be unable to even partially pay, seriously affected all banks and commercial establishments, and that under these conditions 1915 was pregnant with perhaps greater difficulties than 1914. It was known that while the major problems must command the best and most careful thought of the nation, the world conditions, indeed the home situation, must be carefully handled; that the people must be roused from their apathy, must be speedily infused with new spirit, and set well on the road of the new agriculture thus so imperatively thrust upon them, must be induced to plant grain—foodstuffs—before the month of December had come and gone."

Black Friday, July 31, 1914, a few days before France and Great Britain declared war against Germany, was followed by a speedy adjournment of the New York Cotton Exchange until the following Tuesday, August 4th. On the 3d and 4th those great powers had lined up against the German Empire, cotton firms commenced to fail with the crash and fall of prices and there was such a frenzy of trading that, commencing with the New York Exchange, all the cotton exchanges of the country closed throughout the United States. Then there was no established price for cotton, and the South had its first experience of conducting sales all over the belt without an exchange. All kinds of prices prevailed, from 5 to 7 cents a pound. All over the South values were cut almost in half, but fortunately enough cotton had gone to market to set the wheels of business moving. The all-important step which finally saved the situation during the most critical early months of the war is thus described: "The next step was the vital one—the getting of the British government to send Sir George Parsch to Washington to assure the administration and the nation that Great Britain would stop the withdrawal of gold, and take cotton back into the channels of trade in place of gold. How this was accomplished it is not my province to say. This led to France and Germany removing cotton from the contraband list; made it possible to reopen all cotton exchanges, proceed with the organization and starting of the Regional Reserve Banks, the appearance of

* Matter now in the courts to secure a final reversion of the property to the State.

buyers for German account in the markets, and a general restoration of conditions to something approaching the normal."

A LESSON TAUGHT BY THE WAR

The radical disturbance of prices, in view of the fact that the South Carolina crop was among the largest ever harvested, was a bitter disappointment to the planters of the State, but it taught them a lesson. The matter is thus put by Commissioner Watson: "The year 1914 will be an historic year in agriculture in this State. The seasons during the year were not as good perhaps as in some preceding years, and it was expected that the corn and grain crop would suffer. All during the year, as in past recent years, day after day the people have had pounded home to them the doctrine that they were playing with fire in relying solely upon cotton, and that in order to reach the highest form of agricultural development they must eliminate as far as possible their immense expenditures for food products of all kinds heretofore made in the West, raise those supplies at home, and that they must farm the air with nitrogenous plants, make barnyard manure with livestock and cease the great wasteful expenditure made annually for commercial fertilizers. They went ahead, however, despite the warning, and bought the usual amount of foodstuffs away from home, and more than the usual amount of commercial fertilizers, and, of course, raised the second largest cotton crop in the history of the State. Now the European war has come and the soundness of the doctrine that has been preached to the people has been driven home with sledge-hammer directness. * * *

"The immediate future must be devoted to the planting of grain, wheat, oats and rye and corn. The demand of the world for grain is going to be the greatest in the world's history. The South, by reason of its climatic location, is the only section of the nation where we can get a crop planted and harvested some months earlier than any other section, and the farmers are going to be able to see for themselves that grain is as good a money crop as cotton. This crop can be harvested by June and having once seen that grain brings money the farmer will realize that corn and cowpeas can bring money, and if he uses sound judgment he will plant every acre in corn and cowpeas, and repeat the performance that brought him ready cash earlier in the year. In my judgment it will be a waste of time to plant cotton, for every pound of cotton that is raised will simply serve to drive the already low price, lower, until the man who raised it without regard to economic conditions will find himself paying dearly for the privilege of having done so. If the crops are handled in this way the coming year, the value ought to recoup, and our own people ought to recover from the tremendous loss they have already sustained this year, and then be in a position to go forward toward a new agriculture, in which livestock, maintenance of soil fertility and the raising of home supplies, will figure conspicuously, the cotton being used merely as a surplus crop to be marketed gradually and sanely as the world's markets demand it, and thereby bringing about a more stable average price for cotton than has ever been known."

A concrete example illustrating the advantage of diversity of crops was afforded by tobacco in 1914. It brought a good price, the receipts for August and September, while the war scare and the cotton panic were at their height, amounting to over \$3,000,000 or within about half a million dollars of the value of the crop; and the tobacco

TYPICAL LIVESTOCK FARMS

farmer gets his money in the summer time when there is no cotton to sell.

South Carolina has been taking the lesson to heart taught to her so forcibly by the early period of the war, and year by year the State has been freeing herself from the autocratic rule of King Cotton.

THE NEW MCCORMICK COUNTY

In 1914 a new county, McCormick, was added to South Carolina; that is, the proper petitions for the establishment of a new county were filed. It was composed of portions of Edgefield, Abbeville and Greenville counties, with the town of McCormick as the county seat, and comprised an area of 405½ square miles. At the election to obtain the sentiment of the voters in the territory of the proposed county 610 votes were cast for its formation and 97 votes against it. Although there was some contest in the courts as to the legality of the election, but all objections were finally overruled and the General Assembly of 1915 ratified the popular decision.

RAILROAD BUILDING

In the year 1914 there was considerable development of transportation systems—not only the railways, but the highways of land travel used by the farmers, the autoists, horsemen and pedestrians. During the year the Charleston, Atlantic & Western, linking Charleston with the Seaboard Air Line, was completed, as was the line from Bamberg to Walterboro. The Railroad Commission of the State also reported the official opening, during the year, of the Spartanburg end of the Greenville, Spartanburg and Anderson Electric Railway, which was equipped with handsome day coaches and observation cars and furnished Pullman service in connection with the steam roads. The Savannah Western Railroad Company was also commissioned by the secretary of state for the purpose of building a steam railroad from Estill, Hampton County, on the Seaboard Line, to St. Paul, Clarendon County, 90 miles, which it is to connect with the North-Western Railroad of South Carolina (operated by the Atlantic Coast Line).

THE NEGLECTED AUTOMOBILE TAX

The commissioner of agriculture, commerce and industries, sounded his periodical alarm, in 1914, as to the backwardness of South Carolina in the good roads movement, which, for a number of years, had been sweeping the country, as a whole. The portion of his report pertinent to this matter is as follows: "Another year has passed and the people of South Carolina are still laboring under the obsolete and disorganized political system of county control in dealing with the public highways, which are the chief lines of transportation for the products of the farms. The costly penalties that the citizens pay for traveling in the mud and over gullies in improperly constructed earth roads, with a piece of road being doctored here and there under varying influences, with no consideration to anything beyond county lines are still being paid.

"And South Carolina stands today almost alone among the states of the Union in not deriving any governmental revenue from an annual tax on automobiles, which practically every automobile owner is perfectly willing to pay. There is still no adequate State-wide

annual registration of motor cars, with certified number plates in regular number, but instead a miscellaneous system of county numbers that is ridiculous.

"It is interesting to note that there are now but nine States that set aside no State fund for road building, and there are only seven States which have no State highway law.

"The States of the Union now receive for governmental purposes, chiefly for public highway construction and maintenance, the sum of \$7,810,895.77 annually from automobile taxes. South Carolina gets nothing. The \$1 fee that is paid for a so-called registration in a county—not annually, but for all time—goes into the personal pocket of the clerk of court. The State has more than 12,000 automobiles, and only 17.3 per cent of the roads can even be classed, by a stretch of the imagination, as improved. The receipts of other States from the automobile tax, such as this department has pleaded for each year for several years, will perhaps surprise those who have refrained so far from levying them."

The exhibit is then made showing receipts from the automobile tax by the different States, ranging from \$3,000 by Utah to \$1,275,727.27 by New York. After New York come, in the total amount of the receipts from that source, Pennsylvania, Iowa, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Illinois. The States which derived no revenue whatever from the tax were Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas and South Carolina.

The Commissioner continued: "South Carolina's lack of activity in this regard, in this age, is not unlike her course in regard to tax on commercial feeds and illuminating oils. She declined to tax those things for many years and lost many thousands of dollars of revenue that her sister states were getting, making a present of those sums to the manufacturers who had already figured in the tax on the prices at which the goods were sold to the consumer.

"If ever there was anything that the people of this State need and are crying for, it is a system of public highways. The situation as to the automobile tax, now generally adopted throughout the country, points the way to how to get them, without one dollar of appropriation by direct taxation, and no increase of tax levy, and there's no conceivable reason for any longer delay in so vitally important a matter."

CHARLES A. SMITH, GOVERNOR FOR FIVE DAYS

In January, 1915, Coleman L. Blease, for reasons best known to himself, resigned the governorship, and Lieutenant Governor Charles A. Smith succeeded him, holding the office only five days, or the remainder of the term. Mr. Smith, whose death occurred on March 16th of the following year, had been a leading merchant and banker of Florence County for many years.

CHAPTER LXVII

MANNING AND COOPER ADMINISTRATIONS (1915-1920)

The last two governors considered in this work, Richard Irving Manning and Robert Archer Cooper, have been excellent representatives of the finest type of Carolina manhood. The standard of her public men has almost invariably been high, except when the alien adventurer and the ignorant, misguided negro were in control. What was said of the leaders of the State under the slavery regime happily applies to the State's representative men in these more progressive times. It was said of General Christopher Gadsden of the Revolution: "He has a claim to our fond regard not so much for what he did as for what he so largely helped to do. If, in the history of our country, the South and South Carolina has had an undue share of influence in guiding the political bark, it was the result, not of the brilliant talents, but of the solid character of her representatives. They were felt to be men who might be trusted; who had no selfish ends to carry; who had but one rule of action in both private and public life, and that was devotion to truth and right." * Mr. Manning, the sixth of his family to be chief executive of his native state, had a legal education, but apart from his service in the legislature and in Democratic party counsels, concentrated his abilities on agricultural and business matters of magnitude. Mr. Cooper was an able and active lawyer for many years, and had served acceptably as member of the legislature and circuit solicitor before he became governor in January, 1919.

GOVERNOR MANNING'S PUBLIC EXPERIENCE

Governor Manning had enjoyed especial prominence in politics and public affairs, having served six years in the lower house of the Legislature and eight years in the upper body, from 1892 to 1906, continuously. He had been sent as a delegate to every Democratic State Convention since 1884 and was a delegate-at-large from South Carolina to the national conventions of 1912, 1916 and 1920.

At the commencement of Governor Manning's first administration in January, 1915, the World War had been in progress four months, and at its conclusion, two years thereafter, the United States was still at peace with the warring nations. Its progress, however, had caused remarkable changes in the home conditions.

EFFECT OF THE WAR ON ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

A review of that period and a short look into the future was undertaken by E. J. Watson, Commissioner of Agriculture, Commerce and Industries in his report to Governor Manning in 1916. He said in part: "The twenty-eight months ending with December 31st, 1916,

* "A Memoir of Gen. Christopher Gadsden": F. A. Porcher, president South Carolina Historical Society.

TURNING FROM COTTON TO GRAPES

being the period since the World War began, have carried the people of South Carolina through more unexpected and remarkable * * * economic changes than they have experienced heretofore in the entire period since the Civil War. It is almost unbelievable, looking back to December, 1914, that in exactly two years the State should reach the maximum ever attained in productive industry, in manufacturing as well as in agriculture, and that the year 1916 should see the value of combined agricultural and manufactured products crawl up to the enormous sum of \$361,085,788, an increase for the year in the first instance of \$43,841,000 and in the second instance of \$43,194,483, a combined net increase of \$87,135,843. The manufacturing industries have produced this year (1916) \$168,617,788, and the products of the fields have brought in \$192,468,000.

"In the period of twenty-eight months we have experienced with cotton alone the terrifying sensation of 'no price' and the more delightful sensation of '20 cents cotton.' We have seen our chief product go down to zero and rise to the highest price since 1872.

"At this time in 1914 economic pandemonium was reigning and hysteria was rampant among the people. Our bankers, our business men and our people faced the future, resolved to win back economic independence. The long-preached doctrine of diversification of crops, heretofore received with a deaf ear, was accepted; the doctrine of living at home was also taken to the farms, and the people set about to plant grain and do other things they ought to have been doing for years. The story of the recovery that came by the end of the year 1915 is told in my last annual report. Into the year 1916 the people plunged with a hopeful heart. The restoration of the price of cotton to 11 cents a pound in 1915 made some forget what they had learned of the doctrines referred to above, but in the main the new scheme was followed.

"Bad seasons for cotton came along and helped wonderfully, and when the harvest time came the inconceivable phenomenon of 20 cents cotton in the face of closed world markets had happened. Those who 24 months before were proclaiming vehement demands for warehouses and for the Regional Reserve Banks to be hastened in their organization forgot all about warehouses and such things and the fleecy staple rolled to the market as fast as it could be ginned. * * *

"Midst the general rejoicing there appeared at the end of the year but one cloud in the sky. Last year the experts had announced that it would probably be four years before the boll weevil would do damage in South Carolina. But the boll weevil was as industrious during the year as anybody else, and by December 1st, moving in solid phalanx, the boll weevil had moved his forces squarely up to the Savannah River, with his northern line resting against Augusta. In July next he will begin his migration into South Carolina and if he pushes his line as fast in 1917 as he did in 1916, he will have covered most of the State before frost falls again, and at the opening of the 1918 cotton season begin to ravage the South Carolina crop. This means a rapid season of preparedness this year to meet the new economic enemy, and the people will taste a new experience. Only this time it is something that will stay. But the training of 1915 will be invaluable to the producers and there doubtless will be a return, in part, this year to the diversified lines of agriculture that had to be practiced in 1915. * * *

"The one very important new weapon placed in the hands of the industrial grower this year to aid him in the fight before him, to enable him to get out of short term, pressing debt, and to secure live

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stock and farm machinery for the new crops he must raise has been the inauguration of the new National Rural Credits system. It will shortly be in full operation and Columbia, I am happy to say, is the location of the Farm Loan Bank for this District. With this system in full operation and our people already understanding what must be done, there should be no occasion for undue excitement.

"Though the State will have one more year in which to grow cotton, the producers should not be misled by the taste of 20 cents cotton. We are at this moment facing the most inscrutable future that business men have ever had to face, and there should be a resort to conservation. No living man would dare venture a prediction on the price of cotton two months ahead. The man who stakes all on cotton under such conditions as now prevail and in the face of the boll weevil is simply gambling, and gambling rarely wins."

Commissioner Watson then proceeds to consider and describe (1) Plans whereby the farmer could market "the new products of the soil he must raise under boll-weevil conditions;" (2) the use of marl in "restoring and maintaining the fertility of the soil;" (3) meeting the requirements of the Federal government for the State's "share of the annual aid extended for highways;" (4) general use by the farmers of the Federal "agricultural, economic surveys designed to ascertain the actual cost of production of crops and of live stock."

"So much for the general results of the year 1916 and as to the preparedness for the future at the opening of the year 1917."

REMARKABLE VALUES OF STANDARD CROPS

The first administration of Governor Manning, covered by these two years was, as has been seen, a period of remarkable economic movements and transformations, accompanied by much wise legislation. The year 1916 brought to the farmers more money than any other twelve months in the history of the State. The aggregate value of all the crops was \$192,468,000, an increase over 1915 of \$43,841,000. This remarkable money value was not due to a uniform increase in production, but to the increased values of the products themselves. The cotton crop only reached 952,080 bales, against 1,134,000 in 1915. The corn crop fell off more than 3,000,000 bushels, but increased considerably over \$5,000,000 in value. The wheat crop lacked about 200,000 bushels of being as large as that of 1915, but was worth nearly a million dollars more. The oat crop was nearly a million bushels under the crop of 1915, but nearly a million dollars above in value. The tobacco crop fell off nearly 17,000,000 pounds, but brought more money than the big crop of 1915. The sweet potato crop was 1,200,000 bushels short, but brought nearly \$400,000 more than the 1915 crop. The rice crop had almost ceased to exist as a commercial asset.

The nine leading crops of South Carolina are corn, wheat, oats, rye, potatoes, hay, cotton, tobacco and rice. In 1916 the value of these products amounted to \$161,918,448, against \$130,985,372 in 1915. A comparative showing of the quantities raised is as follows:

	1915	1916
Corn (bu.)	35,145,000	32,008,000
Wheat (bu.)	2,430,000	2,226,000
Oats (bu.)	9,975,000	9,000,000
Rye (bu.)	30,000	49,000
Potatoes (bu.)	880,000	750,000

A GREAT GRASS COUNTRY (FIELD OF VETCH)

	1915	1916
Hay (tons)	286,000	325,000
Cotton (bales)	1,134,000	952,080
Tobacco (lbs.)	37,995,284	20,079,903
Rice (bu.)	90,000	49,000

WHY THE FARMERS WERE NOT PROSPEROUS

Despite such high value of South Carolina products, the farmers of the State were not as a class prosperous. Their profits were (and are) sadly reduced by the huge sums which they spent for food and commercial fertilizers, all of which might have been saved to the home markets. As noted by a keen observer of the times: "The result of the one-crop idea and the soil depletion process that we have been pursuing has been to cause an almost utter abandonment of the raising of food and food crops, and herein is found the reason why so many thousands of farmers in South Carolina are poor. In truth, our people are living today almost entirely out of tin cans and sacks with pretty labels on them, which come from all other portions of the United States, obtaining foods and feeds that can be raised on the farm in South Carolina at a less cost of production, in nine cases out of ten, than in the section from which they were shipped. This drain on the people of South Carolina for feed and food brought from the West amounts to \$110,000,000, a figure that is simply appalling. Almost every dollar of it could be kept at home. Couple this cost of living with an expenditure of \$31,000,000 in one year, or even \$15,000,000 for one element in the cost of production of the \$190,000,000 of products that we raise, and see why, when \$25.18 is written on the credit side of the ledger opposite value of crops, it does not mean what it is supposed to mean."

Conservative estimates of what the people of South Carolina paid for products outside the State, in 1916, which could easily have been produced at home, amounted in total to \$98,767,488. The largest expenditures were: Canned goods, \$13,898,600; flour, \$10,802,756; bacon (sides, strips, hams), \$10,761,891; corn meal and grits, \$10,165,700; mules and horses, \$10,000,000; beef, \$9,100,000; lard, \$8,302,125; butter, \$6,565,000; corn, \$6,136,000; oats, \$3,162,000; hay, \$2,362,000; cheese, \$2,014,000, with such other items, below the \$1,000,000 mark, as eggs, cabbage, potatoes, turnips, onions, seeds and candies.

SOUTH CAROLINA'S INDUSTRIES

The figures which exhibit the comparative status of the manufacturing industries in 1916 and 1915 indicate substantially the same conditions which prevail in the agricultural industries, while the capital invested in the former year was \$8,000,000 less than in 1915, the wages paid were \$3,000,000 more and the value of the annual product was \$43,000,000 in excess. The totals are as follows:

	VALUE OF.		
	CAPITAL INVESTED	ANNUAL PRODUCT	TOTAL WAGES PAID
1915	\$167,865,255	\$125,423,305	\$24,631,777
1916	159,865,232	168,617,788	27,749,563

The comparison of the textile industries is especially striking, viz:

	VALUE OF		
	CAPITAL INVESTED	ANNUAL PRODUCT	TOTAL WAGES PAID
1916	\$83,722,079	\$109,462,693	\$17,452,342
1915	87,123,899	75,675,197	15,789,647

A KAOLIN PLANT IN AIKEN COUNTY

The sandhills of South Carolina contain large deposits of Kaolin, some snowy white and free from grit, and others ocreous and fuller's earth. Besides the deposits developed in Aiken County, plants have been established near Columbia, Richland County.

The census, taken in August, 1916, presented numerous interesting facts regarding the scope and nature of the manufactures. It seems that the 162 textile plants of the State were located in 28 counties. In point of numbers, the ranking counties were Spartanburg, 27; Greenville, 22; Anderson, 17; York, 15; Cherokee, 8.

In the matter of capital Greenville led the State, with \$15,216,473; Spartanburg second, \$13,254,004; then Anderson, Union, Aiken and Newberry. In value of products, Greenville, \$19,247,073; Spartanburg, \$18,093,959; Anderson, \$12,256,212. Spartanburg had the largest number of employes, 9,000; Greenville, 7,903, and Anderson, 5,334. Greenville paid out \$2,768,871 in wages and Spartanburg, \$2,708,036; Anderson, \$1,824,163, and Richland, \$1,265,067.

The products of the twenty counties manufacturing fertilizers were valued at \$8,647,366, Charleston being credited with nearly half the total output and Richland with a sixth. Flour and grist mills were operated in nearly every county of the State, on a total capital of \$984,057, with an output of \$2,200,844. Richland led in this line with an output of \$366,492; Greenville, \$333,900; Charleston, \$302,439; Spartanburg, \$219,225. Mining operations are carried on only in Aiken, Charleston, Cherokee, Lancaster and Richland, the total annual value of their output being \$521,197. Charleston led with an annual product of \$368,867. The lumber and timber products were valued at \$12,641,292, the leaders being Georgetown, Charleston and Marion counties. The mineral and soda water business, with the enforcement of prohibition, had grown to large proportions, yielding \$2,003,071 in annual product. Only the counties of Darlington, Oconee and Spartanburg operated creameries, while the turpentine and rosin industry, which once was a leader, had dwindled to an annual product of \$298,462, confined to six counties.

It was noted that the eighteen oil mills in the State had not run their seed crushing departments for the year 1916. The 101 plants were operated upon a capital of \$4,165,500, which was an increase of \$70,263 over 1915. These plants turned out products worth \$15,162,351, an increase of \$754,963 as compared with the preceding year, but less than the value of the product in 1914 by nearly \$200,000.

LEGISLATION AND PUBLIC MATTERS

As a general indication of the scope of legislation fathered by Governor Manning during his first term, the following is based on a statement made by one of the well-posted men of the state: His first term was especially notable for the restoration of the enforcement of the law, for the upholding of the decrees of the courts and sustaining the verdict of the juries; for the banishing of race track gambling and other forms of vice; for the broadening of popular education for town and county, mill and farm, and for the inauguration of compulsory education; for shorter hours of labor and the adoption of a child labor law; for the creation of a Tax Commission and a State Board of Arbitration and Conciliation; the equalization of taxes; the reinstatement and reorganization of the National Guard of South Carolina; reorganization in the management of the State Hospital for the Insane, and Establishment of the State Board of Charities and Corrections and the Institution for the Feeble Minded.

The year 1916 witnessed much beneficial legislation enacted relating to the protection of both adult and child labor. The first part of the year was devoted largely to putting into effect the new law providing for an average laboring week of sixty hours in certain

industrial lines, and exempting such as mechanics, engineers, firemen, watchmen, teamsters, yard employees and the clerical force of textile manufactories; the race segregation act and the anti-docking law. One of the last acts of the General Assembly of 1916 was to pass the bill raising the age limit of the child labor law to fourteen years. It went into effect on January 1, 1917, and about 3,500 children were affected by the new law.

FIGHT AGAINST ALCOHOLIC TONICS

The commissioner of agriculture, commerce and industries, during the Manning administration and after, made a bitter fight against the manufacturers and retailers who were flooding the State with nostrums and tonics to replace the old-time alcoholic drinks denied by the law. In cooperation with the national, county and municipal authorities, it worked under the Pure Food and Drug Laws, but, as admitted by the State department, had "uphill work." "These alcoholic mixtures," it reports, "which usually consist of about seventeen to nineteen per cent. alcohol (more than four times as much as ordinary lager beer), with a trace of gentian (a bitter drug and so-called tonic) and cascara (a laxative), are labeled so as to comply with the Pure Food and Drug Laws and under those laws cannot be touched. In effect they are nothing but palatable alcoholic beverages, the seventeen to nineteen per cent. of alcohol giving all the 'kick' desired, and giving all the enthusiasm to make the user write glowing 'testimonials.' To prohibit the sale of five per cent. ciders, etc., and make their sale punishable while leaving a wide-open door to those concoctions, seems childish, for these mixtures play not alone with the desires; but with the ignorance and, worse than all, with the ailments of the people. They spend a dollar for a bottle of the stuff worth at best not more than twenty-four cents, in the hope of 'curing' disease, and become toppers, accelerating the disease nine times out of ten with each dose."

EXPANDING THE PUBLIC ROADS SYSTEM

The issuing of a public highway map by the State, showing its main roads and connections, with a color scheme which was practically duplicated on the telegraph and telephone poles along the highways, indicated that South Carolina was getting an unsatisfactory system of public roads. Most of the highways had been partially completed when the great floods tore many of the roads to pieces. Their rehabilitation was a drain upon the time and resources of the Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Industries. In the fall it organized the campaign for rebuilding the old State Road from Columbia to Charleston and the work was well under way before the close of 1916. The year also witnessed the completion of the new Appalachian highway from the mountains to Columbia.

Congress passed the Federal Aid Road act during 1916, and it was approved by the president. Under its provisions \$20,000,000 was appropriated for highways, to be divided among the States, and South Carolina was entitled to \$71,807.64, in 1917, with increasing annual amounts—provided it create a department to employ competent highway engineers and take charge of the disbursement of the fund.

In 1916 perhaps the most successful State Fair of many years was held. The year was also notable for more county, district and community fairs than ever before, and all of them were of educational and social value.

A FORETASTE OF WAR

In the summer of 1916, about six months before the United States entered the war against Germany, the South Carolina soldiers had a foretaste of war. Two regiments and a troop of cavalry of the State National Guard were sent to El Paso, Texas, and for several months were engaged along the Mexican border to keep the bandits within the bounds of their own country. This experience was but a mild foretaste of the far greater venture of 1917.

THE WORLD-WAR GOVERNOR

The participation of South Carolina in the World War during the second term of Governor Manning is described in detail in the chapter which follows. It is a proud chapter of military and civic duty well performed and so far as it relates to the governor, is not without its pathetic bearing. The Manning family proved its mettle, for not only was its head an able and patriotic war governor, but six of his sons served in the American Expeditionary forces. Two of them reached the rank of major, one of whom, William Sinkler Manning, a gallant gentleman and accomplished journalist, was killed in action in the Meuse-Argonne battle, on November 5, 1918.

DEATH OF UNITED STATES SENATOR TILLMAN

Early in the morning of July 3, 1918, occurred the death of Benjamin Ryan Tillman, who was then serving his fourth term as United States Senator. His career as leader of the "Reform" movement and governor, already described in this work, had directed the eyes of the country upon him when he entered the Senate, and had made him a national character, and when he entered the United States Senate in 1895 he continued to measure up to the stature of the leaders in that body. His picturesque vigor of language, sarcasm and rude eloquence often sadly disturbed the dignity of that body, but while retaining his virility of speech he broadened into the proportions of a statesman in his dealings with many of the measures which he was called upon to discuss with his fellow senators. One of the sharpest personal contentions in which he was engaged during the senatorship was that with President Roosevelt over the appointment of Dr. Crum as collector of the port of Charleston.

He was bitterly denounced at times, Henry Watterson saying, in 1896: "In Governor Altgeld behold Robespierre; in Tillman, Danton—" but he won the respect of some of his most pronounced political opponents. The Springfield Republican said of him, in October, 1900: "Such a career (as Tillman's) would be impossible to a weak man. A Peffer can occasionally reach the Senate on a wave of radicalism, but only a man of much natural power can enter the Senate facing the party, sectional and class prejudices which Tillman faced, and at the end of his first term win Senator Hoar's tribute, as well as an admission from the New York Evening Post that on the Republican side of the chamber the South Carolinian has come to be regarded as 'a good lawyer, a student, a man of irreproachable private life, honest as the daylight, of ready wit and real ability, and with marked capacity for the routine work of legislation.'"

Senator Hoar had declared, in a Review article, that Senator Tillman was "an honest, manly and able statesman."

At the time of his death, which was occasioned by a stroke of paralysis, Senator Tillman was chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and Secretary Daniels named one of the United States destroyers in his honor. Senator Tillman's home, during nearly his entire life, had been in Edgefield County, on the old Tillman estate, but at the end of his second term as governor, in 1895, he purchased the farm at Trenton, also that county, which was thereafter the family residence, and to which he was brought for burial.

GOVERNOR MANNING'S OWN REVIEW

Christie Benet, of the Columbia bar was elected to the United States Senate and served from July 8, to December 5, 1918. He was succeeded by W. P. Pollock, of the Chesterfield bar, who served from December 5, 1918 to March 4, 1919, when the incumbent, Nathaniel B. Dial, began his senatorial term.

On January 15, 1919, Governor Manning delivered his address to the General Assembly in which he briefly reviewed the four years of his official service, including the record of the State in the great war. As stated, the latter feature is brought out in all its salient details in a separate chapter.

"When I assumed the office of governor four years ago," said Governor Manning, "you will recall the fact that the party rules and the laws governing primary elections were loose and were conspicuous by lack of safeguards which would guarantee to every man qualified to vote the right to vote once, but only once, in an election. Now the party rules have been strengthened, and the laws governing primary elections have been tightened. As far back as 1894 I introduced in the Legislature a bill to provide the Australian ballot system. The Australian ballot system has now been enacted into law, and has been found a safeguard and guaranty for the free and untrammelled expression of the popular will.

"Four years ago the law was a by-word and reproach. The verdicts of juries and the sentences of the courts had been ruthlessly set aside; barrooms were in operation in violation of the law; gambling was openly practiced, and the racetrack crowd had free swing to operate as they pleased. Other lawless and immoral acts were committed without concealment, and without punishment. Those conditions had so much encouragement that they were regarded as almost irremediable. Criminals claimed a vested interest in crime, and regarded themselves as secure from punishment. Violations of law were committed with the certain knowledge that pardons would be forthcoming. During the four-year period preceding the beginning of my first administration one thousand seven hundred and eight pardons and paroles were granted, an average of more than one convicted criminal a day released upon society.

"In my campaign I had promised the people of South Carolina to correct these evils. I put my hand on the situation, relentlessly and without discrimination. Today the situation is changed; good citizens respect and criminals fear the law, and there is no longer any one community that can be held up as an example of lawlessness. Grand juries, from the force of public opinion, now bring in true bills, and petty juries bring in verdicts of guilty where guilt exists. Certain local authorities which formerly flagrantly violated the law now faithfully and efficiently support the law. Public sentiment is healthy, and this public spirit has strengthened our courts and the heads of officers of the law.

LEGISLATION AFFECTING EDUCATION

"Throughout the State I advocated local option compulsory school attendance. The opposition to compulsory attendance was vigorous. I believed then that such a law would be the opening wedge for a State-wide compulsory attendance law, and public sentiment would demand increasing school facilities until such a law would become a necessity. The legislature enacted the local option compulsory attendance law, and it has been put into operation in 230, or one-third of the school districts of the State. It has been demonstrated that it is practicable and workable. It has therefore achieved its purpose, and has blazed the way for an expansion of that principle, so that today there is an insistent and strong demand for a State-wide compulsory law.

A distinct advance has been made in legislation affecting education. Placing the insurance of school houses under the sinking fund commission has meant a great saving. Provision for a supervisor of mill schools has proven of distinct benefit. There has been a large growth in the number of school districts which have levied local taxes, and today eight-ninths, or 1,659 school districts, have voted local taxes for school purposes. Night schools were inaugurated in 1915. The act of the general assembly providing for longer terms required a term of seven months, where the local levy was as much as eight mills and 25 pupils attend a school. This was marked progress. Notwithstanding war conditions and the scarcity of labor, enrollment and average attendance have been maintained. There has been an increase of about 20 per cent in the salaries of teachers, especially the women teachers, and the State appropriation for education during 1918 is more than double the appropriation for 1914.

HIGHWAY COMMISSION CREATED

"The Highway Commission was created in 1917, with the idea of giving to the State a comprehensive and scientific system of roads. The Commission has not been able to accomplish what was desired, because of the inadequacies of the law under which it operates, but a valuable start has been made which promises well for the future.

AGE LIMIT FOR CHILD LABOR

"In 1915 the age limit for child labor in South Carolina was, upon my recommendation, raised to fourteen years; and again in 1916 the Legislature, acting upon my recommendation, very wisely raised the limit to sixteen years. This is of the greatest importance since it affects the whole fabric of our social and economic life.

TORRENS SYSTEM OF LAND REGISTRATION

"The Torrens system of land registration was enacted into law by the Legislature during my first administration, but in my judgment, a prerequisite to the practical application of this law would be a complete survey of the land tracts in each county.

"In 1916 the debt of the State was refunded at the rate of four per cent instead of four and one-half per cent, as in the former issue. The saving in interest resulting from the reduction in the rate, and retiring a part of the principle of the State debt, will be \$35,754.75 annually. The refunded bonds have not the tax deduction feature as

did the old Brown bonds, and this has added to the taxable property of the State a million and a half dollars which before escaped taxation, and which will increase the revenues of the State about thirty thousand dollars annually, making a total saving each year of over \$66,000.00.

"The credit of the State stands high, as is attested by the fact that money for the current expenses of the State Government has been borrowed at a lower rate of interest than other States have obtained. In one year money for this purpose was borrowed at two per cent."

Governor Manning suggested a number of radical improvements in the management of the State Hospital for the Insane, although he praised the Board of Regents and the superintendent. He also called attention to the work of the State Board of Charities and Corrections created in 1915, and the establishment of the State Training School for the Feeble Minded, which had secured a site of about 1,200 acres near Clinton. The institution named was to care for the mentally defective of both sexes and both races. He recommended the establishment of a State Industrial School for negro girls.

THE STATE TAX SYSTEM AND ASSESSMENTS

The governor called attention to the inadequacy of the State Tax System—a matter which had been a subject of study with him for years, and in this connection presented so much matter packed with useful information that it is given substantially in full. Inequalities in assessments in all classes of property before the organization of the tax commission were glaring. In 1915 the Legislature created a tax commission for the purpose of equalizing assessments and to discover property subject to taxation which had heretofore escaped it. This was an enormous and most important work. Such a work could not be popular because the pocket nerve is sensitive, and such a reform affected many persons whose property was not bringing its just proportion of taxation and much of it had escaped taxation altogether. It was impossible for the tax commission to assess and equalize all taxable property throughout the State at once. Real estate could not be assessed until 1918, as the statutes provide for the assessment of real estate once every four years.

The commission selected banks as the first class of property, as the facts regarding them were easily obtainable. As it was impossible to equalize all classes of property at one time, it was deemed best not to disturb the relative assessments of banks and other property, and in order to do this the commission ascertained what the average assessment of banks was at the time it began its work. This average was found to be 42 per cent of the actual value of the shares, and the commission applied that percentage to bank shares throughout the State. Before this was done the assessed value of bank stocks in the same county ran from less than 20 per cent to more than 60 per cent of their value. The average assessment of bank shares in one county was as low as 29 per cent, while in another county the average was as high as 90 per cent of the actual value. It was found that one bank was assessed as low as 9 per cent of its value. Now bank stocks are uniformly assessed throughout the State at 42 per cent.

The Tax Commission then took up the equalization of the assessment of livestock. The assessment of mules varied from twenty-eight dollars to one hundred dollars. The assessed value of horses varied from an average of twenty-seven dollars in one county to ninety-two

dollars in another county; cattle from an average of seven dollars in one county to an average of fourteen dollars in another. The effort of the commission has been to put such livestock on a forty-two per cent basis, taking each county as a whole—but equalizing the value of such stock among individuals has not been effected because many of the local assessing authorities have not carried forward that work.

The Tax Commission next took up the assessment of cotton mills, which varied from twenty per cent of their value to seventy per cent. All cotton mills have not been placed by the commission on a forty-two per cent basis of the actual value. The result has been that some mills have been increased from twenty per cent to forty-two per cent, while other mills have been reduced from seventy per cent to forty-two per cent. The net result has shown an increase in that taxable value.

Similar discrepancies existed in fertilizer plants and oil mills. Those have all been placed on a forty-two per cent basis.

In the case of power plants it was found that the average assessment of such property was about twenty per cent of their value. The commission by increasing the same to forty-two per cent added more than six million five hundred thousand dollars to their assessed value. In one case a power plant was assessed at less than ten per cent of the value thereof. The Commission increased the same to forty-two per cent. Street railways are included under the head of power plants.

In 1918 the commission took up the assessments of farm lands, which as has been stated, could only be re-assessed once in four years, the four year period having been reached in 1918, that is, the first time that real estate could be assessed since the creation of the commission. This was the most difficult task it had yet undertaken. The commission ascertained the average value of farm lands in each county from all available sources of information. The United States census figures for 1910 were examined. The price paid for land through judicial sales and private sales was also scrutinized. After thus ascertaining the average value of lands by counties, forty-two per cent thereof being the basis of assessment for all other property which the commission had equalized, the same percentage was applied to the value of farm lands. The result was that in some counties no increases in the average assessed value of farm lands was made, while the general increase ranged from ten per cent to one hundred and fifty per cent of the former average assessment.

For illustrations, \$7,070,720, the assessment for Union County in 1917, at 9½ mills, would be \$67,171.84. \$7,807,420, the assessment for 1918, at 8½ mills, would be \$64,411.21, which means that Union County, under the re-assessment by the Tax Commission, will contribute to the support of the State Government \$2,760.62 less than it would have had there been no re-assessment.

"Equalization of farm lands as between individual owners has been left to the local county authorities. In some of these counties this work has been reasonably well carried out, but in others it would seem that no effort has been made toward equalizing farm lands as among individual owners, and that the law requiring such equalization has been wholly disregarded in some instances, and largely so in others. The remedy for such failure to carry out the law rests with you. In many cases individual tax payers have appealed to the Tax Commission, complaining of excess assessments made against their property by local boards. In the majority of the appeals the commission has granted a reduction, but in other instances the action of the local boards has been sustained."

ASSESSMENTS IN 1914 AND 1918

Appended hereto is a comparative statement of assessments in 1914 and 1918, showing the result of the work of equalization by the Tax Commission. This shows a net increase in 1918 over 1914 of \$26,740,479. The equalization and re-assessment of farm lands shows an increase of \$47,087,415.00 in 1918 over the assessed value in 1914. The statement showing the assessments for these years is as follows:

	1914	1918	Increase
Banks	\$13,044,635	\$14,155,171	\$1,110,536
Textile plants	30,564,424	36,504,000	5,939,575
Cotton oil plants.....	1,680,390	2,012,410	332,020
Fertilizer plants	1,325,042	3,660,257	2,335,215
Express, Palace car, telephone and telegraph companies....	2,820,661	3,241,526	420,865
Street railways, water, light and power companies	4,443,434	10,982,047	6,538,613
Railroads	42,837,042	10,958,172	9,121,130
Trust companies		446,284	446,284
Insurance companies		496,240	496,240
Totals	\$96,715,628	\$123,456,107	\$26,740,479

The above increase on corporations named includes increased assessment on real estate owned by them. This increase on real estate is also included in the total increase on real estate throughout the State.

Comparative statement showing assessment of farm lands, with building and real estate in cities and towns:

	1914	1918	Increase 1918 assessment over 1914 assessment
Farm lands	\$74,959,152	\$110,919,002	\$47,087,415
Buildings	17,999,525	23,507,568	
Real estate in cities, towns..	67,694,579	73,314,101	
Totals	\$160,653,256	\$207,740,671	

The above increase on real estate includes the increase on lands owned by all corporations throughout the State, as well as the increase on farm lands. The lands owned by corporations are entered on the auditor's books as farm lands, and there is no way of ascertaining what the exact increase on farm lands has been.

As a result of the re-assessment of farm lands in 1918, and equalization in assessments of other classes of property, giving a large increase in the taxable property of the State, the comptroller general has been able to reduce the State levy from $9\frac{1}{2}$ mills to $8\frac{1}{4}$ mills, and it is shown further that even with the reduction in the State levy to $8\frac{1}{4}$ mills a larger amount of money has been raised than would have been raised with the $9\frac{1}{2}$ mills without the equalization. In other words, $9\frac{1}{2}$ mill levy on \$320,000,000, the taxable property for 1917, would raise \$3,040,000.00. Eight and one-fourth mills, the reduced levy on \$376,176,581.00, will raise \$3,103,452.

It will be seen therefore that the Tax Commission has made substantial progress in the equalization of assessments, and at the

same time has placed on the tax books much property which formerly escaped taxation altogether. Further means are needed to require the local authorities to perform their duties under the statutes. This work is never ending. It requires constant scrutiny and vigilance in order to maintain equalization of assessments, and to see that no property is lost sight of, and does not escape taxation.

Total assessed value of all property in South Carolina :

1910	\$279,755,349.00
1914	307,178,882.00
1918	376,178,581.00

THE NATIONAL GUARD

"Before I assumed the office of governor," continues the message, "an order had been issued disbanding the National Guard. Among the first of my official acts was the issuance of an order declaring the previous order null and void, and re-establishing the National Guard of South Carolina. Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the character of the organization of the United States army, the fact remains that the National Guard of South Carolina played a part in the great war in Europe which has established for all time a record for that organization. In the Thirteenth and the Forty-second divisions South Carolinians played a conspicuous part by their courage, daring and effectiveness as fighters, and when the history of this war is written these two divisions will be placed in history among the immortals.

"Under the act of the Legislature and by authority of the War department, sixteen companies of State reserve militia have been organized in South Carolina since the National Guard has been absorbed into the National Army, the Federal Government furnishing arms and ammunition and certain equipment, and the State supplying such additional equipment as is necessary.

"The War department has not promulgated its plans for the reorganization of the federal army. In my judgment this army should be unified into one United States army, and all distinctions between the regular army, National Guard and National Army should be abolished. But, from my experience as governor, I know that there is a necessity for State troops to maintain order, suppress riots, invasion or insurrection should these occur within the State. * * *

THE CURSE OF ILLITERACY

"South Carolina remains almost at the foot of the ladder in point of illiteracy—the forty-seventh State in the Union. The one State which by its position saves South Carolina from being at the very bottom—Louisiana—is already taking serious and far-reaching steps to climb to a higher plane. This blot must be removed from the fair name of our State, and South Carolina must not longer occupy this degraded position. She must in education and efficiency be fully abreast of her sister States. We have demonstrated to ourselves what we can do if we but possess the courage to go forward. The amount given by the people of South Carolina for humanitarian and relief purposes during the war is almost four times the amount appropriated for educational purposes by the State during the past four years.

"Automobiles and heavy trucks have multiplied. This heavy traffic has cut up our roads and now they are a disgrace. A makeshift system of road work will not longer suffice. South Carolina must adopt

a modern, practical and effective system of highways. The civilization of the State can not progress without good roads.

"The time has come to stop and take an accounting. Can we, the people of South Carolina who have raised nearly a hundred millions of dollars for the war, do the things which lie before us in the broad path of duty? There are to my mind but two essentials—the vision and the willingness to go forward. Such a program as our vision of a better State outlines will require as a primary and fundamental means the expenditure of more money than the State has heretofore appropriated for education, highways, public health, humanitarian causes and other purposes, and larger and adequate appropriations mean an increased taxation.

"South Carolina's per capita tax is \$2.05, the lowest of any State in the Union save one, and this is just one cent lower. Our assessments are low. We can well afford to increase our taxes in order to advance and go forward with the march of an enlightened world and a civilization which has been made secure by the sacrifices of millions of heroic and unselfish men who were not afraid even to die for their ideals. If there be those who would oppose these forward measures which our awakened public conscience dictates because of higher taxation, they are, I hope, that small minority who have failed, perhaps, to catch the vision and to learn the lesson of the war. They have failed to grasp the meaning of the new Americanism, which is closely allied with Christianity.

"May God give us the wisdom and courage for these tasks."

INDUSTRIAL FINANCES

The eleventh annual report of Commissioner B. Harris, of the Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Industries for the year 1919 makes a comparative statement of the condition of the State industries in 1910 and 1919, as follows:

	1910	1919
Capital Invested	\$155,889,333	\$201,237,320
Value of Product	114,306,076	355,181,322
Wages	18,796,102	58,519,003
Number Employed	67,490	81,807

In ten years the value of the product has trebled, and the amount paid out in wages has also trebled, an increase of \$40,000,000, while the number of employees has increased by 14,000. This shows in part that the labor saving machinery has increased the output more than it has the number of laborers.

The commissioner continues in the following interesting strain regarding the textile industries of the State, especially as regards the improvement in the intelligence and social condition of the mill workers:

STATUS OF THE MILL WORKERS

"A writer in The Journal of Commerce declares that the United States is rapidly taking away from Great Britain supremacy in textiles. Manchester and Bath will no longer be greater industrial centers than Fall River and Lowell. And it is of great interest that South Carolina is the second textile State in the Union, Massachusetts alone having more spindles. South Carolina as shown by our report has 4,914,524. There are 175 mills in the State, the value of the annual product is

\$217,210,077; one-fifth of the population of the State is dependent upon the industry, and the presence of the mill centers contributes to the general development of surrounding agricultural terrain.

"The cotton mills of South Carolina have had a most successful year, and the managers have been exhibiting a commendable spirit in the manner in which they are sharing their profits, both in the increase in wages and bonuses, and especially in the attention being given to the improvement of domestic condition in mill communities.

"Remembering something of mill settlements in this State in the early '80s, I wish to say that the conditions today are as far removed as the North pole is from the South. With some reluctance, but in order to give point to what I am saying, I recall that not only were the housing methods of those days most primitive, but the class of people that was attracted by such an environment was shiftless, lawless, and almost without morals. The family that entered a factory village in those days did indeed "burn its bridges behind." Whether the imputation was unjust, I will not attempt to say, but the occupants of a mill village were all regarded as persons of a lower moral plane than any other white citizens. But—what a vast change has come, and most reverently do I thank God for it.

"The best school buildings in South Carolina are in the mill communities. There are no better Y. M. C. A. buildings or Community Houses. Some of the prettiest churches and most enthusiastic Sunday schools are found in the mill towns. It is wonderful. The people of South Carolina may well be proud of their mill workers.

"The Piedmont Manufacturing Company is this year putting \$100,000 into a school house and next year will build a handsome high school. The Pelzer Manufacturing Company this year completed its beautiful high school. At Ware Shoals there is an industrial community which will compare favorably with any other in the whole United States. More than a quarter of a million dollars has been spent here in the last few years in the effort to make the people better and happier. Not all of the mill communities have yet reached that degree of advanced interest, but the Republic Mills at Great Falls permits its employees to have free electric current for fans and cooking and washing apparatus. At Ware Shoals is a modern laundry and an ice factory, both of which reduce the cost of living. The dairy at the Ware Shoals mill, and for the use of the employees, is reported to me to be the best in the State, on any farm.

"The Commissioner wishes to commend to the Legislature the report of W. Aug. Shealy, state supervisor of mill schools. This will be found in the annual report of the state superintendent of education, and but for the duplication would be given *ab extenso* here. I consider that Mr. Shealy is doing excellent and sympathetic work.

"I am informed that in the town of Greer, the teachers in the regular public schools were being paid at the rate of \$60.00 per month. The Victor Mill and the Greer Manufacturing Company, both within sight of the town itself, were paying at a rate of \$100.00 per month. The town schools were compelled to keep up with the mill school.

"The new inspector of mill schools, W. Aug. Shealy, was for six years superintendent of the Olympia Schools in Columbia. Here were taught several hundred pupils and there is a fine modern building with extensive playgrounds. Mr. Shealy in 1919 visited 100 mill schools in South Carolina."

As regards the patriotism and physical condition of the mill men, it was said: "It might surprise detractors of the South, especially those who frequently refer with great asperity to the domestic condi-

tions in our mill towns, to tell them that some of the best fighting men of America went from the cotton mills of South Carolina. They were boys who had grown up in the mill work. Far from being undernourished, undersized, or 'under' anything else, they were excellent soldiers and served faithfully and courageously on the Mexican border and in France. Among the mill towns that sent National Guard units into the service are Pelzer, Williamston, Anderson, Olympia, Brookland, and the units from Fort Mill, Rock Hill, Union, Spartanburg and Greenville had a large percentage of mill boys. That they discharged their duty fully, capably, and honorably, is proved by the fact that the First South Carolina Regiment, more than 50 per cent. mill boys, did the heavy preparatory work which resulted immediately in the breaking of the Hinderburg line at Bellicourt and the freeing of Belgium from the murderous grasp of the invader. That they discharged their duty well is shown by the fact that in Flanders there are white crosses over graves where cotton mill boys, heroes all, are asleep. There were some mill boys who came home to get the most prized decoration of the whole war—the congressional medal of honor, in addition to numerous citations from American and British officers and crosses from the French government. Then there were the mill boys drafted into the 81st Division and into numerous other units that went away. They made good soldiers, all of them, and the service flags of the mill towns at home had many stars, occasionally one of gold, but never a star that was not bright in honor and courage."

To show the liberal tendency of the textile employers of South Carolina, it may be stated that while the State law allowed their establishments to work their hands sixty hours per week, but not over eleven hours in any one day, the Textile Association of South Carolina, about January 1, 1919, adopted a 55-hour week. Most of the mills made the change to a ten-hour day, five hours on Saturday.

One of the noticeable features of the industrial life of South Carolina is the Textile Industrial Institute, founded by Rev. D. E. Camak, under the auspices of the Methodist Church. Its exhibit at the Methodist exposition, held at Columbus, Ohio, in July, 1919, aroused great interest. The object of the Institute is to aid ambitious boys and girls in the mill communities and to educate them toward independence. Mainly through Mr. Camak's efforts since 1900, Hammond Hall, where the pupils are boarded and taught, was erected at Spartanburg, and, through the good offices of John A. Law, president of Saxon Mill, that factory was used as a workshop where the pupils both worked and earned partial wages. That arrangement was to be continued pending the erection of a great model mill, costing \$250,000 and turning out "Character cloth."

GOVERNOR COOPER'S MESSAGE OF 1920

Governor Cooper delivered his annual message of 1920 to both houses of the General Assembly on the 14th of January. He recommended the revision of the present constitution by a convention to be called for that purpose and the creation of a Board for Penal and Charitable Institutes. Regarding public education, he asked for liberal appropriations in support of the common schools, with better salaries for the teachers, the abolition of scholarships in the State institutions and the creation of a Student Loan Fund. Further, the governor suggested the abolition of the county chain-gangs and the merging of these county units into a State Road Building force. He also recommended an appropriation of from \$75,000 to \$100,000 for a State

Constabulary to enforce war-time Prohibition, which had been carried over into the peace period, the same force to be used in enforcing the game laws.

A week after Governor Cooper thus laid down some of the legislation proposed to the General Assembly, the State Budget Commission filed its report with him. The report carried with it recommendations for total expenditures amounting to \$5,466,631, or \$1,364,280 in excess of the appropriations for 1919. It was suggested that the pension fund for Confederate veterans be increased from \$379,990 to \$607,950. The expenses of various departments and institutions of the State in 1919, as compared with the governor's recommendations for 1920, were as follows: Expenses of educational department in 1919, \$2,545,398; recommendation by the governor, \$2,143,868; Clemson Agricultural and Mechanical College, \$757,317 and \$110,920, respectively; University of South Carolina, \$168,239 and \$217,619. For 1919, the appropriations, to support the correctional and charitable institutions of the State amounted to \$1,382,967, and the governor recommended for 1920, \$1,255,816, of which \$838,736 was to be applied to the State Hospital for the Insane, against \$792,194 in 1919. The total up-keep for the State Government amounted to \$6,036,593 in 1919, and the governor's recommendations for the coming year totaled \$5,466,631.

The months of Governor Cooper's second year covered by this history developed a number of interesting events, both of State and National moment. The first act of the second session of his term was signed February 6th, at high noon, and created Allendale County.

In March, the Conference Committee of the two houses of the General Assembly reached an agreement as to the appropriations necessary to operate the State Government in 1920, and placed the total at \$6,100,000—a reduction of \$600,000 from the original estimate.

On March 10, 1920, Governor Cooper approved the legislative act to create a State Highway Department, to provide funds for its maintenance by the licensing of motor vehicles, to raise revenue for the establishment of a system of State highways and "to assent to the provisions of an act of Congress approved July 11, 1916, entitled 'an act to provide that the United States shall aid the states in the construction of rural post roads and for other purposes.'" The statement of the Motor Vehicle License Division from January 1 to November 30, 1920, indicated the issuance of 98,083 licenses, of which 93,733 were auto licenses. The total receipts were \$553,441.06, divided as follows: State Highway fund \$105,527.48; State Highway fund (refund), \$25,803.66; State Highway fund (counties), \$422,109.92.

HISTORY OF THE COLUMBIA CANAL

Both houses of the Legislature pronounced the Columbia Canal, with its plant, the property of the State, and inhibited the controlling company from leasing any of its property. In the following June, the State of South Carolina began suit against the Columbia Railway, Gas and Electric Company for the possession of the canal property, and for such income or rentals as the defendant might have received from the withholding of the same since May 20, 1917. As the complaint and the answer furnish an epitome of the very complicated affairs of the Columbia Canal, which are still in a legal mesh, a synopsis of both is furnished.

DAM AT HEADWATERS OF THE COLUMBIA CANAL, ACROSS BROAD RIVER

The complaint alleged that "on and before the 24th day of December, 1887, the state of South Carolina, by reason of its sovereign rights and prerogatives, as well as by acquisition, was seized in fee and possessed of the property known as the Columbia canal and that the property by act of the general assembly approved December 24, 1887, was transferred to the board of trustees of the Columbia canal, 'with the lands held therewith and its appurtenances,' upon the completion of the conditions and limitations prescribed in the act. Included among these was the provision that the canal 'as soon as is practicable' be completed down to Congaree river, a few yards above the mouth of Rocky branch. The complaint further alleges that the act of 1887 was amended by subsequent acts providing, among other things, that the board of trustees should be empowered to sell or transfer the property to any person or corporation, subject, however, to all the duties and liabilities imposed by the act and the amendments. The complaint also alleges that in 1892 the board of trustees conveyed the canal property to the Columbia Water Power company, its successors and assigns by deed, and that in July, 1905, the Columbia Water Power company conveyed the property to the Columbia Street Railway, Light and Power company, now the defendant Columbia Railway, Gas and Electric company.

"The complaint further alleges that the company has failed to comply with the terms of the deed in failing to keep the canal open for navigation, free of charge, by permitting the construction of bridges, water pipes, mains across the canal. It is also alleged that it has for a long time been practicable to carry out the terms of the act and complete the canal down to the Congaree river, but 'notwithstanding this, the defendant fails and refuses to perform its contract and obligation in that behalf undertaken.'"

The company in its answer to the complaint admits that the pipes and mains have been placed across the canal, but alleges that the supreme court has ordered the removal of such water pipes. It admits that the canal has not been constructed from Gervais street down to the Congaree river, but denies that it has been practicable so to do, and also alleges that no demand has ever been made upon the defendant by the state of South Carolina for such extension or completion of the Columbia canal, and further alleges that the requirement of the act as to the extension of the canal to the river is indefinite as to the time within which the same must have been done, and that in absence of any demand from the State of South Carolina no obligation had vested on the defendant to make such extension.

The company also alleges that the opinion of the Supreme Court filed with the Circuit Court September 6, 1916, was the first adjudication that the defendant was under legal obligation to extend the canal to the Congaree river. It is also alleged that on September 18, 1919, the defendant made an offer to the State of South Carolina to extend and complete the canal according to the terms of the act of 1887 and acts amendatory thereof.

LATEST REGARDING THE COTTON CROP

In the spring of 1920 appeared the first instalment of the national census figures for 1919. Among the first to appear in March were those showing the cotton crops of the States devoted to that standard product, and the figures were a credit to South Carolina, showing that it was close upon the heels of Georgia, the second cotton-producing

State in the Union. The exhibit, which follows, indicates the number of bales (500 lbs. to the bale), in the year named:

Texas	3,064,997
Georgia	1,658,253
South Carolina	1,458,233
Oklahoma	984,111
Mississippi	952,446
Arkansas	882,768
North Carolina	828,563
Alabama	711,646

The sea island cotton had shrunk to these small proportions (bales): South Carolina, 3,445; Florida, 2,779; Georgia, 683.

By counties, the amount of cotton ginned (1919), in bales, was as follows:

Abbeville	27,299	Horry	9,530
Aiken	40,708	Jasper	2,025
Allendale	20,045	Kershaw	30,199
Anderson	82,893	Lancaster	23,886
Bamberg	24,568	Laurens	50,222
Barnwell	30,496	Lee	44,288
Beaufort	2,232	Lexington	29,659
Berkeley	10,931	McCormick	16,955
Calhoun	34,960	Marion	19,175
Cherokee	16,700	Marlboro	79,070
Chester	31,480	Newberry	33,889
Chesterfield	36,265	Oconee	24,423
Clarendon	39,221	Orangeburg	87,940
Colleton	12,543	Pickens	23,106
Darlington	42,946	Richland	26,436
Dillon	42,791	Saluda	24,927
Dorchester	15,373	Spartanburg	80,098
Edgefield	23,939	Sumter	46,491
Fairfield	22,320	Union	19,206
Florence	42,613	Williamsburg	26,963
Georgetown	4,619	York	45,384
Greenville	53,652		
Greenwood	34,319	Total	1,458,233
Hampton	10,692	1918	1,581,726

CORN AND OTHER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

In July, 1920, B. B. Hare, agricultural statistician of the Bureau of Crop Estimates, United States Department of Agriculture, gave the corn acreage of South Carolina as 2,340,000—the same as in 1919. Figures for other crops were:

Irish potatoes, 27,540 acres or 2 per cent more than in 1919; sweet potatoes, 86,000 acres or 2 per cent more than last year; tobacco, 135,000 acres, the same as in 1919; and peanuts, 19,500 acres, or 6,500 acres more than in 1919.

The condition of all growing crops reported in South Carolina on July 1, 1920, was as follows: Peanuts, 85; onions, 85; millet, 81; apples, 78; rice, 83; corn, 80; hay, 81; Irish potatoes, 84; sweet potatoes, 82; sorghum (grain), 85; cabbages, 78; cabbages, 78; watermelons, 81; muskmelons, 80; pasture, 81; tomatoes, 86; tobacco, 77;

alfalfa, 85; cowpeas, 83; peaches, 80; pears, 68; wheat, at harvest, 80; oats, at harvest, 90; rye at harvest, 82; clover, at harvest, 84; sorghum (syrup), 86; grapes, 85: Condition of cotton June 25, 74.

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE SUMMER OF 1920

During June and July, 1920, the condition of the public system of education was developed, mainly through the reports of the State superintendent of education, Swearingen and the retiring State high school inspector, J. A. Stoddard.

Among other encouraging facts brought to light was the general participation of the State in the \$140,000 fund provided by the preceding Legislature to assist schools in continuing their terms for a period of seven months. Thirty-three of the 46 counties of South Carolina took advantage of this appropriation, the chief beneficiaries being, of course, such large white counties as Horry, Chesterfield, Florence and Lancaster. To participate in the fund a tax of eight mills on the dollar was levied in the 418 school districts thus co-operating. Under each teacher were enrolled 25 pupils. The following explanatory statement was made by the State Department of Education:

"The passage of this act in 1918 established the first statutory standard ever supplied for the rural schools. The eight mill levy was at that time the maximum tax allowed for school purposes. Districts participating in the fund first had to exhaust all their regular and special income. After the regular and special funds of the district had been fully utilized the equalizing law guaranteed the deficit which resulted from a seven months' term.

"The appropriation in 1918 was \$100,000. Only \$46,857 could be used, because a mere handful of districts could be persuaded to vote a local tax of eight mills. The appropriation for 1919 was \$125,000. Of this sum \$58,120 was used. This second failure was due partly to tax difficulties and partly to the influenza epidemic. It was a hard matter in 1920 to persuade the lawmakers to increase the fund to \$140,000. The personal efforts of the governor were most effective in securing the money, notwithstanding the record of the two preceding years and in spite also of the heavy demands on the state treasury.

"The calculation for 1920 provided the amount used in 1919, plus \$29,000 for increases in teachers' salaries, plus \$29,000 for growth in district taxation, plus \$24,000 to cover desired possibilities. This estimate provided for a 50 per cent. growth, a 50 per cent. increase in teachers' salaries and a margin of 20 per cent. to cover desirable advances in district taxation.

"The success of the local tax campaign this spring has been phenomenal. Approximately 600 communities have either voted local school taxes or have increased existing levies. A large number of these districts have put on 12, 14, 17 and even 19 mills. People everywhere have recognized the need of more money for their schools. Warned by the experiences of the last two years, trustees have not been willing to face the situation for 1920-21 without more resources.

"The guarantee of the State fixing teachers' salaries and providing a seven months' term has been a prime factor in stimulating this tax campaign. The result is shown in the 418 districts qualifying under the equalizing law.

"To the surprise and gratification of the State Department of Education, the \$140,000 has not only been taken up, but has proved totally inadequate. The approved applications from the various counties

amounted to \$294,754. A considerable number of applications are still in process of adjustment. If the record in these districts can be made full and complete, not a few of these delayed and imperfect applications may be approved for additional amounts. The total requested from the State would range between \$300,000 and \$310,000. The deficiency is a matter of inconvenience and an unfortunate handicap to the schools. At the same time, the situation is better than was anticipated in two respects. Teachers' salaries have been somewhat increased and the school term has been noticeably lengthened.

"The maintenance of this standard during the scholastic year 1920-21 will require some \$600,000 from the State. The bulk of the money will be used to pay teachers' salaries in schools running seven months. Even with this improvement, the pupils in these schools will not obtain the same advantages that have been long possessed by boys and girls in cities and towns."

From Mr. Stoddard's report to State Superintendent of Education Swearingen it was learned that during the scholastic year ending June 30, 1920, 12,555 high school pupils were instructed by 607 teachers in South Carolina. The number of girls receiving diplomas of graduation was 533, against 212 boys.

Of the teachers 202 were men and 405 were women. Only 550 gave their full time to high school instruction, while 57 gave part time. Of the total high school enrollment 5,182 were boys and 7,373 were girls, the boys numbering only 41 per cent. of the total and only 70 per cent. of the number of girls. This gives ten high school girls for every seven boys.

Other paragraphs in Mr. Stoddard's report:

During the scholastic year ending June 30th there were 132 high schools in the State to qualify for State high school aid. This number included every public high school in the State except Aiken and Spartanburg. These two could not qualify on account of insufficient special school tax in the former case and on account of crowded school conditions in the latter. It is believed that every public high school in the State will qualify the next session.

The schools meeting the legal requirements for aid last year included the negro schools at Beaufort, Columbia, Georgetown, Sumter and Florence. This extra contact of the State school authorities with the negro schools is bringing about better organization and service in these several communities.

This year for the first time the State Board of Education authorized the high school inspector to include in his ratings the facts for private or parochial schools. The ratings for five schools reporting and requesting this publicity are included in the published table.

Fifty-four of the public high schools of the state maintained four year courses and required for graduation a minimum of 14 standard units. Hereafter 15 units will be required because the Southern association at its last December meeting raised its standard to this point. This new standard was not applied to last session because all the schools had organized their courses and set up their requirements before the standard was revised and raised.

FACTS ABOUT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Dean L. T. Baker, of the University of South Carolina, compiled some interesting statistics at the close of the college term in June, 1920. According to his figures, exactly 62.6 per cent. of the 579 students registered at the University, during the 1919-1920 session, were over 21 years old.

The average age of students at the University last year was 22.2 years as compared with 20.2 in 1919. Records of the average age of the student body have been kept only since 1917 with the following results: 1917, average age of entire student body, 23 years; 1918, 22 years; 1919, 20.2 years, and 1920, 22.2 years.

The age of the undergraduate students for the same period averages about one year less than the average of the entire student body. The records since 1917 show: 1917, average age of undergraduate students, 21 years; 1918, 20.2 years; 1919, 19 years, and 1920, 20.6

LE CONTE COLLEGE OF SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA

years. Undergraduates exclude all students in the graduate and law schools and also all special students.

The average age of the freshman class this year is 18.5 years, the youngest class on record with the exception of the war class of 1919. The averages since 1917 are: 1917, 19 years; 1918, 18.9 years; 1919, 18.4 years, and 1920, 18.5 years. The average of the class is expected to again resume an upward trend next year with the raising of the entrance standard to the 13-15 unit basis.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN SOUTH CAROLINA

South Carolina legislators and public men were never friendly, as a body, to the cause of woman suffrage, and although unorganized, there was a strong opposition to it among the women; so much so, that the South Carolina Equal Suffrage League had to fight for its existence and its short life of six and a half years. The final report of the league was made by Mrs. Julian Salley, of Aiken, in July, 1920.

CHAPTER LXVIII

SOUTH CAROLINA IN THE WORLD WAR

The chapter in the history of the World War written by the brave and faithful sons and daughters of South Carolina is in accord with the spirit of patriotism which they have always displayed in every national and international crisis. The Palmetto State, through its newspapers, sustained by the solid sentiment of the people, stood behind the Administration in upholding the honor of the United States, through the various perplexing phases of war developments, and the conflicting discussions as to the wisest course to pursue in upholding the national dignity.

When Congress declared in February, 1917, that a state of war existed with Germany, South Carolina, with other States, substantially fulfilled the prophecy of William Jennings Bryan that, upon a word from those in authority, that the integrity or safety of the country was threatened from abroad, would arise a magical, irresistible army.

South Carolina contributed to the armed forces more than 70,000 men. A great many of those drafted into the army were assigned to the Eighty-first or Stonewall division of the National army—better known, by reason of its emblem, as the Wildcat division. Organized units predominantly South Carolinian were: Headquarters troop, the One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry regiment, the One Hundred and Fifth Ammunition train and a field hospital, all of the Thirtieth or Old Hickory division, National Guard; one battalion of the One Hundred and Seventeenth Engineers, together with the regimental commander and the lieutenant colonel in the Forty-second or Rainbow division, National Guard; an ambulance company in the Eighty-first division, the only volunteer unit in that organization, and one negro regiment, with white officers, the Three Hundred and Seventy-first Infantry, of the Ninety-second division, National army.

South Carolina supplied many officers and men, besides, to the Navy and the Marine Corps, and there was hardly a division of the army, or a staff corps, in which South Carolinians were not sooner or later included.

Original segregations of troops into the classifications, Regular, National Guard and National Army, early became obscured, through reorganizations, transfers and the replacement system; so that the geographical allocations and the designations by classes, which at the outset were more or less accurately denotative, had become not much more than nominal, before the President, by executive order, merged all components into "The United States Army." * Regular army divisions were formed of Regular units expanded with voluntarily enlisted men and increments from the draft. National Guard divisions came into existence through federalization and expansion of militia elements. The National army divisions were almost wholly of men called in by the selective service act, with small training cadres taken from the Regular army. Regular divisions were numbered 1 to 25, National Guard 25 to 50 and those of the National Army from 50

* "The War with Germany: A Statistical Summary," by Leonard P. Ayres, Colonel, G. S., Chief of the Statistics Branch of the General Staff: Government Printing Office, Washington, 1919.

BATTLEFIELDS DAY AFTER THE ARMISTICE: SCENES SOUTH OF VERDUN
Through the courtesy of Clarence W. Johnson of the "Wildcats."

to 100. The typical National Guard division, when ready to sail, consisted two-thirds of militia and one-third of other troops, mostly conscript. All units in time became composite, especially those requiring heavy replacements by reason of battle losses. Commissioned personnel was drawn, in major part from the reservoir furnished by the various officers' training camps. These officers were assigned where needed, without much regard to geographical considerations, and thus it happened that South Carolinians served in nearly all if not all of the divisions, notably as platoon and company commanders in so-called "Regular" regiments, and also in the various staff corps. Pioneer infantry and other elements of corps and army troops absorbed many hundreds of South Carolinians, as did also the labor battalions and stevedore regiments.

Officers and men from the Palmetto State, wherever assigned, bore themselves well, with few and inconsiderable exceptions, whether on American soil or "over there"; and of the two classes—those who were sent abroad and those held in the United States for necessary service or to await their turn—the "boys" not privileged to go overseas were the more miserable. The longest and the hardest battle service was experienced by the Thirtieth division, especially the One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry, which had been the First South Carolina; by the Forty-second division, including a battalion of South Carolina Engineers, and by the Three Hundred and Seventy-first Infantry, a negro regiment trained at Camp Jackson and officered largely by South Carolina white men, which served with the French, mostly about Verdun. The black men, under white leadership, acquitted themselves, as a rule, very creditably. It was the Thirtieth division, the One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry leading, which pierced the long-impregnable main Hindenburg line at St. Quentin Canal, September 29–October 1, 1918; and at the moment when the Armistice became effective, another regiment, South Carolina trained and largely of South Carolinians—the Three Hundred and Twenty-first Infantry of the Eighty-first division—was smashing through another portion of the Hindenburg line, at Ville-en-Woevre, with the Bosche driving sullenly before it.*

A GREAT DECISIVE ENGAGEMENT

Historians and observers, both of the days when the gigantic struggle was in progress and of a later period, have pronounced the Battle of the Hindenburg Line one of the most decisive engagements of the World War. Lloyd George, the British prime minister, said to Sir Douglas Haig, the commander of the British expeditionary forces, when the famous line was carried: "The smashing of the great defensive system erected by the enemy in the West, and claimed by him to be impregnable, is a feat of which we are justly proud and for which the Empire will be ever grateful."

In November, 1918, the well-known correspondent, Frank H. Simonds, writes in the *Review of Reviews*: "We have not had a Waterloo, much less a Sedan. Neither seems on October 21, even remotely possible, in the present operation. What we have had is a

* Report of Commanding General, Eighty-first Division, to Commanding General, First Army, A. E. F. (Serial IV, Part 38), "Hearings before Subcommittee No. 3 of the Select Committee on Expenditures in the War Department, House of Representatives, 66th Congress, Second Session": Government Printing Office, Washington, 1920.

military decision of the war. That decision was had in the 'Battle of the Hindenburg Line.'"

The Thirtieth Division, trained at Camp Sevier, Greenville, S. C., reached France in the spring of 1918 and was brigaded with the British, adopting British rations and equipment, as did also the Twenty-ninth of the New York National Guard. These two fine American units performed all of their arduous and extended battle service with the British army in Flanders and Northern France and did not come into the American Expeditionary Forces proper until after the Armistice. The Eighty-first division, organized nearly five months later than the Thirtieth and delayed and hampered in its training by heavy drafts from its enlisted complement to fill other organizations—it sent 10,000 men at one time to complete the Thirtieth—arrived in France early in August and was attached to the French army. It held relatively quiet sectors in the Vosges, during which it made and repulsed several raids, one German sortie being quite formidable; but the division did not take part in a major engagement until the third phase of the Meuse-Argonne Campaign. Then it attacked with irresistible dash a section of the main Hindenburg defensive system on the Woevre plains, south of Verdun. The position had been forced and the enemy was falling back beaten, though waging a stubborn rear guard action with artillery and machine guns, favored by dense fog and smoke and the unfavorable terrain, flooded and criss-crossed with old barbed wire, when the armistice took effect. During the three days preceding that momentous eleventh hour of the eleventh day in the eleventh month of 1918, the Eighty-first suffered many of its 1506 casualties; armistice day itself bringing a total for the division of 43 killed and 189 wounded—a heavier toll than any other division incurred at the time.*

HOME FIRES BURNED BRIGHTLY

In proportion to population, no state in the Union received more of the honors of war for bravery in action than South Carolina, and, taking into account her material resources, none contributed a greater quota of funds. Neither would it be the Palmetto State, if the home bodies did not constantly radiate hopefulness, cheerfulness and moral stamina to those who were called upon to do the physical fighting or be ready to "go over the top" at a moment's notice. The State Council of Defense, which organized and advanced all these home activities, was a great body of executive and business-like patriots. In this connection, the editor cannot do better than to quote the following from the annual message of Governor Richard I. Manning, delivered to the General Assembly, on January 15, 1919:

"My administration of four years can be divided into two distinct phases. The first two years were taken up with measures of a constructive nature. The second half covers that period in which South Carolina was called upon by the national government to mobilize for the war, and during which the strain of the war's heavy requirements was borne by the people of the State.

"The State Council of Defense, organized in the national emergency immediately after the United States entered the war, at the request of the Council of National Defense, was conducted with

*Serial IV, Part 63, p. 3361, "Hearings before Subcommittee No. 3 of the Select Committee on Expenditures in the War Department, House of Representatives, 66th Congress, Second Session"; Government Printing Office, Washington, 1920.

State appropriation for several months, until the General Assembly, in 1918, provided for its maintenance. Previously I had named a commission on civic preparedness, which had perfected organization and begun upon its work. This preliminary work was of value in paving the way for an effective organization of the defense council.

"The State Council of Defense has been a most important factor in awakening the war conscience of our people, in organizing the resources of the State for war, and in its primary functions, serving as a link between the State and the nation and co-ordinating State efforts with those of the Federal Government. The State Council of Defense has, during the entire period of the war maintained a State-wide organization, and local councils have performed their functions in every county in South Carolina.

"As a war time organization, the State Council of Defense has attained an extraordinary degree of efficiency, its activities covering a wide range of subjects, including executive and finance, publicity or propaganda, auditing, research and education, co-operation of activities of patriotic organizations, military matters, production and conservation of foodstuffs, transportation, industries, the public health, alleviation of distress caused by enlistment, sanitation, etc. The officers and members of the council, the county chairmen and all who have been associated with the organization deserve the highest commendation. Because of their efforts the organization has been recognized by the secretary of war as one of the most efficient in the United States, and, in fact, has been regarded as a model. The secretary of war recently said:

"The South Carolina Council of National Defense is ranked by the State Councils Section of the Council of National Defense as among the very first of the entire Union, because of the variety and value of its activities, the closeness of its co-operation with the national council and the thoroughness of its local organization."

"Conspicuous patriotic service has been rendered during this period by the women whose activities, through the Red Cross, the woman's committee of the Council of Defense, the National League for Women's Service, and other organizations have constituted a contribution towards the victory that has been attained which cannot be estimated or measured. With whatever organizations they have been associated the women of the State have worked intelligently, untiringly and devotedly.

"Under the Selective Service act, South Carolina was called upon by the national government to furnish its quota of men for the fighting forces, which rendered it necessary that the State be thoroughly organized in order that the machinery of the draft might be operated in the manner intended, in fairness, equality and justice to all. To that end, only men of character and integrity and unquestioned and proved loyalty and patriotism were appointed to administer the draft. I can not too highly commend Maj. Richard E. Carwile and those men, who in a spirit of patriotism and devotion to arduous duty, have served as members of the district boards and the local boards and as government appeal agents and inspectors. They have given themselves unselfishly to their tasks, which have, by the nature and volume of the work and its duration, proven onerous and requiring sound judgment, tact and discrimination. The heaviest burdens and most difficult tasks of the war have fallen on these men. Their work has met with the commendation of the federal military authorities."

WAR MAN-POWER OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Although there must necessarily be some discrepancies in the figures furnished by different authorities, those compiled by the provost marshal general of the United States and by the South Carolina Council of Defense are accepted as the most reliable. According to the National statistics, South Carolina sent 54,284 men to camp during the period extending from April 2, 1917, to October 31, 1918. Of this total, the National Army received 44,059 men, and the enlistments were divided as follows: Army, 6,505; Navy, 3,675; Marine Corps, 58. The Laurens County draft board sent more men to camp than any other of the 56 boards in the State; 1,467; with Richland second, 1,410.

The total registration for South Carolina was 307,350. The registration total was divided as follows:

June, 1917, registration.....	131,643
June and August, 1918, registration.....	13,458
September, 1918, registration.....	162,249
Total.....	307,350

The selective service cost per man inducted throughout the United States was \$7.90. The cost in South Carolina was \$5.98. The cost in North Carolina was \$7.34; in Georgia, \$7.27; in Tennessee, \$7.27; in Pennsylvania, \$7.92, and in Delaware, \$10.94. The total cost for South Carolina up to September 1, 1918, was \$244,208.12.

The number of desertions in South Carolina totalled 5,832. Of this number, 4,589 were negroes with 1,243 whites. By deserters is meant, in this connection, those who failed to respond to notices and orders provided for by the selective service regulations. A large number of those counted as "deserters" subsequently removed the charge of desertion.

The national average of desertions was 4.65 per cent. In South Carolina the average was 3.94 per cent.

The total number of deserters reported from Florida amounted to 10,142; Georgia, 13,468, and North Carolina, 6,112.

The State Council of Defense issued its last general report on December 31, 1918. At the time the armistice was signed, November 11, 1918, it was reported that South Carolina had furnished to the National Army by enlistment and draft about 60,000 men. Before the National Guard was federalized the contributions of man power had totaled 52,898, distributed as follows:

GROSS QUOTA OF FIRST DRAFT:

Of which enlistment credits amounted to 5,040..... 15,147

SECOND DRAFT:

Enlistments in Regular Army and National Guard (July 1, 1917, to March 31, 1918).....	1,826
Enlistments in Reserve Corps National Army (April 2, 1917, to June 30, 1918).....	585
Enlistments in Reserve Corps National Army (July 1, 1917, to March 1, 1918).....	932

VOLUNTARY AND INDIVIDUAL INDUCTIONS:

Enlistments to May 1, 1918.....	137
Drafted Men from Call 41 through Call A-1461-G.....	34,271

Total..... 52,898

On November 11, 1918, South Carolina had 515 officers and 2,614 men in the regular Navy and 2,449 in the Naval Reserve Force. In the Marine Corps 40 officers were commissioned during the war and 100 men enlisted or enrolled.

Therefore, striking a general average, the South Carolina Council of Defense claimed that the State had furnished 70,000 men to the different branches of the service.

THE HEART AND SOUL

As to its assistance in simple money, the Palmetto State bought \$94,211,244 in government securities and contributed \$3,012,740 in gifts to humanity.

The items are thus stated:

LIBERTY LOANS

First Loan	\$ 6,000,000	
Second Loan	17,921,750	
	Quota	Subscribed
Third Loan	\$14,625,000	\$19,426,250
Fourth Loan	32,452,000	37,117,950
	Percentage	Number
Third Loan	132.8%	87,905
Fourth Loan	114.4%	114,000
		(estimated).

(In the Fourth Loan the Woman's Committee reported \$10,890,900 subscribed, with 41,664 subscribers.)

WAR SAVINGS STAMPS

Amount pledged	\$12,450,754
Number of pledges.....	220,188
Per capita pledged.....	\$16.06
Per cent of poulation pledged.....	28.3%
	Colored
Amount pledged	\$ 1,294,540
Number of pledges.....	76,065
Per capita pledged.....	\$1.48
Per cent. of population pledged.....	8.7%
	Total
Amount pledged	\$13,745,294
Number of pledges.....	296,253
Per capita pledged	\$8.30
Per cent. of population pledged.....	17.8%

RED CROSS

Red Cross Funds, 1917 (quota, \$300,000).....	\$ 318,000
Red Cross Funds, 1918 (quota, \$400,000).....	1,272,221
Number of Chapters in South Carolina (covering every County in the State).....	61
Members	90,647
Men in overseas work.....	10
Women in overseas work.....	20
Red Cross Christmas Roll Call, 1918.....	86,656

Y. M. C. A.

First Campaign	\$ 17,486
Second Campaign	170,130
Eighty men in Y. M. C. A. Overseas Service.	
Seventy-two men in Home Camps.	

UNITED WAR WORK CAMPAIGN

Quota	Subscribed
\$905,730	\$1,148,247.09
Percentage, 126.7	

The foregoing record shows the bigness of South Carolina's heart and soul, or concluding this phase of the subject as did the Council of Defense in its telling booklet:

"The world stands out on either side,
No wider than the heart is wide;
Above the world is stretched the sky,
No higher than the soul is high."

THE THIRTIETH DIVISION

The Thirtieth Division of the National Army is distinguished as one of the great units of the British-Australia-American force which broke the northern section of the Hindenburg Line, threw back the confident enemy and did as much as any other one concerted offensive to win the war for the Allies. If "Old Hickory" turned in his grave, it was to say with pride, "Well done, my boys of the Carolinas and Tennessee"; for about half of the brave lads who made that wonderful advance though the fiery and death-laden tunnel along St. Quentin Canal were sons of those three States.

The principal staff officers, during the active operations at the front, were: Major General E. M. Lewis, Division Commander; Colonel John K. Herr (Cav.) G. S., Chief of Staff; Major J. Shapter Caldwell, Acting Division Adjutant; Lieut.-Col. Frank A. Montrose, Chief Signal Officer; Col. H. B. Springs, Acting Division Quartermaster and Commander of Trains; Lieut.-Col. Roy Dorsey, Division Judge Advocate; Lieut.-Col. T. N. Gimperling, D. M. G. O.; Capt. George A. Banta, Acting Division Ordnance Officer; Capt. Irving Hay, commanding Headquarters Troop; Major Robert W. Ma'oney, commanding 105th F. S. Bn.; Major Walter H. Hyde, commanding 113th M. G. Bn.; Major E. V. Morrow, commanding 105th Sanitary Train; Major W. A. Fair, commanding 105th Military Police.

Officers commanding the major units: Brig. Gen. Lawrence D. Tyson, commanding 50th Brigade; Col. Cary F. Spence, commanding 117th Infantry; Col. Orrin R. Wolfe, commanding 118th Infantry; Brig. Gen. S. L. Faison, commanding 60th Brigade; Col. J. Van B. Metts, commanding 119th Infantry; Col. Sidney W. Minor, commanding 120th Infantry; Col. Joseph Hyde Pratt, commanding 105th Engineers.

OPERATIONS OF THE THIRTIETH

The history of the operations of that gallant body of men and youth was compiled by Col. John K. Herr, Chief of Staff, by com-

mand of Major General Lewis, the division commander. His account is reproduced, virtually the only changes from the original text being the substitution, in a few cases, of the past for the present tense:

ORGANIZATION AND TRAINING IN FRANCE

The 30th Division was a distinctively American division. More than 95 per cent of its personnel was of American born parents. The Division was constituted of National Guard troops of North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee, augmented by many thousands of selective draft troops from the states of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee.

The division was dubbed "Old Hickory" after the warrior and statesman, Andrew Jackson, who was so closely identified with the history of the states furnishing the major portion of its personnel.

The Old Hickory Division landed at the port of Calais, France, on the 24th day of May, 1918, and was billeted in the Eperlecques Training Area. While in this area the officers of the division reconnoitered the Terdeghen Switch Line, south of Cassel, and complete plans were formulated for the occupation of this line by forced marches in case of emergency.

Before the completion of its training period, the division was transferred to the II British Corps, Second Army, in the Ypres sector to be in close support in case of the expected German offensive. This division, the first American division to enter that kingdom, marched into Belgium on July 4th with Division Headquarters at Watou, to be in close support of the 33rd and 49th British Divisions, and was employed in completing the construction of the East and West Poperinghe Defense Systems immediately in the rear of these two divisions. An immense amount of trench and wire construction was done. Complete plans and orders were issued for the occupation of the East and West Poperinghe Systems by the 30th Division, in the event of a German attack, and a forced withdrawal of the British Divisions in the front. The Division received training in the front line with the 33rd and 49th Divisions, first as individuals, then by platoons, and lastly by entire battalions.

On August 17, 1918, the Division took over the entire sector occupied by the 33rd British Division, the 60th Brigade being in the front line, the 59th Brigade in support. This was known as the Canal Sector and extended from the southern outskirts of Ypres to the vicinity of Voormezele, a distance of 2,400 metres.*

THE FIRST OFFENSIVE

On August 31st and September 1st, the division engaged in an offensive in conjunction with the 14th British Division on the left and the 27th American Division on the right. The 30th Division captured all its objectives, including Lock No. 8, Lankhof Farm and the city of Voormezele, advancing fifteen hundred yards, capturing fifteen prisoners, two machine guns and thirty-five rifles. As a result of this advance the 236th Division, which was considered an average German division, was identified. During the six weeks previous to this advance, many attempts had been made by the British and our own troops to identify this German Division.

* A metre equals 39.37 inches.
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On September 4th-5th the division was withdrawn from the Canal Sector and placed in British G. H. Q. reserve, with Division Headquarters at Roellecourt, France. While in this area the entire division was trained in attacking, in conjunction with British tanks.

On September 17th, the division was again moved farther south with Division Headquarters at Herissart, and on September 22nd was moved to the British Fourth Army with Division Headquarters at Bois de Buire, near Tincourt, taking over a front line sector from the 1st Australian Division on the ninth of 23rd-24th.

HINDENBURG LINE (BELLICOURT)

On September 29th, this division, with the 27th American Division on the left and the 46th British Division on the right, assaulted the Hindenburg Line. The Hindenburg Line at this point curves in front of the Tunnel St. Quentin. This was considered impregnable by the Germans for the following reasons: The Hindenburg Line curving west of the tunnel consisted of three main trench systems protected by vast fields of heavy barbed wire entanglements skilfully placed; this wire was very heavy and had been damaged very little by artillery fire. The dominating ground enabled them to bring devastating machine gun fire on all approaches. The line had been strengthened with concrete machine gun emplacements. It contained at this point a large number of dugouts, lined with mining timbers, with wooden steps leading down to a depth of about 30 feet, with small rooms capable of holding from four to six men each. In many cases these dugouts were wired for electric lights. The large tunnel through which the canal ran was of sufficient capacity to shelter a division. This tunnel was electrically lighted and filled with barges. Connecting it with the Hindenburg trench system were numerous tunnels. In one case a direct tunnel ran from the main tunnel to the basement of a large stone building, which the enemy used for headquarters. Other tunnels ran from the main tunnel eastward to the city of Bellicourt and other places. This complete subterranean system with its hidden exits and entrances, unknown to the attacking force formed a most complete and safe subterranean method of communication and reinforcement for the German sector.

The 30th Division, the 60th Brigade, augmented by units of the 117th Infantry, attacking, assaulted this line at 5:10 A. M., September 29th, on a front of three thousand yards, captured the entire Hindenburg System of that sector and advanced farther, capturing the tunnel system with the German troops therein, and took the cities of Bellicourt, Nauroy, Riqueval, Carriere, Etricourt, Guillaime Ferme and Ferme de Riqueval, advancing four thousand two hundred yards, defeating two enemy divisions of average quality (the 75th Reserve Division and the 185th Division), and taking as prisoners 47 officers and 1,434 men.

On October 1st-2nd the 30th Division was relieved by the 5th Australian Division and moved to the back area, with Division Headquarters at Herbecourt. The division scarcely reached this area when it was marched back and took over the front line in the same sector from the 2nd Australian Division near Montbrehain on the night of 4th-5th.

BRANCOURT—PREMONT—BUSIGNY—ESCAUFORT—VAUX ANDIGNY

On October 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th, the 30th Division attacked each day, advancing 17,500 yards, and capturing le Tilleul d'Archies, le Petit Cambresis, Becquigny, Mon. Sarasin, le Trou Aux Soldats,

A German trench shelled

Horse blown into a tree (by a "75")

THE HORRORS OF THE WAR
Through the courtesy of Clarence W. Johnson.

Busigny, Gloriette, le Vert Donjon, Escaufourt, le Rond Pont, Vaux Andigny, Vallee Hasard, la Haie Menneresse, la Rochelle, le Vent de Bise, St. Souplet, St. Benin, Malassise, Geneve, half of Montbrehain, Brancourt, Premont, Vaux le Pretre, Brancoucourt, Fraicourt Ferme, Bois Mirand, Butry Ferme, la Sabliere Bois, Becquignette Ferme, Bois de Malmaison, Malmaison Ferme, Bois de Busigny, Bois l'Ermitage, Bois Proyard, Imberfayt and Du Guet Fassiaux Fermes, taking prisoner 45 officers and 1,889 men. The 59th Brigade began this attack on October 8th and captured all their objectives, including Premont and Brancourt. During this operation from October 8th to 11th the 30th Division encountered units from fourteen German Divisions, classified by the British High Command as follows: 34th Division, average; 20th Division, very good; 24th Division, very good; 21st Division, average; 21st Reserve Division, average; 38th Division, very good; 119th Division, average; 121st Division, average; 187th Sharpshooting Section, very good; 204th Division, average; 208th Division, average; 3rd Naval Division, very good; 15th Reserve Division, average.

RETURNS TO THE FIGHTING LINE

The 30th Division was relieved by the 27th Division on October 11th-12th, but returned on October 16th and took over a part of the same line at the same place, being the right half of the sector temporarily held by the 27th. The next attack was launched on October 17th, 18th and 19th, against the 221st Division, average; 243rd Division, average; 29th Division, very good; advancing nine thousand yards and capturing 6 officers and 412 men, and the towns of Molain, St. Martin Riviere, Ribeaupville, Ecaillon, Mazinghein, and Ribeaucourt Ferme.

During much of the fighting from October 8th to 11th and from 17th to 19th, difficulties of the terrain were very great, with the country greatly broken by small patches of woods and villages, with uneven terrain and occasional large towns admirably adapted to the machine gun defense of which the Germans took every advantage. The La Selle River with high banks beyond was obstinately defended. In spite of these difficulties the advance continued, often without artillery support, and was made possible only by the determination of the men and the skilful use of all arms combined with clever utilization of the diversified terrain. The 3rd German Naval Division, one of the crack German divisions, was hastily thrown in in an attempt to stop the advance.

ARMISTICE STOPS THE ADVANCE

The division was then withdrawn to the Heilly Training Area, near Amiens, for replacements and a well-earned rest; Division Headquarters at Querrieu. Two weeks later, when orders for an immediate return to the front were expected daily, the armistice with Germany was signed November 11, 1918. The fighting being over, the II American Corps was released from the British Expeditionary Force with which it had been associated since its arrival in France, and transferred to the American Expeditionary Force in the Le Mans area, where the first units of the 30th Division arrived, and Division Headquarters opened at Ballon on November 21st.

During the above operations the advance was so rapid and the troops withdrawn so soon, that there was no opportunity to gather

up and salvage a great number of guns and supplies captured, which were left for the salvage troops of the Fourth British Army. Upon a partial check by the units of the division, it is known that at least 72 field artillery pieces, 26 trench mortars, 426 machine guns and 1,792 rifles were captured in addition to the great mass of material. This represents but a portion of the captures. In many instances field guns taken from the Germans were turned over to the supporting artillery and used by them upon the retreating enemy.

The total number of prisoners captured by this division from September 29th to October 20th: 98 officers, 3,750 men. During the same period it lost 3 officers and 24 men as prisoners; 44 officers and 1,011 men killed; 113 officers and 4,823 men wounded (including slightly wounded and slightly gassed).

LIBERATED FRENCH GRATEFUL

It is quite interesting to note the following tabulation showing the number of civilians liberated by the Division during its advances:

Busigny, 1,800; Brancourt, 5; Montbrehain, 9; Becquigny, 350; Escaufourt, 81; St. Benin, 175; St. Souplet, 450; Molain, 5; La Haie Menneresse, 24; Ribeaupville, 2; Mazinghein, 1. Total 2,902.

The mayor of Busigny, from whose town were liberated the greatest number of imprisoned Frenchmen in the path of the division's advance, wrote a letter of gratitude to its commander, from which are taken these extracts: "Acting as a representative of the commune and in its name, consequently in the name too, of a part of France, I take the liberty to come and express to our liberator and to the gallant troops under your command, our feelings of deepest and eternal gratitude.

"For those who have not been submitted, as we have, for four years, to the intolerable and abhorred German yoke, it is difficult to realize how great was the relief, the joy, the well-being—in a word, the unexpressible (sic) happiness we all felt when the first Allied troops made their way through our village, and this great event has been for us like the dawn of a resurrection."

CONGRATULATIONS FROM HIGH COMMANDERS

The letters of congratulation addressed to commanders of the Second American Corps and the Thirtieth Division from the heads of the British and Australian armies were fairly due the American troops who had done so much to pierce and crush the strongest enemy sector of the Western Front and what has been called the "backbone of the main Hindenburg system."

On the day (October 1st) that the Thirtieth Division was relieved by the Fifth Australian Division, for reorganization and rest, Major General Lewis, the American division commander, issued a general order, a paragraph of which reads:

"To be given the task, in its initial effort, to play an important role in breaking through the Hindenburg Line, the strongest defenses on the Western Front, was a great honor, and the fact that the breakthrough was actually made on the Divisional front is ample evidence that the honor was not misplaced, and is a credit to the fighting efficiency of the Division, of the command of which the undersigned has every reason to be proud."

On the following day (October 2nd), while the withdrawal was still progressing, General John Monash, commanding the Australian

Corps, sent an appreciative communication to Major General G. W. Read, the commander of the Second American Corps, in which occurs the following: "As the II American corps has now been withdrawn from the line, and my official association with you and your troops has been for the time being suspended, I desire to express to you the great pleasure that it has been to me and to the troops of the Australian Army Corps to have been so closely allied to you in the recent very important battle operations which have resulted in the breaking through of the main Hindenburg Line on the front of the Fourth British Army.

"Now that fuller details of the work done by the Twenty-seventh and the Thirtieth American divisions have become available, the splendid gallantry and devotion of the troops in these operations have won the admiration of their Australian comrades. The tasks set were formidable, but the American troops overcame all obstacles and contributed in a very high degree to the ultimate capture of the whole tunnel system."

When the division was again retired, after severe and continuous fighting of more than a week, Field Marshal D. Haig, of the Fourth British Army (on October 20th) addressed a letter to the American Corps Commander, General Read, in which he referred to the Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth divisions as having "displayed an energy, courage and determination in attack which proved irresistible." The commander of the Thirtieth, on the same day, goes more into details, as to the last days of its active campaigning, saying in one of his general orders:

"With the exception of three days—October 12th, 13th and 14th—when it was in reserve, the Division attacked every day from October 8th to October 19th, inclusive, defeating the enemy and making material gains each day. During this period, the lines were advanced by the Division from Montbrehain to beyond Mazinghein, a distance of more than thirteen miles, and the towns of Brancourt, Premont, Busigny, Vaux Andigny, Escaufourt, St. Benin, St. Souplet, Ribeaupville and Mazinghein, as well as many villages and farms, were taken.

"During this period, 45 officers and 1,889 other ranks were taken prisoners and nearly forty cannon, a large number of machine guns and an immense amount of stores of all kinds were captured by the Division.

"The skill, courage, fortitude and endurance displayed by the Division have won the admiration of all and the commendation of High Commanders.

"Holding in affectionate memory the comrades who have fallen, justly proud of its glorious achievements already accomplished, the Division will devote itself untiringly to reorganization and rehabilitation in the confidence that when again called upon it will, as in the past, be found equal to any task that may be assigned to it."

Two days afterward, General Henry Rawlinson, commanding the Fourth British Army, the grand unit of the Allies which smashed the bulwark of the Hindenburg Line, added his conclusive testimony to that of Major General Lewis, the division commander, in the following words addressed to Major General G. W. Read, the commander of the Second American Corps:

"Now that the American Corps has come out of the line for a well-earned period of rest and training I desire to place on record my appreciation of the gallantry and the fine soldierly spirit they have displayed throughout the recent hard fighting.

"The breaking of the great Hindenburg System of defense, the

capture of Brancourt, Busigny and St. Souplet, and finally the forcing of the passages of the Selle river, constitute a series of victories of which each officer, N. C. O. and man has every reason to feel proud.

"The Corps has been very well supported by the artillery of the Australian Corps, to whom I desire to offer my best thanks for their skill and endurance during the long months they have now been in action.

"The efficiency with which the staff work of the Corps has been carried out on this their first experience as a fighting Corps in the line of battle has filled me with admiration, and I attribute it largely to the zeal and unity of purpose which has throughout animated the whole Corps.

"The outstanding feature of their recent victories has been the surpassing gallantry and self-sacrifice of the regimental officers and men. I congratulate them on their prowess and offer them one and all my warmest thanks for the leading part they have taken in the recent operations."

SIR DOUGLAS HAIG'S PRAISE

This fully-merited praise was passed along by the corps commander to his division commanders of the Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth. Five days after the armistice was signed, Field Marshal Haig, head of the British Expeditionary Forces, sent the following to General Read, which is reproduced in full:

November 16th, 1918.

Commanding General, II American Corps:

Now that the American II Corps is leaving the British zone, I wish once more to thank you and all officers, non-commissioned officers and men under your command, on behalf both of myself and all ranks of the British Armies, in France and Flanders, for the very gallant and efficient service you have rendered during the period of your operations with the Fourth British Army.

On the 29th September, you took part with distinction in the great and critical attack which shattered the enemy's resistance in the Hindenburg Line and opened the road to final victory. The deeds of the 27th and 30th American Divisions who on that day took Bellicourt and Nauroy and so gallantly sustained the desperate struggle for Bony, will rank with the highest achievements of this war. They will always be remembered by the British Regiments that fought beside you.

Since that date, through three weeks of almost continuous fighting, you advanced from one success to another, overcoming all resistance, beating off numerous counter attacks, and capturing several thousand prisoners and many guns. The names of Brancourt, Premont, Busigny, Vaux Andigny, St. Souplet and Mazinghein testify to the dash and energy of your attacks.

I rejoice at the success which has attended your efforts and I am proud to have had you under my command.

(Sgd.) D. HAIG,
Field Marshal.

Additional information about the Thirtieth Division has been gleaned from the records of General John J. Pershing, the chief of staff, and the Army War College. From such sources it may be stated that the division was formerly the old Ninth National Guard

Division and was organized and trained at Camp Sevier, S. C. It was composed of the National Guard Troops from Tennessee, North and South Carolina.

The troops composing the division were as follows: Tennessee: First, Second and Third Infantry, First Squadron Cavalry, First Regiment Field Artillery.

North Carolina: Brigade Headquarters, First, Second and Third Infantry, First Squadron Cavalry, Machine Gun Troop, First Field Artillery, Companies A, B and E Engineers, Company A, Signal Corps; Supply Train, Ambulance Company No. 1, Field Hospital No. 1.

South Carolina: First and Second Infantry, Troop A, Cavalry, Field Hospital No. 1.

The first units of the division sailed from the United States on May 7, 1918, and the last units arrived in France on June 24, 1918. During the war individuals of the Thirtieth Division received 177 Distinguished Service Crosses for conspicuous gallantry in action. The general officers who were in command of the division before General Lewis were: Maj. Gen. John F. Morrison from its organization until November 20, 1917; Maj. Gen. C. P. Townsley from November 20, 1917, until December 17, 1917; Maj. Gen. George W. Read from April 27, 1918, until June 13, 1918; Maj. Gen. Edward M. Lewis, from that date until the conclusion of the war. The insignia of the division may be described as follows: Monogram in blue, the letter "O" surrounding the letter "H" with three "X's" (Roman numerals for 30) forming the cross bar of the letter "H," all on a maroon background. The design is a tribute to Andrew Jackson, born in South Carolina, who was familiarly known as "Old Hickory." During its participation in action the division captured 98 officers and 3,750 men, 81 pieces of artillery and 426 machine guns. All told, it made a total advance on the front lines of 29½ kilometers.*

On November 20, 1918, General Pershing made the first comprehensive report of the work of the American soldiers in France, his communication being addressed to Secretary of War Baker. In this report, which deals only with the major operations at the front, he writes as follows regarding the assault on the Hindenburg Line: "It was the fortune of our 2nd Corps, composed of the 27th and the 30th divisions, which had remained with the British, to have a place of honor in co-operation with the Australian Corps on September 29th and October 1st, in the assault on the Hindenburg Line where the St. Quentin Canal passes through a tunnel under a ridge. The 30th Division speedily broke through the main line of defense for all its objectives, while the 27th pushed on impetuously through the main line until some of its elements reached Gouy. In the midst of the maze of trenches and shell craters, and under cross fire from machine guns, the other elements fought desperately against odds. In this and in later actions, from October 6th to October 19th, our 2nd Corps captured over 6,000 prisoners and advanced over thirteen miles. The spirit and aggressiveness of these divisions have been highly praised by the British army commander under whom they served."

In General March's "Chronology of major operations," embodied in his report to the secretary of war made November 11, 1918, Armistice day, occurs the following dated items:

* A kilometer equals 3,280 feet, 10 inches, or about two-thirds of a mile.

September 30—The 27th and 30th divisions took prisoners north of St. Quentin totaling 210 officers and more than 1,200 men.

October 8—The 59th Brigade of the 30th Division attacked at 5 A. M. over a front of 5,000 yards, gained all first objectives by 9 A. M. and second objectives by noon. Fifty officers, 1,500 men and four 101-millimeter guns were taken.

October 8-9—The 2nd Corps advanced about seven miles on a front of 4,000 yards and captured about 2,000 prisoners and thirty guns.

October 10—The 1st Corps reached Cornay La Besogne Ridge and passed Malassise farm, east of Grand Ham. The 60th Brigade of the 30th Division advanced six kilometers, reaching the Selle river, and held the St. Behn-St. Souplet-La Haie-Menneresse line. Up to the evening of the 9th, fifty officers, 1,800 men and thirty-two guns were captured.

October 13—An attack on Grandpré, this morning, met very heavy machine gun fire, and troops of the 2nd Corps were finally forced to retire south of the Aire. A hostile counter-attack at 8 P. M. south of Landres-et-St. Georges was repulsed.

October 19—The 30th division attacked with the British at dawn and advanced 2,000 yards. Prisoners captured since the morning of the 17th totaled forty-four officers and over 1,500 men.

THE 118TH INFANTRY REGIMENT

If any regimental unit which went from the State could be called "South Carolina's own," it was the 118th Infantry. It was in the thick of the fight at the St. Quentin canal sector, which broke the Hindenburg Line. The 118th there bore the burden of South Carolina casualties and also carried away the largest share of individual honors.

The regiment returned to the United States in March, 1919, in command of Colonel P. K. McCully, Jr., of Anderson, for many years an officer of the organization, and its parade of May 1st in Columbia was an event of even more than State-wide interest; for the fame of the unit had spread throughout the South. Just before the regiment sailed for home its roster was as follows: Colonel P. K. McCully, commanding; Lieut. Col. W. F. L. Hartigan; Captain Francis J. Beatty, regimental adjutant; Captain Frances M. Mack, operations officer; Captain William F. Murrah, personnel adjutant.

First Battalion Headquarters, Major William D. Workman, commanding. Company A, Captain Samuel D. Willis; Company B, Captain Louis L. Ligon; Company C, Captain Charles M. Kephart; Company D, Captain Arthur Lee.

Second Battalion Headquarters, Major C. C. Wyche, commanding. Company E, Captain Richard A. Fulp; Company F, Captain Joseph Lawler; Company G; Captain Harry Miller; Company H, Captain Wister R. Watkins.

Third Battalion Headquarters, Major William L. Gillespie, commanding. Company I, Captain E. Smyth Blake; Company K, Captain Hiram H. Hutchison; Company L, Captain Harry C. Underwood; Company M, Captain Payton H. Hoge.

Headquarters Company, First Lieutenants Sam L. Royall and Grayson M. Hoke.

Machine Gun Company, Captain Ralph J. Ramer.

Supply Company, Captain Robert T. Brown.

Medical Detachment, Major David Walley, Medical Corps.

The regiment which thus returned from the western battle front had been "over there" for a period of eleven months. More than its original force had been killed in action, many had died of wounds and nearly six thousand men who had joined its ranks at various times during that period had suffered wounds classified from "slight" to "serious." Like the human body, the regimental body had been so continuously replaced by influxes of fresh blood that there were few remnants of its original composition.

The One Hundred and Eighteenth Regiment was composed principally of men from the old First Infantry South Carolina National Guard. It saw service on the Mexican border, having been mobilized and trained at Camp Moore, Styx. Upon the declaration of war the regiment was ordered to Greenville and made a part of the Old Hickory Division, formed at Camp Sevier. After months of training at Greenville, the regiment was sent to England and France in May, 1918. It then followed the fortunes of the Thirtieth Division. One of its officers thus describes the movements of the regiment up to the time of its consolidation with the Fourth British Army:

"Having spent a few days in England, the regiment crossed the English Channel, landing in Calais on May 27th. We did not remain there long, but were there long enough to get our first touch of real warfare when the enemy's planes were seen flying over the city.

"After a few days spent in a rest camp, the regiment moved to what is known as the Eperlecques training area in the department of Calais, Regimental headquarters being established in the village of Tournehem. While occupying this area the division less the artillery was transferred to the Second British Corps. Extensive training was continued here, small parties being sent to the front line for observation. The transfer to the British army necessitated many changes particularly as to our system of transportation and supplies. The entire month of June was spent in this area, but with the coming of July our status underwent a great change which was to take us out of a class of untried soldiers.

"On July 2d we started the march that carried us to the forward area, where the Very lights shine and the wind whistles behind your ears. July 4, 1918, is one Independence day that will live long in the memories of those that made that hike and who have been fortunate enough to pull through the big show. On that date the division marched into Belgium with this regiment leading the column. Colonel McCully has the signal honor of leading the first American regiment into that ill-fated country. Camp was pitched at Dirty Bucket Camp, in the famous Ypres salient, about five miles behind the ruins of Ypres. Our original baptism of fire took place here, all of us soon becoming used to the screech of the shell and the hum of the plane. Our introduction into the line was gradual. First small parties were sent to observe, our final movement being made by battalions. The first part of August a sector of what was known as the Blue or East Poperinghe was assigned to the regiment to be manned and held in case of the expected big drive by the Boche. This drive failing to materialize, the entire regiment was assembled in school camp in August. Here we remained in support while the Sixtieth Brigade took over the front line, what was known as the Canal sector. Preparations were made by this regiment to take a part of the front line occupied by the One Hundred and Nineteenth Infantry, but on September 1 orders were received removing us from this area. Though we had been in the forward area for two months, our casualties had

been very light, especially when we had gained so much from the experience of what was meant by being under shell fire. Our experience in the famous Ypres salient came to be looked upon as a grand vacation in view of what we went through in the months of September and October.

"The first weeks of September saw the division transferred from the Second British Army to the Fourth. We bid a glad farewell to Belgium and our days of real warfare began. Our next home was located a few miles behind Arras, in the St. Pol area. Here an intensified course of maneuvers was taken up, special stress being laid on work with the tanks. After about ten days spent in this manner, another move toward the front was started. A halt of two days at Toutencourt brought us to the edge of the old Somme battle field. From there lorries carried us through this devastated area to Tincourt. The devastation of this area is beyond all description, ruined villages, shell holes, old trenches, barbed wire and innumerable crows being the only objects to be seen for a distance for at least thirty miles. What might be termed for us the great adventure was about to start."

In view of the experience through which the 118th passed, as a "shock" unit of the Thirtieth Division, it should be more truthfully described as "the awful adventure."

Some idea of the activity of the regiment in helping to break the Hindenburg Line may be gained from the following official casualty list: killed in action, 1,168; died of wounds, 283; seriously wounded, 1,181; wounded, degree undetermined, 805; slightly wounded, 3,973; missing and captured, 193.

The following is a list of casualties of the officers of the One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry:

Killed: Capt. A. Zane Pyles, regimental adjutant; Capt. William W. Jones, Company L; First Lieut. W. A. Hudgens, adjutant Third Battalion; First Lieut. P. B. N. Earle, Company M; First Lieut. William A. Mulley, Company I; First Lieut. George F. Read, Company F; First Lieut. William K. Franton, Company D; Second Lieut. Harry J. Brown, Company K; Second Lieut. Robert E. Farmer, Company F; Second Lieut. Tillman R. Smith, Company F; Second Lieut. William O. Stevenson, Company A; Second Lieut. William M. Jones, Headquarters Company; Second Lieut. Charles Reshrig, Company L.

Wounded: Maj. Gabriel H. Mahon, First Battalion; Maj. James H. Howell, Third Battalion; Capt. Hiram Hutchison, Company K; Capt. Jesse T. Crawford, Company C; Capt. Samuel W. Parks, Company G; Capt. Robert W. Hudgens, Headquarters Company; First Lieut. Richard S. Gessford, Company K; First Lieut. James Anderson, intelligence officer. Third Battalion: First Lieut. Harry E. Wickes, Company L, returned to duty October 27, 1918; First Lieut. Henry E. Ruhl, Headquarters Company; First Lieut. Sam J. Royall, Headquarters Company; First Lieut. James C. Dozier, Company G; First Lieut. James A. Schwing, Headquarters Company; First Lieut. Gottlieb A. Neuffer, Machine Gun Company; Second Lieut. John B. Howard, Company H, returned to duty; Second Lieut. Daniel T. Smith, Company E; Second Lieut. Zebulon B. Thornburg, Company F; Second Lieut. Paul F. Newell, Company G; Second Lieut. Edgar L. McNeil, Machine Gun Company; Second Lieut. Jesse M. Barton, Headquarters Company; Second Lieut. Jerry B. Fenton, Company D; Second Lieut. Carl T. Prause, Company I.

"THE OLD SECOND" SERVES BRAVELY

Another Thirtieth division unit which reflected honor upon the State was the One Hundred Fifth Ammunition Train. The nucleus was originally the Second Infantry, National Guard of South Carolina, with a record for gallantry extending back to the War of 1812. The reorganizations involved in the forming of the Old Hickory Division made necessary the division of this regiment from infantry, in which it had acquitted itself, most creditably on the Mexican Border, and its assignment to new and unfamiliar duties. The commanding officer, Col. Holmes B. Springs of Georgetown, was made divisional quartermaster and commander of trains. Officers and men took up keenly their new service and the train did a vast amount of arduous and dangerous work in France, supplying ammunition under trying circumstances to many divisions at different times.* The Headquarters troop of the same famous division had for its nucleus Troop A, Cavalry, South Carolina National Guard—the oldest unit of the State troops and much better known at home as the Charleston Light Dragoons. The troop gave most satisfactory service, having had excellent training in a long tour of border patrol duty in 1916-17. The divisional adjutant, Major J. Shapter Caldwell of Charleston, had been assistant adjutant general of South Carolina.

THE EIGHTY-FIRST DIVISION

†The Eighty-first Division was organized at Camp Jackson, Columbia, August 25, 1917. The majority of the officers and men originally were from North Carolina, South Carolina and Florida. At Camp Jackson a large number of men were transferred out of the division to other divisions and new drafted men were received from Chicago and from the Carolinas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Florida and other southern states. At Camp Sevier—to which the division less its artillery brigade and Machine-Gun battalions moved in May, 1918—about 6,000 additional drafted men were received from Alabama and 1,200 from New York.

The Eighty-first was named the Stonewall Division, from the great Confederate soldier, General "Stonewall" Jackson, but it was generally spoken of as the Wildcat Division, from its shoulder insignia, which was a wildcat in a circle, different colors being used to designate various organizations, as follows:

White wildcat—161st Infantry Brigade.

Blue wildcat—162d Infantry Brigade.

Red wildcat—156th Field Artillery Brigade, 306th Ammunition Train and 306th Trench Mortar Battery.

Black wildcat—Division Headquarters, 306th Engineers and Train, 316th Machine Gun Battalion and 306th Train Headquarters and Military Police.

Orange wildcat—306th Field Signal Battalion.

*Under the readjustments consequent on the formation of the Thirtieth division, the band of the Second South Carolina Infantry became surplus and was assigned to the Three Hundred and Eighteenth Field Artillery, Eighty-first division, with which it proceeded overseas. After the armistice the band by invitation gave a series of concerts in Nice and on departing received from the mayor the thanks of the city and a municipal flag.

†History condensed from the report issued April 25, 1919, from the headquarters of the division, and sent to the Historical Branch of the General Staff of U. S. A., as well as from Maj.-Gen. C. J. Bailey, U. S. A., commanding the Eighty-first Division, January 16, 1919. See also Clarence W. Johnson's "History of the 321st Infantry, with a brief historical sketch of the 81st Division."

Green wildcat—306th Sanitary Train.

Buff wildcat—306th Supply Train.

The name Wildcat proved to be quite a proper and appropriate name for the Eighty-first Division. It was appropriate in more than one sense, for when the men of this division were sent against the Huns in the Vosges Mountains and in the Meuse-Argonne offensive, they emulated the fighting qualities of the wildcat so well that they were thereafter considered entirely worthy of the name. The emblem originated at Camp Jackson and was suggested by a stream in the edge of the camp which was called Wildcat Creek. The name was recommended by Colonel Frank Halstead, commanding the 321st Infantry, and later adopted by the division staff. The shoulder insignia was adopted from drawings submitted by Sergeant Dan Silverman, Headquarters Company of that regiment. The name Stonewall was recommended by Major Daniel W. Adams. This was the first division to appear at the Port of Embarkation wearing a distinctive device and the idea was adopted by General Pershing for the A. E. F. and afterward by the War Department for divisions training at home.

The war record of the 81st Division commences with its transfer (less the 156th Field Artillery Brigade) from Camp Jackson to Camp Sevier, South Carolina, on May 16, 1918, and thence, in July, to Hoboken, N. J. The first units sailed on the last day of that month and arrived at Liverpool, England, en route to France, August 11, 1918.

The division arrived in France five days later and—with the exception of the 156th Artillery Brigade, including the 306th Ammunition Train—proceeded to the training area at Tonnerre (Yonne), the units mentioned being sent to Camp du Valdahon (Doubs). After a month's training, the division, less the artillery brigade and ammunition train, proceeded to the St. Dié sector (Vosges) and remained there from September 19 to October 19, 1918. During that period it was successively attached to the Thirty-third and Tenth French Corps.

This month of service in the St. Dié sector was employed in raiding the enemy and repulsing such attacks. One of these minor engagements preceded by a long and severe artillery preparation by the Germans, was followed by an attack of about one hundred shock troops, who were repulsed with some ten killed, one captured and probably several wounded. Shotguns and automatic rifles were successfully used by our troops, one of the men killing three Germans with an automatic. During the occupation of this sector the casualties were: Killed, 2 officers, 19 men; wounded, 14 men.

The division left the St. Dié sector on September 19th and early in November reached the Sommedieue sector, south of Verdun. On the 6th of the month it relieved in front line the Thirty-fifth division, being attached to the Second Colonial Corps (French).

On the night of November 8, 1918, orders were received to attack the German lines on the Woivre plain the next morning. During the night the troops were withdrawn from the north and south ends of the sector, concentrated, and at 8:00 o'clock in the morning advanced to the attack.

The Germans had held this position since early in the war; their lines were full of "pill boxes" and strong centers of resistance, all of concrete, and the low and marshy plain was full of wire. Three German divisions confronted the Eighty-first—the Fifth Prussian Guards, Third Bavarians and the Thirteenth Landwehr.

The division advanced with but little artillery preparation, due to lack of heavy guns and of horses for the 75's, and when the armis-

tice went into effect on November 11th, had advanced some 5½ kilometers and was crossing the Hindenburg line near Etain. The 60th Artillery Brigade of the 35th Division had remained in place and gave the 81st all possible support in the operation.

The casualties of the division in the three days' fighting were: Killed, 11 officers and 167 men; wounded, 34 officers, 757 men; captured, 1 officer, 56 men; missing, 6 men.

On November 18th, the division, less its artillery, left the Sommedieu sector for the training area around Chatillon-sur-Seine, reaching there December 3rd. The two regiments of light artillery, the Three Hundred and Seventeenth and Three Hundred and Eighteenth, with brigade headquarters, then joined the division, which at this period belonged to the Eighth Corps. The First army and the Eighth Corps were discontinued April 20, 1919, and the division then passed to the Ninth Corps. The Three Hundred and Sixteenth Field Artillery (155 m/m motorized) shortly afterward joined the division, having been in detached billets between Chaumont and Neufchateau. The division on May 2nd passed to the Services of Supply, for return to the United States, and during the first two weeks in June, 1919, various units sailed for home from the ports of Brest and St. Nazaire. Meanwhile two admirable divisional reviews had been held, both at Chatillon; the first, on March 20th, for the King and Queen of the Belgians and General Pershing; the second, April 10th, for General Pershing and including a most searching inspection.

A succinct summary of the Wildcats' record is presented in a letter addressed by the Commander-in-Chief to the division commander shortly before the Eighty-first left France:

"France, April 13, 1919.

"Major General Charles J. Bailey,
"Commanding 81st Division,
"American E. F.

"My Dear General Bailey: It gives me great satisfaction to extend to you, and the officers and men of the 81st Division, my compliments upon their appearance at the review and inspection on April 10, at Chatillon-Sur-Seine. The transportation and artillery of the division was in good shape and the general bearing of the men was up to a high standard and worthy of a division which, though in France for a comparatively short time, has made a splendid record.

"Arriving in this country toward the middle of August, your period of training in the area near Tonnerre was interrupted by the necessity of sending the division into the line to relieve the active battle veteran organizations. The 81st was in the St. Dié sector from the 18th of September to the 19th of October, when it was withdrawn and prepared for its participation in the Meuse-Argonne offensive.

"It entered the line in this operation on the night of November 6th, relieving the 35th Division as the right flank division of the First Army, and attacking on the morning of November 9th against heavy artillery and machine gun fire. The attack was continued November 10th and 11th and was resolutely pushed against strong enemy resistance, the advance covering five and a half kilometers.

"The bearing of this division in this, its first experience, showed the mettle of officers and men, and gave promise of what it would become as a veteran. With such a record, the division may return home proud of its service in France as a part of the American Expeditionary Forces.

"Sincerely yours,
"(Signed) JOHN J. PERSHING."

The first annual reunion of the division after demobilization was held in Columbia, South Carolina, September 20 and 21, 1920.

EIGHTY-FIRST DIVISION STAFF

Officially a "combat division of the National Army," the Eighty-first division at the date of the armistice had the following staff and principal organization commanders:

Commanding general, Maj. Gen. Charles J. Bailey.
 Chief of staff, Col. Charles D. Roberts, G. S.
 A. C. of S. G-1, Lieut. Col. George W. Maddox, G. S.
 A. C. of S. G-2, Maj. Philip S. VanCise, G. S.
 A. C. of S. G-3, Maj. Joseph P. Aleshire, G. S.
 Division M. G. officer, Lieut. Col. W. B. Renziehausen, infantry.
 Division adjutant, Maj. Roger H. Williams, A. G.
 Division inspector, Maj. C. G. Stevenson, infantry.
 Division quartermaster, Maj. James M. Barksdale, Q. M. C.
 Division surgeon, Col. Kent Nelson, M. C.
 Division ordnance officer, Maj. G. E. Carpenter, ordnance department.

Division munitions officer, Capt. Joseph W. Robertson, ordnance department.

Division gas officer, Capt. D. H. Rowe, C. W. S.
 Division judge advocate, Maj. W. B. Beals, J. A. G.
 Division signal officer, Lieut. Col. James H. VanHorn, S. C.
 Division motor transport officer, Maj. R. W. Berliner, Q. M. C.
 Division veterinarian, Maj. Cage Head, V. C.
 Division dental officer, Capt. J. A. Corriveau, D. C.
 Division chaplain, First Lieut. K. F. Vance, chaplain.
 Division headquarters troop, Capt. C. E. Rich, infantry.

One Hundred and Sixty-first infantry brigade: Brig. Gen. George W. McIver, commanding; Three Hundred and Twenty-first infantry, Col. Frank Halstead; Three Hundred and Twenty-second infantry, Col. Loraine T. Richardson; Three Hundred and Seventeenth machine gun battalion, Maj. William C. McGowan.

One Hundred and Sixty-second infantry brigade: Brig. Gen. Munro McFarland, commanding; Three Hundred and Twenty-third infantry, Col. T. A. Pearce; Three Hundred and Twenty-fourth infantry, Col. G. W. Moses; Three Hundred and Eighteenth machine gun battalion, Maj. E. J. Lyman.

One Hundred and Fifty-sixth field artillery brigade: Brig. Gen. Andrew Moses, commanding; Three Hundred and Sixteenth field artillery, Col. Russell P. Reeder; Three Hundred and Seventeenth field artillery, Col. Nelson E. Margetts; Three Hundred and Eighteenth field artillery, Col. James P. Robinson; Three Hundred and Sixtenth trench mortar battery, Capt. D. M. Etheridge.

Three Hundred and Sixth engineers, Lieut. Col. T. T. P. Luquer; Three Hundred and Sixth field signal battalion, Maj. S. R. Todd; Three Hundred and Sixteenth machine gun battalion, Maj. J. E. Beller; Three Hundred and Sixth train headquarters and military police, Col. Edwin Bell; Three Hundred and Sixth ammunition train, Lieut. Col. Allen Kimberly; Three Hundred and Sixth supply train, Maj. R. W. Berliner, Q. M. C.; Three Hundred and Sixth sanitary train, Lieut. Col. S. J. Kopetsky.

DIVISIONAL ARTILLERY WELL TRAINED

When the Thirtieth division sailed, in May, 1917, the Eighty-first, less its artillery brigade and machine gun battalions, moved from

Camp Jackson to Camp Sevier. The machine gun battalions—the Three Hundred and Sixteenth, Three Hundred and Seventeenth and Three Hundred and Eighteenth—went to a training center at Camp Hancock, Augusta, Georgia; while the artillery brigade, consisting of one heavy regiment, the Three Hundred and Sixteenth field artillery and two regiments of 75 millimetre, the Three Hundred and Seventeenth and Three Hundred and Eighteenth, continued target practice and other training at Camp Jackson. Most of the artillery officers, before sailing time came had gone through the School of Fire, at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and through the Brigade Firing Center at Camp Jackson. The first commander of the brigade, Gen. William J. Snow, was early detached and appointed chief of field artillery, with the rank of major general. His successor, Brig. Gen. Fred T. Austin, was soon transferred to Camp Taylor, and the vacancy was filled by the promotion of Col. Andrew Moses, until that time commanding the Three Hundred and Sixteenth Field Artillery. The brigade went overseas without guns or transportation, under the agreement whereby the French undertook to equip regiments as rapidly as the trained personnel could be furnished. Unfortunately the French were unable to maintain this schedule and the brigade was not equipped until a few days before the armistice. Meantime, the artillery, reaching France in the middle of August, 1918, went through the usual finishing course in French methods, at le Valdahon, in the Jura, about thirty miles from the lines before Belfort, and after the regular course had been most creditably performed, continued firing to perfect officers and men to the utmost in their duties, while awaiting the indispensable horses, tractors and guns. The Ammunition train and Trench Mortar battery proceeded to join the division at the front. When the armistice was signed, the brigade was at last on its way to the lines. The heavy regiment took up the arduous post armistice training at St. Blin, about midway between Chaumont and Neufchateau; the light regiments with brigade headquarters, going to Chateaufvillain. Afterward, shortly before starting for the United States, the heavy regiment also moved to Chateaufvillain. Brigade headquarters came home via Hoboken, the regiments through Newport News. The trench mortar battery was sent to the States early. The Ammunition train was sent back in battalions through Newport News and Charleston. The brigade was highly complimented by inspectors and instructors repeatedly upon the efficiency and high morale of its officers and men.*

THE FORTY-SECOND DIVISION

Forty-second Division, in which were some scattered units of South Carolina troops, was stationed in the Champagne district at first, and in July, 1918, relieved the Twenty-sixth Division in the region of Trugny and Epieds. On the 24th of that month, the Germans fell back from those points, and, as stated by General Pershing, "fighting its way through the Foret de Fere, overwhelmed the nest of machine guns in its path. By the 27th it had reached the Ourcq, whence the Third and Fourth divisions were already advancing, while the French divisions with which we were cooperating were moving forward at other points.

"The 3d division had made its advance into Roncheres wood on the 29th and was relieved for rest by a brigade of the 32d. The 42d and 32d undertook the task of conquering the heights beyond

* "History of the Three Hundred and Sixteenth Field Artillery:" Rogers & Hall Company, Chicago, 1919.

Clerges, the 42d capturing Sergy and the 32d capturing Hill 230, both American divisions joining in the pursuit of the enemy to the Vesle, and thus the operations of reducing the (Marne) salient was finished. Meanwhile the 42d was relieved by the 4th at Cherry-Chartreuve and the 32d by the 28th, while the 77th division took up a position on the Vesle. The operations of these divisions on the Vesle were under the 3d corps, Major General Robert Bullard commanding."

The reduction of the Marne salient preceded the wiping out of the St. Mihiel salient, all of which were vitally offensive in the protection of Verdun. The Forty-second Division was a part of the Third Corps, of the First American Army, which made its first great offensives against the Marne and St. Mihiel salients, and on September 12th carried the latter and established a position which commanded and threatened the great German stronghold of Metz. Then followed the famous Meuse-Argonne offensive, which steadily advanced until the armistice was signed. In that concluding movement, the Third Army Corps, of which the Forty-second Division was one of the three units, valiantly participated as a portion of the distinctive American Army.

THE NINETY-SECOND DIVISION (COLORED)

The Ninety-second Division was composed entirely of colored troops, some of its units having white officers, and, on the whole, their record was commendable—especially that of the South Carolina regiment—the Three Hundred and Seventy-first Infantry.

The division first saw active service in the St. Dié sector in September, 1918, and was with the First American Army, covering Verdun and driving toward Metz. It saw some severe fighting for about ten days before the armistice was signed, being at that time a short distance east of Breheville.

HOME COMING OF SOUTH CAROLINA SOLDIERS

In the spring, summer and fall of 1919, the soldiers of South Carolina came sailing and marching home, and the parades and receptions throughout the State were occasions for both gladness and sadness—gladness over reunions and the terminations of racking suspense, and sadness for those hundreds who would never return to the soil of the Palmetto State and also for those who came back maimed but still brave and hopeful. By early April, there were 2,500 men at Camp Jackson. One of the most noteworthy receptions was that given to the surviving members of the One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry, at Anderson, on the 1st of May. All through the summer and fall, Camp Jackson continued to receive the returning soldiers and on September 29, 1919, there was a reunion of the members of the Thirtieth Division, at Greenville, that date being the first anniversary of the breaking of the Hindenburg line on the western front.

ROLL OF HONOR

In the spring of 1920 a State Memorial Commission was formed to compile and preserve the names of South Carolinians who died in the World's War, whether in the land, sea or air service; whether from wounds in battle, disease or accident. By the fall of that year between 1,300 and 1,400 names had already been entered on the roll of honor, but, even as this is written, the list is still being completed

THE HOME-COMERS ABOARD SHIP

DISSEMBARKING AT NEWPORT NEWS, IN JUNE, 1919
Through the courtesy of Clarence W. Johnson.

and perfected. One of the objects of the Commission is also to perfect plans and collect funds for a memorial building in honor of those who made the sacrifice, in whatever form.

The Army and Navy Club of America is compiling a list of officers who died during the war, and plans to erect a \$3,000,000 memorial hall and club house in New York City.

In the list of casualties issued at Washington, South Carolina is credited with fifty officers who lost their lives. Of this number twenty-five were killed in action, ten died of wounds, eight of disease, four of accident and the remainder of undetermined causes.

The toll paid by the city of Columbia was nine. Every section of the State is represented in the list. The record is a silent testimonial to the gallantry of the South Carolina men.

The Columbia officers who will be memorialized in the beautiful building to be erected in New York are Maj. James L. Bryant, Capt. Albert F. Briggs, Major William S. Manning, Capt. Henry L. Thompson, Capt. Theodore D. Ravenel, Jr., Capt. John M. McIntosh, Lieut. Henry C. Horton, Lieut. John S. Reynolds and Lieut. Edmund V. Walsh.

There are on file at the Army and Navy club's headquarters, 261 Madison avenue, New York, the names of the majority of dead from South Carolina. This list is also incomplete. Therefore, in justice to living relatives, neither the lists compiled in Columbia or Washington or New York City are published in this chapter.

Among those not mentioned in the list of brave and popular South Carolina officers who died in action at the front was Captain Edward L. Wells, of Charleston, who was killed during the fighting between the Argonne and the Meuse, north of Verdun, on October 4, 1918. As intelligence officer and in command of a platoon of the Eighteenth Infantry, he was pushing along after the retreating Germans when he received his mortal wound. Captain Wells was twice awarded posthumously, the Distinguished Service Cross.

MEDALS OF HONOR

In the New York Times, of August 3, 1919, is a page devoted to sketches of those fortunate in the American Expeditionary Force who won the coveted Congressional Medal of Honor, which, as that paper says, is to the American what the Victoria Cross is to the British and the Médaille Militaire to the French soldier. The medal was granted to 78 of the 1,200,000 men of the A. E. F. who engaged in battle with the Germans, 19 of the awards being posthumous. Of every 15,400 soldiers who were in action, one received the Congressional Medal. By states, only New York and Illinois were granted a greater number than South Carolina. She received six, as did California, Missouri, New Jersey and Tennessee, but when population and the number of troops the different states furnished to the firing line are taken into account, it will be realized how high was the standard of the South Carolina boys for bravery in action.

Of the six who won the medals for the Thirtieth Division, the following were South Carolina soldiers: James C. Dozier, first lieutenant of Company G, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry, Rock Hill; and Sergeant Thomas M. Hall, of the same company and town; Sergeant Gary E. Foster, Company F, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry, Inman; Corporal James D. Heriot, Company I, same regiment, residing at Providence; Sergeant Richmond H. Hilton, Company H, One Hundred and Eighteenth Regiment, Westville; Corporal John C.

Villepigue, Company M, One Hundred and Eighteenth Regiment, Camden. A fine record for the One Hundred and Eighteenth—to receive all the Congressional Medals of Honor awarded the soldiers of South Carolina in the Thirtieth Division!

The names of the South Carolina heroes to whom the Congressional Medals of Honor were awarded, and the acts for which they were thus honored, are as follows:

Foster, Gary Evans, Sergeant, Co. F, 118th Infantry, 30th Division, Inman, S. C.—Montbrehain, France, Oct. 8, 1918. When his company was held up by violent machine-gun fire from a sunken road Sergeant Foster, with an officer, went forward to attack the hostile machine-gun nests. The officer was wounded, but Sergeant Foster continued on alone in the face of heavy fire and by effective use of hand grenades and his pistol killed several of the enemy and captured eighteen.

Dozier, James C., First Lieutenant, Co. G, 118th Infantry, 30th Division, Rock Hill, S. C.—Montbrehain, France, Oct. 8, 1918. In command of two platoons, Lieutenant Dozier was painfully wounded in the shoulder early in the attack, but he continued to lead his men, displaying the highest bravery and skill. When his command was held up by heavy machine-gun fire he disposed his men in the best cover available and with a soldier continued forward to attack a machine-gun nest. Creeping up to the position in the face of intense fire, he killed the entire crew with hand grenades and his pistol and a little later captured a number of Germans who had taken refuge in a dugout nearby.

Hall, Thomas Lee, Sergeant, Co. G, 118th Infantry, 30th Division, Fort Hill, S. C.—Montbrehain, France, Oct. 8, 1918. Having overcome two machine-gun nests under his skilful leadership, Sergeant Hall's platoon was stopped 800 yards from its final objective by machine-gun fire of particular intensity. Ordering his men to take cover in a sunken road, he advanced alone on the enemy machine-gun post and killed five members of the crew with his bayonet and thereby made possible the further advance of the line. While attacking another machine-gun nest later in the day this gallant soldier was mortally wounded.

Heriot, James D., Corporal, Co. I, 118th Infantry, 30th Division, Providence, S. C.—Vaux-Andigny, France, Oct. 12, 1918. Corporal Heriot, with four other soldiers, organized a combat group and attacked an enemy machine-gun nest which had been inflicting heavy casualties on his company. In the advance two of his men were killed, and because of the heavy fire from all sides the remaining two sought shelter. Unmindful of the hazard attached to his mission, Corporal Heriot, with fixed bayonet, alone charged the machine gun, making his way through the fire for a distance of thirty yards and forcing the enemy to surrender. During his exploit he received several wounds in the arm, and later in the same day, while charging another nest, he was killed.

Hilton, Richmond H., Sergeant, Co. H, 118th Infantry, 30th Division, Westville, S. C.—Brancourt, France, Oct. 11, 1918. While Sergeant Hilton's company was advancing through the village of Brancourt it was held up by intense enfilading fire from a machine gun. Discovering that this fire came from a machine-gun nest among shell

holes at the edge of the town, Sergeant Hilton, accompanied by a few other soldiers, but well in advance of them, pressed on toward this position, firing with his rifle until his ammunition was exhausted, and then with his pistol, killing six of the enemy and capturing ten. In the course of this daring exploit he received a wound from a bursting shell, which resulted in the loss of his arm.

Villepigue, John C., Corporal, Co. M, 118th Infantry, 30th Division, Camden, S. C.—Vaux-Andigny, France, Oct. 15, 1918. Having been sent out with two other soldiers to scout through the village of Vaux-Andigny, he met with strong resistance from enemy machine-gun fire, which killed one of his men and wounded the other. Continuing his advance without aid 500 yards in advance of his platoon and in the face of enemy machine-gun and artillery fire, he encountered four of the enemy in a dugout, whom he attacked and killed with a hand grenade. Crawling forward to a point 150 yards in advance of his first encounter, he rushed a machine-gun nest, killing four and capturing six of the enemy and taking two light machine guns. After being joined by his platoon he was severely wounded in the arm.

Miles, L. Wardlaw, Captain, 308th Infantry, 77th Division, Princeton, N. J.—Révillon, France, Sept. 14, 1918. Captain Miles volunteered to lead his company in a hazardous attack on a commanding trench position near the Aisne Canal, which other troops had previously attempted to take without success. His company immediately met with intense machine-gun fire, against which it had no artillery assistance, but Captain Miles preceded the first wave and assisted in cutting a passage through the enemy's wire entanglements. In so doing he was wounded five times by machine-gun bullets, both legs and one arm being fractured, whereupon he ordered himself placed on a stretcher and had himself carried forward to the enemy trench in order that he might encourage and direct his company, which by this time had suffered numerous casualties. Under the inspiration of this officer's indomitable spirit his men held the hostile position and consolidated the front line after an action lasting two hours, at the conclusion of which Captain Miles was carried to the aid station against his will. Capt. Miles was not accredited to South Carolina, but is of South Carolina parentage on both sides.

The Distinguished Service Medal was also awarded to not a few South Carolina soldiers. Captain Philip W. Hunter, of York, received the Distinguished Service Order from the British Government. He was graduated from the South Carolina Medical College, served in the Nineteenth British Division, was captured at Messines Ridge, and remained in German prisons from April to November, 1918. Corporal G. W. Batson, of Greenville, who was also thus honored, was a member of the old Butler Guards, First Infantry, South Carolina National Guard, and served in the war with that organization, officially Company A, One Hundred and Eighteenth Regiment.

AN IMPORTANT TRAINING AREA

South Carolina was an important troop training area throughout the war, since the climate allowed of drilling in the open the year 'round and the State was conveniently situated with relation to the ports of embarkation. Sixteen cantonments and a like number of camps were erected in the country and of these there were allotted to South Carolina one cantonment and two camps: Camp Jackson, at Columbia;

Camp Sevier, at Greenville, and Camp Wadsworth, at Spartanburg. The Eighty-first (National Army) division was organized and trained at Camp Jackson, as were also an infantry regiment of the Ninety-second (negro) division, National Army, and some 4,000 of ordnance troops. Afterward Camp Jackson was a great field artillery replacement depot and firing centre, from which drafts of trained officers and men were forwarded each month to the artillery elements of the Expeditionary Forces. When the war ended, the camp was in process of being greatly expanded. Camp Sevier, after serving as organization and training base of the Thirtieth (National Guard) division, was used by the Eighty-first in its final training and afterward was the mobilization point of the Twentieth Regular army division. Camp Wadsworth was the home base of the Twenty-seventh division (National Guard of New York) and after that division proceeded overseas, became a training camp for corps and army troops, principally pioneer infantry. Another capital activity of war time in South Carolina was the development of extensive army facilities at Charleston. A vast permanent supply base and a large ordnance depot were constructed and Charleston also became an important port of embarkation and debarkation.

MARINE CORPS EXPANSION*

South Carolina had close association with the great expansion which the Marine Corps, in common with other components of the Navy, underwent during the war. The "soldiers of the sea" were more than trebled in number, their actual strength at the armistice having been 2,474 commissioned, 70,489 enlisted, as against an authorized complement, when America took up arms, of only 693 officers, 17,400 men. Two great recruit depots were established, much the larger of which was at Parris Island, near Beaufort, in South Carolina; and here were handled 42,604 men, as compared with 11,901 at the station on the Pacific, at Mare Island, California. Each man was put through an intensive basic course, of an average duration of eight weeks, and, in the typical case, was then given a short finishing course in the Overseas Forwarding camp, at Quantico, Virginia; although at least two units, the Seventh and Eighth separate battalions, were organized at Parris Island and sent directly to France from South Carolina. Selected men were further instructed at Parris Island in eight schools maintained for the development of enlisted specialists. Such schools were operated for non-commissioned officers, field musicians, radio operators, signalmen, bandsmen, company clerks, pay clerks and for cooks and bakers. Altogether, these classes returned to the Corps 3,723 men equipped for special service. Parris Island was also the training school early in the war of the officer candidates from civil life, who were transferred to Quantico when quarters had been provided there.

Marine Corps supply service for all posts south of Norfolk, including those in Caribbean waters, was and is performed through a large depot established in South Carolina, at Charleston, shortly after the United States entered the war. The physical plant comprises seven warehouses containing 124,778 square feet of storage floor. Nearly 15,000 tons of stores, valued at \$12,000,000, were distributed

* Monograph: "The United States Marine Corps in the World War," compiled, under orders, by Maj. Edwin N. McClellan, U. S. M. C., Officer-in-Charge, Historical Division, Adjutant and Inspector's Department, United States Marine Corps; dated November 26, 1919.

from this depot during the fiscal year 1919 and in the same period the depot received stores aggregating 18,000 tons and worth \$15,000,000. Practically all supplies for troops in the West Indies are forwarded from Charleston.

Other Marine Corps activities in South Carolina included the maintenance of units at the Charleston Navy Yard and the operation of radio stations at Charleston and Beaufort.

SOUTH CAROLINA'S CASUALTIES *

Nearly four thousand South Carolina names appear in the casualty returns of the American Expeditionary Forces, France. Figures are not yet available of casualties among South Carolinians in the army which occurred within the United States, although the total is probably larger than for the overseas quota, many hundreds of men having died in home camps from influenza alone; nor is it yet practicable to segregate the data for the Palmetto State from the casualty records of the Navy and the Marine Corps.

Official statistics of casualties among South Carolinians serving beyond seas under General Pershing may be summarized as follows:

Killed in action: Officers, 25; enlisted men, 308; total, 333.

Died of wounds: Officers, 10; enlisted men, 117; total, 127.

Total of battle deaths, 460.

Deaths from causes other than wounds in action: Officers, 15; enlisted men, 663; total, 678.

Wounded: Officers, 162; enlisted men, 2,603; total, 2,765.

Prisoners: Died, no officers, 3 enlisted men; repatriated, 2 officers, 11 enlisted men; total of South Carolinians captured, 16.

SOUTH CAROLINA MEDAL WINNERS

In October, 1920, the War Department issued a publication indicating the awards of medals of honor and of distinguished service crosses and medals to those who earned such marks of honor in the World War. The awards to South Carolina soldiers make their State proud, as should be the case, and, although some of the names have already appeared in this chapter, the record of these honor-men is here given complete, any repetitions being considered entirely excusable.

The highest award is the medal of honor, presented in the name of Congress, for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of life, above and beyond the call of duty, while in action involving actual conflict with an enemy.

New York State received ten medals of honor; Illinois eight; New Jersey seven; South Carolina and Tennessee six each. As a matter of comparison with other Southern States, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama and Texas received one each, while Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Oklahoma received none.

Most of the South Carolina troops served in the Thirtieth Division. This division received twelve medals of honor, while the great-

* "Summary of Casualties among Members of the American Expeditionary Forces during the World War," prepared in the office of the adjutant general of the army (dated December 15, 1919): Government Printing Office, Washington, 1920. (Compiled from records of the adjutant general of the army and checked against returns of the Central Records Office, American Expeditionary Forces, France.)

est number received by any other division was nine. As a matter of comparison the famous First, Third, Fifth, Twenty-sixth and Forty-second Division received only two each.

MEDALS OF HONOR

The medal of honor awards to South Carolina were as follows:

JAMES C. DOZIER, first lieutenant, Company G, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry, Thirtieth Division. For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action with the enemy near Montbrehain, France, October 8, 1918. In command of two platoons, Lieut. Dozier was painfully wounded in the shoulder early in the attack, but he continued to lead his men, displaying the highest bravery and skill. When his command was held up by heavy machine gun fire he disposed his men in the best cover available and with a soldier continued forward to attack a machine gun nest. Creeping up to the position in the face of intense fire, he killed the entire crew with hand grenades and his pistol and a little later captured a number of Germans, who had taken refuge in a dugout nearby. Residence at appointment: Asnafrel street, Rock Hill, S. C.

GAREY EVANS FOSTER, sergeant, Company F, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry, Thirtieth Division. For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action with the enemy near Montbrehain, France, October 8, 1918. His company was held up by violent machine gun fire, from a sunken road. Sergt. Foster, with an officer went forward to attack the hostile machine gun nests. The officer was wounded, but Sergt. Foster continued on alone in the face of heavy fire, and by effective use of hand grenades and his pistol, killed several of the enemy and captured eighteen. Residence at enlistment, Inman, S. C.

THOMAS LEE HALL, sergeant Company G, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry, Thirtieth Division. For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action with the enemy near Montbrehain, France, October 8, 1918. Having overcome two machine gun nests under his skillful leadership, Sergt. Hall's platoon was stopped 800 yards from its final objective by machine gun fire of particular intensity. Ordering his men to take cover in a sunken road, he advanced alone on the enemy machine gun post and killed five members of the crew with his bayonet and thereby made possible the further advance of the line. While attacking another machine gun nest later in the day this gallant soldier was mortally wounded. Emergency address: Mr. William L. Hall, father, R. F. D. No. 4, Fort Mill, S. C.

JAMES D. HERIOT, corporal, Company I, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry, Thirtieth Division. For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action with the enemy at Vaux-Andigny, France, October 12, 1918. Corporal Heriot, with four other soldiers, organized a combat group and attacked an enemy machine gun nest, which had been inflicting heavy casualties on his company. In the advance two of his men were killed, and because of the heavy fire from all sides the remaining two sought shelter. Unmindful of the hazard attached to his mission, Corpl. Heriot, with fixed bayonet, alone charged the machine gun, making his way through the fire for a distance of thirty yards and forcing the enemy to surrender. During this exploit he received several wounds in the arm, and later the same day, while charging another nest, he was killed.

Emergency address, Mrs. Carrie C. Heriot, mother, R. F. D. No. 1, Providence, S. C.

RICHMOND H. HILTON, sergeant, Company M, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry, Thirtieth Division, for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action with the enemy at Brancourt, France, October 11, 1918. While Sergt. Hilton's company was advancing through the village of Brancourt, it was held up by intense enfilading fire from a machine gun. Discovery that this fire came from a machine gun nest among shell holes at the edge of the town, Sergt. Hilton accompanied by a few other soldiers, but well in advance of them, pressed on toward this position, firing with his rifle until his ammunition was exhausted, and then with his pistol killing six of the enemy and capturing ten. In the course of this daring exploit he received a wound from a bursting shell, which resulted in the loss of his arm. Residence at enlistment, Westville, S. C.

JOHN C. VILLEPIGUE, corporal, Company M, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry, Thirtieth Division. For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action with the enemy, at Vaux-Andigny, France, October 15, 1918. Having been sent out with two other soldiers to scout through the village of Vaux-Andigny, he met with strong resistance from enemy machine gun fire, which killed one of his men and wounded the other. Continuing his advance without aid 500 yards in advance of his platoon and in the face of machine gun and artillery fire he encountered four of the enemy in a dugout, whom he attacked and killed with a hand grenade. Crawling forward to a point 150 yards in advance of his first encounter he rushed a machine gun nest killing four and capturing six of the enemy and taking two light machine guns. After being joined by his platoon he was severely wounded in the arm. Residence at enlistment, 1517 Lyttleton street, Camden, S. C.

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL

The distinguished service medal was not awarded for personal bravery. It was awarded for especially distinguished services, involving great responsibilities to a few of the generals and other high officers. Among those to whom this medal was awarded were General Pershing, Marshal Haig, Marshal Foch, King Albert of Belgium, etc. The South Carolina officers to receive this medal were as follows:

THOMAS Q. DONALDSON, brigadier general, cavalry, United States army. For exceptionally meritorious and distinguished services. As inspector general of the services of supply, by his energy, sound judgment and able management, he organized and brought to a state of marked efficiency the inspector general's department in the services of supply. He proved a most potent factor in raising the standard of discipline throughout the command, rendering services of conspicuous worth. Address care of the adjutant general of the army, Washington, D. C. Entered Military Academy from South Carolina.

JOHNSON HAGOOD, brigadier general, United States Army. For exceptionally meritorious and distinguished services. As chief of staff of the services of supply of the American Expeditionary Forces in France his ability for organization, his energy and his sound judgment were factors in the efficiency of this important branch. By his marked zeal and aggressiveness he greatly added to the successful administrations of the services of supply. Address: Care of the Adjutant General of the Army. Entered Military Academy from South Carolina.

JAMES M. KENNEDY, colonel, Medical Corps, United States Army. For exceptionally meritorious and distinguished services as port surgeon, port of embarkation, Hoboken, N. J. He has organized, provided and administered with conspicuous efficiency all of the hospitals required for the accommodation of our troops going overseas from that port as well as for the large number of our sick and wounded soldiers returning home. Address, Care of the Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D. C. Entered military service from South Carolina.

FRANK PARKER, brigadier general, United States Army. For exceptionally meritorious and distinguished services. He commanded with marked distinction the Eighteenth United States Infantry. Later as a brigade commander, he exhibited qualities of rare leadership, superb courage, and unusual initiative. Finally he commanded the First Division in the Argonne offensive in the autumn of 1918, where he showed himself to be a skilled leader of marked ability. Address, Care of the Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D. C.

ROBERT C. RICHARDSON, JR., colonel, United States Cavalry. For exceptionally meritorious and distinguished services. He organized and conducted with great efficiency the important strategical and tactical liaison service of the third section general staff. General Headquarters, American Expeditionary Forces. Address, Care the Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D. C. Entered the Military Academy from South Carolina.

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSS

The Distinguished Service Cross, similar to the Medal of Honor, is awarded for personal bravery but not of so distinguished a character as that rewarded by the Medal of Honor. It involves extraordinary heroism in the face of the enemy but not necessarily at a risk of life, nor beyond the call of duty.

The list of South Carolinians who received the Distinguished Service Cross is as follows:

JAMES P. ADAMS, first lieutenant, Seventy-eighth Company, Sixth Regiment, United States Marine Corps. For extraordinary heroism in action near Blanc Mont, France, October 3, 1918. Voluntarily leading four soldiers through a heavy barrage, he attacked and killed a machine gun crew which was enfilading his company's first line. His willingness, fearlessness, and great courage made possible the cleaning out of many more machine guns which were holding up the advance of his company. Residence at appointment, 416 West avenue, North Augusta, S. C.

DEWEY G. ARNOLD, corporal, Company G, Twenty-eighth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Nonsard, France, September 12, 1918. Accompanied by another soldier, he attacked and destroyed an enemy machine-gun nest, using only his rifle and bayonet. Residence at enlistment, R. F. D. No. 1, Roebuck, S. C.

ROBERT M. BAILEY, second lieutenant, One Hundred and Fourteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Verdun, France, October 12, 1918. Leading his platoon against an enemy position, Lieut. Bailey was fatally wounded but refused to leave until his position was organized and a counter-attack repulsed. Emergency address, Mrs. W. C. Bailey, mother, Anderson, S. C. Residence at appointment, Anderson, S. C.

M'LAURIN BAKER, sergeant, Company C, One Hundred and Fifth Field Signal Battalion. For extraordinary heroism in action near

Mazinghien, France, October 18, 1918. During the fighting around Mazinghien, Sergt. Baker, while attached to the One Hundred and Twentieth Infantry was painfully wounded by shrapnel, which necessitated his going to the first-aid station for treatment. Realizing that his services were greatly needed at the line, he refused to be evacuated, but remained in action until the troops were withdrawn. Residence at enlistment, Lamar, S. C.

GEORGE WELLS BATSON, corporal, Company A, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Bellicourt, France, September 26, 1918. With absolute disregard for his personal safety, he went 300 yards beyond the front line, in full view of the enemy and under heavy machine-gun fire, and brought back a wounded soldier. Residence at enlistment, 404 Pinkney street, Greenville, S. C.

RAY N. BENJAMIN, first lieutenant, Second Engineers. For extraordinary heroism in action near Blanc Mont, France, October 6, 1918. While commanding a detachment of wire cutters, working in advance of the infantry, he was painfully wounded by a shell fragment, but he refused to leave his men until his mission was accomplished and the advance of the infantry assured. Residence at appointment, Graycourt, S. C.

LOUIS W. BOONE (Army serial No. 1312417), private, Company M, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Vaux Andigny, France, October 11, 1918. On duty as a company runner, he carried an important message through an artillery and machine-gun barrage to battalion headquarters. Starting back through the barrage to the front lines he was wounded, but believing he might be needed at the front attempted to make his way back to his company displaying unusual fortitude and devotion to duty. Residence at enlistment, Westville, S. C.

ROE BRADLEY (Army serial No. 1311167), Company F, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Brancourt, France, October 8, 1918. When a part of 25 of the enemy threatened the advance by machine-gun fire from a sunken road, Pvt. Bradley who was ahead of the front line, quickly got his automatic rifle into action and by well-directed enfilading fire killed a large number of the enemy, capturing the remainder. His timely act prevented an interruption of the attack. Residence at enlistment, Glendale, S. C.

HERMAN F. BREMER, sergeant, Machine Gun Company, One Hundred and Nineteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Bellicourt, France, September 29, 1918, Sergt. Bremer displayed coolness, excellent judgment and efficient leadership in keeping his platoon intact while advancing with the regiment. Exposed to fire from all sides he set his guns and engaged the enemy. While leading his men to a new position, he was instantly killed. Emergency address: Miss Eleanor W. Bremer, sister, 16 Charlotte street, Charleston, S. C. Residence at enlistment: 16 Charlotte street, Charleston, S. C.

HOMER E. BRYANT (Army serial No. 1311604), private, Company H, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near St. Martin-Riviere, France, October 11, 1918. Hearing a call for help from a man lying beyond the front line, Pvt. Bryant, a stretcher bearer, unhesitatingly went to his assistance, although the spot was under heavy fire from enemy machine guns and snipers. As he was approaching the wounded man he was instantly killed by an enemy sniper. Emergency address: William H. Bryant, father, Salem, S. C. Residence at enlistment: Salem, S. C.

HENRY E. BUNCH, deceased, captain, Medical Corps, attached to One Hundred and Sixty-eighth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near the Bois-de-Chatillon, France, October 13-16, 1918. During the advance of his regiment in the Verdun sector he established aid stations at points as far advanced as possible and supervised them throughout the combat, working continuously, tirelessly and fearlessly without food or rest. On October 14 this officer went out in advance of the front line to reconnoiter a site for an aid station and an ambulance route. Seeing a wounded officer lying 300 meters from the enemy's line he went to his rescue and carried him through terrific machine-gun and rifle fire to a shell hole, where he administered aid in entire disregard of his own safety. Emergency address: Dr. G. A. Bunch, father, Clarks Hill, S. C. Residence at appointment: Clarks Hill, S. C.

JOHN C. CARTER (Army serial No. 1312964), private, Medical Detachment, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry, Thirtieth Division. For extraordinary heroism in action near Vaux Andigny, France, October 5-17, Pvt. Carter displayed notable bravery in administering aid to wounded men and carrying them to the aid station under heavy fire. He also assisted in maintaining liaison to the flanks and rear of his company under continuous fire, volunteering and carrying a message under especially hazardous conditions and during an enemy counter-attack. During this engagement Pvt. Carter was wounded, but he declined to leave his post until ordered to do so by an officer. Residence at enlistment: 2317 Park street, Columbia, S. C.

LAWRENCE E. CAULDER (Army serial No. 1311769), Company I, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Brancourt, France, October 8, 1918. With another soldier Corporal Caulder crawled through intense artillery and machine gun fire, 50 yards in advance of their platoon, for the purpose of sniping the enemy machine gunners who were holding up the platoon. His companion was killed, but Corporal Caulder remained at his post and kept up an effective rifle fire on the enemy nest, until the tanks came up and destroyed it. Residence at enlistment: Chesterfield, S. C.

ROBERT S. COCHRANE, chief pharmacist's mate, United States Navy, attached to Sixth Machine Gun Battalion, United States Marine Corps. For extraordinary heroism in action near St. Etienne, France, October 3-4, 1918. He continued to dress wounded when the area in which he was working was swept by machine-gun fire. He was an example of coolness to all during 48 hours of continuous shell fire, never hesitating to expose himself to danger when assistance was needed. Residence at enlistment: Hichburg, S. C.

JULIUS C. COGSWELL, first lieutenant, Company G, 6th Regiment, United States Marine Corps Second Division. Having been previously wounded in the bombardment of La Cense Farm, France, he refused to be evacuated, and handled his platoon with marked bravery and skill in an assault on a formidable machine-gun position until seriously wounded on June 6, 1918. Residence at appointment: 69 Ashley avenue, Charleston, S. C.

THOMAS COOPER (Army serial No. 1871651), sergeant, Company K, Three Hundred and Seventy-first Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action at Trieres Farm, France, September 30-October 2, 1918. Wounded in an attack on Trieres Farm, France, September 30, Sergt. Cooper remained on duty with his company and commanded his platoon until evacuated on October 2, 1918. Residence at enlistment: Darlington, S. C.

WILLIAM L. DICKERSON (Army serial No. 53942), private, Company G, Twenty-sixth Infantry. With two other soldiers he rushed a

machine-gun position near Soissons, France, July 19, 1918, killed the crew and captured the gun in order to make the advance of his platoon possible. Residence at enlistment: Pelzer, S. C.

JAMES K. FAISON, private, Medical Detachment, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Vaux-Andigny, France, October 13-17, 1918. During the advance in the vicinity of Vaux-Andigny, Pvt. James K. Faison for four days and four nights worked unceasingly dressing the wounded and giving them water. On five different occasions he went out over ground swept by enemy shell and machine-gun fire to rescue the wounded, at times within 100 yards and in direct view of the enemy positions. Residence at enlistment: Bennettsville, S. C.

JAMES EDWARD FORE, sergeant, Company E, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action at St. Martin Riviere, France, October 17, 1918. While engaged with four other soldiers in mopping up a village, he led his men in a flank attack on a machine-gun nest and captured the crew, 18. Pushing forward, he organized a squad of stragglers and captured an entire company of Germans, including two officers. Residence at enlistment: Cohen street, Union, S. C.

WITT SAMUEL FORE (Army serial No. 1310827), sergeant, Company E, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Brancourt, France, October 8, 1918. Disregarding personal safety, Sergt. Fore ran forward through heavy machine-gun and shell fire to a shell hole where a wounded soldier lay mortally wounded and carried his comrade to shelter. Residence at enlistment: 4 Louis street, Union, S. C.

MYREN F. FUNDERBURK, mechanic, Company I, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Brancourt, France, October 8, 1918. He was acting as a stretcher bearer for his company, which was suffering many casualties as it advanced. While he was carrying a wounded soldier, he was himself seriously wounded in the shoulder. He continued, under heavy artillery fire, to evacuate the wounded until he fell from exhaustion. Residence at enlistment: Pageland, S. C.

JOHN H. GARDNER, sergeant, Company L, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Brancourt, France, October 8, 1918. After his company commander had been wounded immediately before an attack, Sergt. Gardner took command of the company and lead it throughout the action. When his company was held up by machine-gun fire, he went forward and killed four German machine gunners, thereby enabling his company to continue the advance. On another occasion, he picked up the rifle of a wounded soldier and killed three of the enemy. Later, when his company was almost surrounded by hostile machine guns, his men, under his cool direction, fought their way out, reached their objective and consolidated the position. Residence at enlistment: Hartsville, S. C.

FREDERICK O. GASKINS, corporal, Company I, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near La Hale Meneresse, France, October 16, 1918. When the advance of his company was held up by two machine-gun nests, he led his squad, entirely on his own initiative, in the face of intense machine-gun fire, against an enemy post on the right flank. Followed by his men, he rushed the position, taking it and killing two of the gun crew. He then rushed a second post alone with his rifle, killing one of the crew. He was himself

killed before he could reach the post. Emergency address: Thomas W. Gaskins, father, Chesterfield, S. C. Residence at enlistment: Chesterfield, S. C.

ROBERT GILMER, second lieutenant, Company K, Three Hundred and Seventy-first Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action at Trieres Farm, France, September 30, 1918. While personally reconnoitering a position to place his platoon in the defense of Trieres Farm, Lieut. Gilmer, regardless of personal danger, exposed himself in an area swept by machine-gun fire, and was killed while in the performance of this mission. Emergency address: Mrs. Martha J. Gilmer, mother, 906 South Main street, Anderson, S. C. Residence at appointment: 906 South Main street, Anderson, S. C.

MILLEDGE A. GORDON, sergeant, Machine Gun Company, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action at Hargicourt, France, September 26 to October 17, 1918. Orders for his relief having failed to reach him, Sergt. Gordon remained on duty all night, maintaining liaison between gun sections of his platoon, exposed to severe shell fire, from which he was gassed. He nevertheless stayed with his company, and while going forward on October 8, he fainted from the effects of the gas and was evacuated to the rear, unconscious. Regaining consciousness while en route to the casualty clearing station, he crawled out of the ambulance and worked his way back to his company without securing treatment. Though still suffering from weakness, he persistently refused to be evacuated and took part in subsequent engagements with his platoon until he was killed in action. Emergency address: Dr. Thomas Gordon, father, Clemson College, S. C. Residence at enlistment: Clemson College, S. C.

WILLIAM W. HAMES, first lieutenant, Three Hundred and Seventy-second Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Bussy Farm and Sechault, France, September 28-29, 1918. He was in charge of the 37-millimeter guns, which he skillfully employed until they were put out of action. He then joined one of the assaulting waves advancing on the enemy's position, and with the aid of two men captured a machine-gun and three prisoners. Although badly gassed he continued in action until the next day, when he collapsed. Residence at appointment: Jonesville, S. C.

REUBEN G. HAMILTON, major, Medical Corps, Ambulance Section, One Hundred and First Sanitary Train. For extraordinary heroism in action near Marcheville, France, September 26-27, 1918. He established and maintained an ambulance dressing station in an advanced and hazardous position, where he labored unceasingly, treating and evacuating the wounded throughout the day, in full view of the enemy and under heavy bombardment. Knowing that our troops were withdrawing and the enemy was about to enter the town, he continued his aid to the wounded, even after permission to withdraw had been given him by his commanding officer. Residence at appointment: Union, S. C.

ELLIOTT R. HARBIN, private, first class, Company C, One Hundred and Fifth Signal Battalion. For extraordinary heroism in action near Bellicourt, France, September 29, 1918. While assisting a party in laying a telephone line, Pvt. Harbin was seriously wounded, but refused to be evacuated and continued his work throughout the day under heavy shell fire. He also assisted in giving first aid to the wounded under fire. Residence at enlistment: Greenville, S. C.

MELVIN N. HARDIN (Army serial No. 1312188), private, Company L, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Bellicourt, France, September 23-27, 1918. During four

days of operations and under unusually adverse conditions, Pvt. Hardin, acting as company runner, repeatedly carried messages from company headquarters to the front line, over open ground, subjected to shell and direct machine-gun fire. With practically no food or sleep and showing absolute disregard for personal safety, he successfully performed each mission aiding materially in the maintenance of liaison and the success of the attack. Residence at enlistment: Greer, S. C.

PAUL L. HARTLEY, Company L, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Montbrehain, France, October 8, 1918. After practically all of the other members of his squad had become casualties he maintained an effective fire with his automatic rifle from an advanced position, and thereby protected his platoon. He was twice buried by exploding shells, but each time he dug himself out and resumed firing immediately. After his ammunition was exhausted he rushed forward with his empty gun and forced twenty of the enemy to surrender. Residence at enlistment: Brownsville, S. C.

BURTON HOLMES, private, Company C, Three Hundred and Seventy-first Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Hill 188, France, September 28, 1918. After he had been badly wounded and his automatic rifle had been put out of commission, Private Holmes returned to his company under extremely heavy machine gun and shell fire, and, taking another automatic rifle, went back and reopened fire on the enemy. While thus engaged he was killed. Emergency address, Will Henderson, uncle, Pendleton, S. C. Residence at enlistment, Pendleton, S. C.

JAMES H. HOLMES, captain, Twenty-sixth Infantry. After having bravely led his company in three attacks in three days near Soissons, France, July 18-19, 1918, he was killed in a fourth attack, while charging an enemy machine gun. Emergency address, Mrs. James H. Holmes, wife, 18 Church street, Charleston, S. C. Residence at appointment, 18 Church street, Charleston, S. C.

WILLIAM J. HOOVER, first lieutenant, Twenty-seventh Aero Squadron Air Service. For extraordinary heroism in action near Virdilly, France, July 2, 1918. On the morning of July 2 his flight patrol encountered the famous Richthofen Circus. Lieut. Hoover was simultaneously attacked by three of the enemy and cut off from his comrades. By skillful maneuvering he avoided the effects of the concentrated fire and fearlessly attacked the three. Although his machine was seriously damaged, he killed one of the enemy pilots and destroyed his plane, drove down another apparently out of control, and chased the third far into its own lines. He then continued the patrol until a shortage of gasoline forced him to return. Residence at appointment: Hartsville, S. C.

EDWARD B. HOPE, first lieutenant, Fifth Regiment, United States Marine Corps. At Chateau-Thierry, France, June 6, 1918, he displayed coolness and courage in directing his platoon in attack, during which he was badly wounded; but refused assistance until wounded men near him had been treated. Residence at appointment: Walterboro, S. C.

HENRY BOICE HUNT (Army serial No. 1312279), private, Company L, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Ramicourt, France, October 8, 1918. While the advance of his company was being held up by terrific machine-gun fire from several enemy nests; and after all the members of his squad had become casualties, he made his way forward with his automatic rifle. Under a continual rain of machine-gun and shell fire, he operated his gun against the enemy until the gun jammed; whereupon he took a

shovel, rushed a machine-gun post 75 yards away, and killed the gunner, thereby enabling the continuance of the advance. Residence at enlistment: Route No. 3, Chesterfield, S. C.

JOHN M. JENKINS, colonel, Thirtieth Infantry, Third Division. For extraordinary heroism in action near Cenul, France, October 14, 1918. He personally led a reconnaissance patrol through the eastern and northern edges of Bois de la Puliere in order to obtain most necessary information while the area was being continuously bombarded by high explosive and gas shells and raked by machine-gun fire. His courage and bravery was a splendid example and an inspiration to the officers and men of his command. Address, Care of the Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D. C. Entered Military Academy from South Carolina.

FRANK JOHNSTONE JERVEY, captain, Fourth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near les Franquete Farm, France, July 23, 1918. Although wounded five times, when his company was suddenly fired upon by machine guns, while crossing an open field, Capt. Jervy remained in command of his company until he became unconscious. Residence at appointment: 71 Rutledge avenue, Charleston, S. C.

THOMAS M. JERVEY, first lieutenant, Ordnance Department, First Army, attached to Observation Group, Air Service. For extraordinary heroism in action near Longuyon, France, October 31, 1918. Assigned to the First Army Observation Group, Air Service, as armament officer, he volunteered as observer on a photographic mission from Ontedy to Longuyon, 25 kilometers into the enemy lines. In combat with 14 enemy aircraft which followed, one enemy aircraft was destroyed. Lieut. Jervy, regardless of the fact that his plane was badly shot up and that his hands were badly frozen continued on the mission, returning only upon its successful completion. Residence at appointment: 7 Pitt street, Charleston, S. C.

SANDY E. JONES, corporal, Company C, Three Hundred and Seventy-first Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Champagne, France, September 28-29, 1918. Corporal Jones was engaged as company clerk and was left behind to care for the company records. When he learned that all the company officers had become casualties he immediately went forward and collecting the scattered elements of the company, reorganized them under most trying and difficult conditions. Residence at enlistment: Taft, S. C.

WILLIE F. JONES, private, Medical Detachment, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Brancourt, France, October 7, 1918. In the face of heavy enemy fire private Jones, together with three other stretcher bearers, advanced before our front line and brought back to shelter a wounded Australian officer. Residence at enlistment: Abbeville, S. C.

BARNWELL R. LEGGE, major, Twenty-sixth Infantry, First Division: For extraordinary heroism in action near Verdun, France, October 5, 1918. Personally leading an attack against a strong enemy position, he inspired his men by his course, cutting his way through entanglements and directing the attacks against three different strong points. Address: Care of the Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D. C. Entered military service from South Carolina.

FRANCIS K. LESNESNE, captain, Three Hundred and Seventy-first Infantry. For extraordinary heroism, in action, near Ardeuil, France, September 29, 1918. Painfully wounded in the arm by shell fire, Captain Lesnesne nevertheless remained with his company until his organization, two days later, had gone into a reserve position, and he was

ordered evacuated. Residence at appointment: 17 Logan street, Charleston, S. C.

LOUIS LUCIUS LIGON, captain One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Brancourt, France, October 8, 1918. Commanding a battalion which had been caught in a terrific barrage. Captain Ligon pushed forward and led all his command until the barrage had lifted. Although he was severely gassed, which rendered him nearly speechless and caused much suffering, he remained with his troops for eight days, leaving his post only when ordered to do so by his commanding officer. Residence at appointment: Rose Hill, Anderson, S. C.

GEORGE C. MCCELVEY, captain, Forty-seventh Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Saint-Thibault, France, August 7-9, 1918. He stood in the swift current of the Vesle river and helped the men of three platoons across. He was pulled into the river twice by drowning men, but each time succeeded in bringing them ashore. On succeeding days he was conspicuously present in places of danger, setting a splendid example to his command. Residence at appointment: Mount Carmel, S. C.

ROBERT M. McDONALD (Army serial No. 1,311,723), sergeant, Company I, Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Brancourt, France, October 8, 1918. On the morning of October 8, near the village of Brancourt, France, he alone charged an enemy machine-gun nest that was causing casualties in his platoon and temporarily holding up the advance. He killed the gunner and leader, put the gun out of action and thus enabled his platoon to advance. Residence at enlistment: Cheraw, S. C.

LOATER LOYD MCKINNEY, private, Company F, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Montbrehain, France, October 8, 1918. Accompanying two comrades he attacked with hand grenades an enemy machine-gun stronghold containing at least forty Germans and four machine guns, and forced the enemy to surrender. Residence at enlistment: 357 Forest street, Spartanburg, S. C.

MARION F. MCLEOD, first lieutenant, Three Hundred and Twenty-third Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Manheulles, France, November 11, 1918. While advancing with his platoon, under perilous shell fire, he was severely wounded. Refusing aid, he remained, and, while his platoon was suffering heavy casualties, he succeeded in holding his platoon under control and advancing it. Residence at appointment: 1015 Lawrence street, Columbia, S. C.

HERMAN BLAIR McMANAWAY (Army Serial No. 1,310,006), corporal, Company A, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Hargicourt, France, September 26, 1918. Volunteering to act as stretcher bearer, he assisted in evacuating the wounded during a severe gas shelling. Realizing the presence of strong gas, he unhesitatingly took off his mask and placed it on a wounded man whose mask had been shot away, and in so doing he was badly gassed. It then became necessary to evacuate him, but his heroic and timely act saved the life of his comrade. Residence at enlistment: 211 Leach street, Greenville, S. C.

JULIUS A. MOOD, captain, Twenty-sixth Infantry. During the fighting of July 19-21, 1918, near Soissons, France, he voluntarily exposed himself to fire repeatedly in order to get information and direct operations, and was killed while leading a battalion to the attack. Emergency address: Mrs. W. R. Mood, mother, Summerton, S. C. Residence at appointment: Summerton, S. C.

GAINES MOSELEY, captain, Fifth Regiment, United States Marine Corps. For extraordinary heroism in action near St. Etienne, France, October 4, 1918. As commander of an assault company, Captain Moseley, displayed exceptional courage in carrying his line forward during a heavy artillery and machine gun barrage. Residence at appointment: Aiken, S. C.

ELLISON MOSES, private, Company C, Three Hundred and Seventy-first Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Ardeuil, France, September 30, 1918. After his company had been forced to withdraw from an advanced position under severe machine-gun and artillery fire he went forward and rescued wounded soldiers, working persistently until all of them had been carried to shelter. Residence at enlistment: Box No. 10, R. F. D. No. 1, Mayesville, S. C.

JOHN H. MUNCASTER, major, Eleventh Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Cunel, France, October 14, 1918. After the loss of all his company commanders, Major Muncaster advanced at the head of his battalion, leading the men from a very disadvantageous position, to the capture of a near-by hill held by the enemy. In the counter-attack which followed he not only commanded the men of his battalion personally, but assisted in the defense of the position. Address: Care of the Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D. C. Entered Military Academy from South Carolina.

CROMWELL E. MURRAY, first lieutenant, Company B, Third Machine Gun Battalion. Throughout the five days of battle, near Soissons, France, July 18-22, his conduct was marked by exceptional initiative and bravery. He organized infantry and machine gun units and voluntarily led them in successful attacks against enemy machine gun nests. Residence at appointment: Columbia, S. C.

EZRA M. MUSE, sergeant, Company B, Seventh Machine Gun Battalion. For extraordinary heroism in action at Chateau-Thierry, France, May 31 to June 4, 1918. While commanding a machine gun in a building which had been struck three times, he remained at his post, though told he might leave, because he had a better field of fire from this building than could be obtained elsewhere. Residence at enlistment: New Brookland, S. C.

HENRY L. NEESE (Army Serial No. 1,305,811), private, Company C, One Hundred and Seventeenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Premont, France, October 8, 1918. When the advance of his company was held up by a machine gun emplacement, he went forward with two other soldiers and attacked the enemy position. He shot both of the enemy gunners, showing marked personal bravery under heavy fire. Residence at enlistment: Swansea, S. C.

WILLIE HARRISON NIMS, first sergeant, Company G, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Montbrehain, France, October 8, 1918. After all his company officers had been wounded, Sergeant Nims, though himself wounded in the leg by shell fire, assumed command, and led his company with remarkable dash through heavy machine gun fire. Using a stick as a crutch, he continued forward until the objective was reached and the position consolidated, when he consented to go to the rear for treatment. Residence at enlistment: Fort Mill, S. C.

WILLIAM W. PALMER, first lieutenant, Air Service, pilot, Ninety-fourth Aero Squadron. For extraordinary heroism in action in the region of Doullon, France, October 3, 1918. He encountered three enemy planes (Fokker type). Despite their numerical superiority, he attacked and in a decisive combat sent one down in flames and forced the other to retire. Residence at appointment: Bennettsville, S. C.

• RUFUS R. PHILLIPS, private, Company, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Brancourt, France, October 9, 1918. When his company was about to reach its objective, a sunken road, the company was swept by an enfilading fire from several hostile machine guns. Upon his own initiative this soldier jumped down the bank, mounted his automatic rifle in the center of the road in the face of the enemy's fire, and opened fire, sweeping the parapets of the hostile positions with well-directed fire. His act resulted in the capture of the thirty Germans occupying the post. Residence at enlistment: R. F. D. 8, Gaffney, S. C.

CLARENCE R. PORTER, private, Company D, One Hundred and Nineteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Bellicourt, France, September 29, 1918. While his company was making an attack on the Hindenburg line he continued a covering fire with his Lewis gun. In spite of two wounds from which he was suffering, he remained with his gun until his comrades had succeeded in crossing the line. Residence at enlistment: Pickens, S. C.

CARL W. T. PRAUSE, second lieutenant, Company I, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Vaux-Andigny, France, October 11, 1918. While leading his company in attack, Lieutenant Prause was wounded by shell fire, but he remained for three days thereafter, without medical aid, directing the steady progress of his command, in the face of the enemy's determined resistance. Residence at appointment: 323 King street, Charleston, S. C.

ERNEST T. RINEHART, corporal, Company H, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near St. Martin Riviere, France, October 11, 1918. Seeing a wounded comrade lying helpless in a most exposed position in front of our lines, he unhesitatingly braved the murderous fire of machine guns and snipers by going forward to his rescue. He succeeded in bringing in the wounded man after he had seen a stretcher bearer instantly killed in attempting the same mission. Residence at enlistment: Saluda, S. C.

MARTIN C. RUDOLPH, captain, Eleventh Infantry, Fifth Division. For extraordinary heroism in action at Vieville-en-Haye, France, September 2, 1918, and near Cunel, France, October 21, 1918. When an enemy machine gun suddenly opened fire on his company Captain Rudolph signaled the platoon on his right to execute a flanking movement while he advanced alone toward the gun. He killed the enemy gunner with his pistol and captured the remainder of the crew. He then ordered the captured gun carried along in the advance and 200 yards farther used it successfully silencing another enemy machine gun, which was holding up his company. Captain Rudolph was severely wounded by a hand grenade on October 21, but refused to go to the rear, and remained with his company for twelve hours, inspiring his men to hold an important position against a superior force of the enemy. Residence at appointment: Moultrieville, S. C.

JAMES ALBERT SCHWING, first lieutenant, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Montbrehain, France, October 8, 1918. With two soldiers he attacked a machine gun nest of four guns and about forty Germans. By the efficient use of grenades and automatic rifles the Germans were forced to surrender, thereby allowing the company to continue the advance. Residence at appointment: 432 Magnolia street, Spartanburg, S. C.

WILLIAM E. SELLERS (Army Serial No. 1,311,712), sergeant, Company I, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Brancourt, France, October 8, 1918. While

his platoon was advancing he on his own initiative rushed ahead of the line and flanking an enemy machine gun post, shot one of the crew and bayoneted the other. His action saved his platoon from heavy casualties. Residence at enlistment: Chesterfield, S. C.

FRED H. SEXTON, second lieutenant, Thirteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Molleville Farm, France, October 17, 1918. During the thickest of the fight in the attack on Molleville Farm, Lieutenant Sexton alone set out to locate enemy machine gun positions. While on this mission he was killed. Emergency address: Mrs. J. T. Sexton, mother, 9 East Pine street, Union, S. C. Residence at appointment: 9 East Pine street, Union, S. C.

GEORGE D. SIMS (Army serial No. 1,312,562), private, Company M, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Montbrehain, France, October 8, 1918. While assisting his automatic rifle squad in a most advanced position, Private Sims and those about him were seriously wounded by shrapnel. Realizing that his wounds were fatal and that his comrades might be saved, he insisted that the stretcher bearers attend to the others. His unusual heroism was instrumental in saving the lives of his fellow soldiers, even at the cost of his own. Emergency address: Willie C. Sims, father, Sumter, S. C. Residence at enlistment: Sumter, S. C.

PAUL K. SINCLAIR, corporal, Company M, Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action at Vaux-Andigny, France, October 11, 1918. When the advance was checked by fire from enemy machine guns and snipers in a sunken trench. Corporal Sinclair, crawling and jumping from one shell hole to another, under heavy machine gun and artillery fire, opened fire with his automatic rifle and silenced both the machine gun post and the snipers. Residence at enlistment: Broad street, Camden, S. C.

CALLIE A. SMITH, private, first class, Company G, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Montbrehain, France, October 8, 1918. When his company was held up by heavy machine gun fire he voluntarily accompanied an officer and assisted him in flanking a machine gun post and driving out the gunners with grenades and pistol. Residence at enlistment: Rock Hill, S. C.

LEROY WATSON SMITH, sergeant, Company F, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near St. Martin-Riviere, France, Sergeant Smith collapsed from gas, but, realizing his extreme need of a compass in the dense fog, and having the only one of the company, he struggled along by his company commander, indicating the proper direction with his hands, being unable to talk. He refused evacuation, and voluntarily led a patrol to establish liaison with his right flank, being subjected to annihilating machine gun fire during the entire exploit. Residence at enlistment: Cades, S. C.

ELLIOTT WHITE SPRINGS, first lieutenant, One Hundred and Forty-eighth Aero Squadron, Air Service. For extraordinary heroism in action near Bapaume, France, August 22, 1918. Attacking three enemy planes (type Fokker) who were driving on one of our planes, Lieutenant Springs, after a short and skillful flight, drove off two of the enemy and shot down the third. On the same day he attacked a formation of five enemy planes (type Fokker), and after shooting down one plane, was forced to retire because of lack of ammunition. Residence at appointment: Lancaster, S. C.

MALLEY STEWART, private Headquarters Company, Three Hundred and Seventy-first Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action

near Bussy Farm, France, September 20, 1918. Although severely wounded, he continued to carry telephone material forward through a heavy barrage for several hours until overcome by loss of blood and weakness. Residence at enlistment: 1009 Pine street, Columbia, S. C.

BRUCE STONEY, private, Medical Detachment, Three Hundred and Seventy-first Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Ardeuil, France, September 29, 1918. With three other soldiers he crawled 200 yards ahead of our lines under violent machine gun fire and rescued an officer who was lying mortally wounded in a shell hole. Residence at enlistment: Denmark, S. C.

CURTIS MIMS STRICKLAND (Army serial No. 1,312,553), corporal, Company M, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Brancourt, France, October 8, 1918. Crawling several hundred feet under deadly rifle and machine gun fire, Corporal Strickland, with another soldier, flanked a shell hole wherein a number of the enemy were hiding. In this heroic exploit he either killed or captured fourteen of the enemy as well as taking a machine gun. Residence at enlistment: Colleton, S. C.

HUBERT P. TERRELL, corporal, Company I, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Vaux-Andigny, France, October 12, 1918. During an advance, when his company came under an enfilading fire from an enemy machine gun, he asked permission from his platoon commander to attempt the taking of the position. Although under heavy fire from this post and from trench-mortar shells, he, with exceptional dash and bravery, attacked the position alone, putting it out of action, killing two of the enemy and wounding a third. This soldier was killed the same day, while reorganizing and advancing the weakened platoon of which he was then in charge. Emergency address: Clarence Terrell, brother, Cheraw, S. C. Residence at enlistment: Cheraw, S. C.

ROLAND CALVIN THOMAS, corporal, Company M, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action at Vaux-Andigny, France, October 15, 1918. After being twice wounded he continued to advance with his automatic rifle squad, leading his men 100 yards under extremely heavy fire. Residence at enlistment: R. F. D. No. 1, Kershaw, S. C.

HENRY L. THOMPSON, captain, Twenty-third Infantry. For extraordinary heroism near Vaux-en-Dieulet, France, November 3, 1918. Although painfully wounded, Captain Thompson led his battalion to the outskirts of Vaux-en-Dieulet, the advance being without artillery support and accomplished only by effective rifle fire. This officer himself set an example for his men by killing with a rifle two German machine gunners at a distance of 500 yards. He was again seriously wounded after reaching the objective while making disposition for defense against counter-attacks. Emergency address: Mrs. Eleanor R. Thompson, wife, 1605 Bull street, Columbia, S. C. Residence at appointment: 1605 Bull street, Columbia, S. C.

WILLIAM J. TURBEVILLE (Army serial No. 1,311,040), private, first class, Company E, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry, Thirtieth Division. For extraordinary heroism in action near Bellicourt, France, September 30, 1918. Private Turbeville, a battalion runner, displayed exceptional courage and disregard for personal danger in making three trips with important messages through heavy enemy machine gun and shell fire. Residence at enlistment: New Brookland, S. C.

JOE W. TURNER (Army serial No. 1,310,695), sergeant, Company D, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism

in action near Vaux-Andigny, France, October 14, 1918. Sergeant Turner volunteered and carried an automatic rifle to an advantageous position far in advance of his own line, and maintained an effective fire on the enemy until his gun was put out of action and he was wounded in both hands and forced to retire. Before going to the rear he gave full and valuable information regarding the enemy's position to his officers. Residence at enlistment: Route No. 1, Enoree, S. C.

JAMES L. VAN HOY (Army serial No. 1,310,696), private, Company D, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry, Thirtieth Division. For extraordinary heroism in action near Vaux-Andigny, France, October 11, 1918. When his company was caught in a barrage Private Van Hoy volunteered and carried a message to battalion headquarters, under direct observation by the enemy, through gas and terrific machine gun and shell fire. Residence at enlistment: Laurens, S. C.

HERBERT E. WALLACE, second lieutenant One Hundred and Sixty-eighth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Maribois Farm, north of Beney, France, September 16-22, 1918. On September 16, 1918, under heavy artillery and machine gun fire, without regard to his personal safety, he led a raiding party from our lines and attacked the Germans at Maribois Farm, and in severe hand-to-hand fighting inflicted severe loss upon the enemy, captured numerous prisoners, and obtained the information for which he was sent. On September 22, 1918, he voluntarily led a second raiding party into Maribois Farm, inflicted great loss upon the enemy in hand-to-hand fighting, captured many prisoners and obtained the desired information. Residence at appointment: Hartsville, S. C.

GEORGE BLAIN WARD, sergeant, Company A, Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Brancourt, France, October 8, 1918. Taking command of the company after all officers had become casualties, he organized it, and led it under hostile shelling and withering machine gun fire to its objective. He remained in command until painfully wounded on the following day. Residence at enlistment: Easley, S. C.

YOUAMAN Z. WEEKS, corporal, Company F, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Bellicourt, France, September 30, 1918, and October 8, 1918. Corporal Weeks on the morning of September 30, when two enemy machine guns were making a part of the line untenable, advanced across open ground upon one of the guns, rushed the position alone, captured the gun and five of the enemy, and shot down the sixth, who endeavored to escape. By this gallant act he prevented the enemy from enfilading our position and thereby saved the lives of many of his comrades. In a later advance, while leading his men in an attack upon an enemy machine gun nest, he was killed. Emergency address: Andrew J. Weeks, father, Colleton, S. C. Residence at enlistment: Colleton, S. C.

EDWARD L. WELLS, first lieutenant, Second Machine Gun Battalion, First Division. For extraordinary heroism in action near Exermont, France, October 4, 1918. When the attack was held up by heavy machine gun fire he volunteered for the mission and led a platoon of infantry, reinforced by four machine guns, into Exermont. In spite of desperate resistance he led the attack through the streets, capturing many prisoners and learning from one of these the approximate location of machine guns on heights to the north, led the three remaining members of the command against these. Within fifty yards of the enemy emplacements one of his men was killed and Lieutenant Wells was mortally wounded, but he had succeeded in indicating to those in the rear the location of the hostile positions. Emergency address:

Mrs. A. M. S. Wells, mother, 7 Water street, Charleston, S. C. Residence at appointment: 44 South Battery, Charleston, S. C.

BRODIE WEST (Army serial No. 1,314,708), corporal, Company A, One Hundred and Nineteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Bellicourt, France, September 29, 1918. When his automatic squad had become lost from the platoon in a heavy smoke barrage, Corporal West advanced alone upon a machine gun nest which was firing directly from the front, silenced the gun, and returned to our lines with thirty-seven prisoners. Residence at enlistment: Route No. 1, Pikeville, S. C.

DANIEL WHITAKER, private, Company D, Sixth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Fontaines, France, November 8, 1918. While engaged as company runner he displayed rare devotion to duty by carrying messages through heavy machine gun fire, continuing his work after being severely wounded. Residence at enlistment: R. F. D. No. 2, Pageland, S. C.

RICHARD G. WHITE, first lieutenant, Sixteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Soissons, France, July 18, 1918. He led his platoon through intense machine gun and artillery fire, destroying machine guns that were causing heavy losses on an exposed flank, and remaining in command of his platoon until twice severely wounded. Residence at appointment: 273 Calhoun street, Charleston, S. C.

ROBERT M. WILSON (Army serial No. 1,311,934), private, Company I, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Brancourt, France, October 8, 1918. Private Wilson, who was a Lewis gunner, encountered an enemy machine gun nest containing four Germans, who were inflicting heavy casualties on the right platoon of the company. He opened fire with his Lewis gun and then charged the nest, firing as he advanced and killing all the occupants of the post. On October 17, 1918, Private Wilson was killed while on duty with his company. Emergency address: David Y. Wilson, Great Falls, S. C. Residence at enlistment: Great Falls, S. C.

WILLIAM EDWARD WOOD (Army serial No. 1,311,052), private, Company E, One Hundred and Eighteenth Infantry, Thirtieth Division. For extraordinary heroism in action near La Selle River, France, October 17, 1918. When his squad had become separated from the company in a dense fog Private Wood immediately attached himself and his squad to a company in the attacking wave and continued in the advance. He worked forward with a Lewis gun and so placed it that he delivered so severe a fire upon an enemy machine gun nest that the crew deserted it. He continued firing until his gun was completely demolished by an enemy shell. Not daunted by this Private Wood secured a rifle and continued to pour the fire of his whole squad upon the retreating enemy, killing many of them. Residence at enlistment: Greer, S. C.

GEORGE H. YARBOROUGH, JR., first lieutenant, Fifth Regiment, United States Marine Corps. For extraordinary heroism in action in the Bois de Belleau, France, June 23, 1918. He displayed exceptional bravery when his platoon was in a support position under intense artillery fire by moving from one shell hole to another in the open and steadying his men. After making one trip over his line he was wounded by an exploding shell, but refused aid until he saw that the wounded soldiers with him had been treated and taken to shelter. He later died of his wounds. Emergency address: George H. Yarborough, father, Mullins, S. C. Appointed from South Carolina.

CHAPTER LXIX
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF
SOUTH CAROLINA

By Prof. J. W. Thomson

Winthrop Normal and Industrial College

In any study it is best to have clearly in mind the aim towards which we are working. When we wish to trace the growth of an existing institution, and to note the changes that have given it its present form, we are guided in our selection of facts by a knowledge of the result that now stands. To observe this principle in a study of the development of the educational system of South Carolina, we will begin with a statement of the most important features of that system as it stands today.

The following sources have been consulted. References to these give only authors' names.

A Century of Population Growth in the United States.

Carroll: Historical Collections of South Carolina.

Charleston Courier: Corner Stone Day: A report of the exercises of May 12, 1894, on the laying of the corner stone of buildings of Winthrop, at Rock Hill.

Courtenay: Sketch of Education in South Carolina, published in Year Book of City of Charleston, 1880.

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Davis: Sketch of Education, published in Handbook of South Carolina.

DeBow: Magazine.

Foote: Sketches of North Carolina.

Green: "History of University of South Carolina."

"Handbook of South Carolina," published in 1881 by Department of Agriculture.

Henry: "Slavery in South Carolina."

Howe: "History of Presbyterian Church in South Carolina."

La Borde: "History of South Carolina College."

McCrary: Education in South Carolina, prior to and during the Revolution: Published in collections of Historical Association of South Carolina, Vol. IV.

Meriwether: "History of Higher Education in South Carolina."

Mills: Statistics of South Carolina, North American Review, Vol. XIV.

Ramage: "Free Schools in South Carolina."

Ramsay: "History of South Carolina."

School Law of South Carolina, Edition 1919.

State Superintendent of Education, Report 1918.

Statutes: General Statutes of South Carolina.

Thomas: "History of South Carolina Military Academy."

Trott: Laws of Province of South Carolina.

Winthrop: Programme Corner Stone Day.

I. STATEMENT OF CONDITIONS THAT NOW EXIST¹

All children between six and fourteen years of age are required to attend school for eighty days during each scholastic year. All free schools are open to persons between six years of age and twenty-one; the limit of twenty-one years is disregarded in night schools. Schools for adults may be organized in any district; they may be conducted either in day time, or at night.

Summer schools, or County Institutes, may be conducted by authority of the state superintendent of education. Pupils of one race are not allowed to attend schools for persons of another race: we have therefore, of necessity, two schools in each school district. The number of schools for either race is determined by the number of persons of school age of each race residing in that district. There are officials supported by the state whose work it is to enforce the law of the State. These have their fields of work respectively in the State, in the county and in the school districts into which the counties are divided. Provision is made for an attendance officer whose work it is to see that all persons of school age attend school as required. Funds for the support of the schools come from several sources. The constitution provides for a levy of 3 mills on all taxable property, and for a tax of \$1 on all taxable polls. These taxes are collected as all State taxes are collected, and to be expended in the county in which the tax is paid. The tax on polls is to be expended in the district in which it is paid.

The Legislature imposes a tax on dogs and the proceeds from this tax must be expended in the school district in which it is paid. The amount realized from these taxes for the school year ending June 30, 1918, was \$1,190,090.85.² The State is divided into districts. The provision is that these should "not exceed forty-nine nor be less than nine square miles in area"; "should be entirely in one county"; and should have limits fixed with regard to "natural boundaries." Each district is regarded as a tax district; each may issue bonds for school purposes, and supplementary to school funds arising from taxes levied by the State. The limit fixed for taxation for this purpose is 8 mills; in addition, 4 mills may be levied for the support of high schools. It is by means of this supplementary fund coming from what is known as local taxation that the stronger schools have been developed. The amount of this tax may be changed by vote of the district and therefore the fund varies. There has been a steady increase in the number of districts levying these special taxes and the rate has in most cases grown larger. By special enactment some districts have been allowed to fix a rate higher than that named in the general law—Saluda district, 21 mills; Horry County, 16 mills, and Florence County, 12 mills. The amount of revenue from this source is \$1,493,815.35.

The Legislature has made appropriations of certain sums for specific purposes, such as the transportation of children to and from schools; the erection and improvement of school buildings; the establishment of school libraries; the support of high schools; the maintenance of normal classes in high schools; to aid districts which have not funds sufficient to carry on schools for the full term provided by law; for teaching agriculture. The Legislature has also complied with the terms fixed by Congress for participation in the national plan for vocational training.

¹ School Law of South Carolina, Edition 1919.

² Report of State Superintendent of Education for 1918, Table I.

The report of the state superintendent for 1918 gives the following statistics: Number of districts, 1,887; number levying special tax, 1,659; number of pupils—white, 124,339; negro, 131,577; total, 255,816.

In the white enrollment the number of girls is about 6 per cent greater than that of boys. In the negro enrollment, about 30 per cent.

INSTITUTIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

In addition to the provision made for public schools, the State supports the following institutions for higher education: The University of South Carolina, located at Columbia, and open to men and women; The Citadel; The Military College of South Carolina, located at Charleston and open to men; Clemson Agricultural College, located at Calhoun, South Carolina, and open to men; Winthrop Normal and Industrial College of South Carolina, located at Rock Hill, South Carolina, and open to women. For the support of the colleges for men and the university, the State appropriated \$456,776.97; for support of Winthrop, the only college maintained by the State exclusively for women, \$122,489.05. The enrollment of these institutions was: Men, 1,386; women, 1,012. The State also supports the Medical College of South Carolina, located at Charleston. The appropriation was \$47,620; the enrollment seventy-seven—all men.

DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES

In addition to colleges supported by appropriations from the State, there are other institutions whose existence represents the spirit of the citizens of the State. The following are chartered by the State and have the right to confer degrees:³ Anderson College (B.); Chisora College for Women (n. s.); Columbia College (M.); Converse College (n. s.); Erskine College (A. R. P.); Furman University (B.); Greenville Woman's College (B.); Lander College (B.); Limestone College (B.); Newberry College (L.); Presbyterian College of South Carolina (P.); Summerlain College (L.); Thornwell College for Orphans (P.); Wofford College (M.); Woman's College of Due West (A. R. P.).

Some of these institutions are for men; some for women; some co-educational. The enrollment in college classes was: Men, 910; women, 2,574. All the institutions we have named as giving higher education are for white persons.

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR NEGROES⁴

The state supports the colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural and Mechanical College of South Carolina. This is located at Orangeburg and is open to men and women. The appropriation for 1917-1918 was \$31,520.49; the enrollment—men, 291; women, 358.

Other institutions engaged in the same work are Allen University (M.); Avery Normal Institute; Benedict College (B.); Claflin University (M.); Friendship College (B.); Morris College (B.); Schofield Normal and Industrial School (n. s.); Voorhees Industrial School (n. s.).

³ Key to contractions: (B) Baptist; (P) Presbyterian; (n. s.) non-sectarian; (M) Methodist; (A. R. P.) Associate Reformed Presbyterian; (L) Lutheran.

⁴ Report of State Superintendent of Education, 1918.

MAIN BUILDING OF WOFFORD COLLEGE, SPARTANBURG

The enrollment last reported in these institutions was: Men, 496; women, 648. This does not include those reported as sub-collegiate.

II. THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Since the training of the young is a constant and important part of the work of society, the development of any system of education will depend largely on other phases of growth, and by changes to meet new conditions any system of schools will indicate the progress in the life of the community which the schools serve. In a state, the number of inhabitants, their distribution, their means of association, their ideals—all influence the schools.

In 1790 South Carolina had 140,000⁵ white inhabitants. Of these 38,000 were males under sixteen years of age; the total number of males was 73,000. The number of women was 67,000. Dividing in the same ratio as with males this would give 35,000 females under sixteen and a total white population under sixteen of 73,000. Taking the area of the State as 30,000 square miles we would have at the time of our first census an average of less than three white persons of school age per square mile. When we note the fact that Charleston was at that time the fourth city in size in the colonies, with a population of 16,000, it will be seen that the population of the State was scattered. The numbers we have given are those of the first census.

Before 1790, we have only estimates. These vary. Bancroft gives, in 1688, 8,000 in the Carolinas and Georgia; in 1754, he gives to South Carolina 40,000 whites. Hewitt gives to South Carolina, in 1701, 8,000; in 1724, 32,000.

DISTINCT GROUPS OF SETTLERS

The fact that the country was so sparsely settled made it impossible to gather such groups of children as would be called schools. This, however, was not the only hindrance to co-operation. The settlements in South Carolina were made by groups of people differing widely in creeds and all social customs. The settlements were separated by such distances that toleration was not much needed, certainly not forced; and every group worked out for a while its own problems.⁶ A partial list of these groups and their locations would show the settlement at Charleston largely English, with some French Huguenots; the Dutch on John's Island; Congregationalists from Massachusetts, at Dorchester; Swiss, at Purrysburg; Scotch-Irish, in Williamsburg; Germans, at Orangeburg; Welsh, in the Pee Dee section; Germans from Saxe-Gotha, in Lexington; Quakers, in Kershaw; colonists leaving Pennsylvania and Virginia, after Braddock's defeat, and settling in the upper section of South Carolina; Germans, in Edgefield; French Protestants, in New Bordeaux, Abbeville district.

MEAGER TRANSPORTATION AND MAILS

⁷ The transportation facilities were poor. "The maps of the Southern States show many roads, but the most important were along the sea coast. Leaving Alexandria an important road ran through

⁵ All population figures stated in even thousands.

⁶ "South Carolina Handbook," p. 381.

⁷ Century of Population Growth.

Fredericksburg and Jamestown, Virginia, Hertford, Newberne and Wilmington, North Carolina, Charleston, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia. The only two post offices in the State were located at Georgetown and Charleston and mail was carried between these places by postriders."

Our study would begin then with these facts in mind: That the State was thinly settled; that means of communication were poor; that there was little acquaintance between people of different sections; the need for co-operation not known, the desire for it little felt. In addition, there was the antagonism that came from different ideals, material and spiritual, as stated in the following quotation:⁸ "In 1801 sectional jealousies were sharpened to bitterness, and there was as little unity of feeling between the upper and lower country in South Carolina as between any rival states in the Union. With such conditions existing in 1801 we may know beforehand that the efforts made during the colonial period to educate the young will represent the ideals of the community; and that this will continue until some pressure welds the people into one mass of citizens, having some common aim."

FIRST FREE SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS

The first step was taken by the people as a whole in 1710 when the Assembly passed an⁹ "Act for the founding and erecting of a free school in Charleston, for the use of the inhabitants of South Carolina." In 1712 another act was passed extending the plan. Under this act it is provided "that any schoolmaster settled in a country parish and approved by the vestry, should receive 10 pounds per annum from the public treasury." In 1722 another act gave authority to the justice to "erect a free school in each county and precinct, and to assess the expense upon the land and slaves within their respective jurisdictions." The justices were to appoint masters. This act seems to have been approved by the sentiment of the colony, and to have been regarded as one of the settled features of government work. In Carroll's "Historical Collections of South Carolina" we find the title, "The Principal Taxes and the Heads of Expense." Under this is listed "Salaries of School Masters and Ushers." Other acts provided for the establishment and maintenance of schools in certain localities, but there seems to have been no further general legislation until 1811.

SOUTH CAROLINA'S REPUTATION FOR SCHOLARSHIP

The colonial plan may be described as one providing for schools wherever the citizens of a community wished for one and were willing to pay for it. The sentiment of the people was the controlling force. Since there was no one in control of the work, there is no official record of what was done during this period. There are several publications which give statements of work done during this period. Among these are Ramsay's "History of South Carolina"; Howe's "History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina"; Carroll's "Historical Collections of South Carolina." In these we find such statements as the following:¹⁰ "The knowledge of grammar and of the Latin and Greek languages could be obtained in South Carolina at any time after 1712. None of the British provinces, in proportion to their numbers, sent so many of their sons to Europe for education

⁸ Petigru, quoted in Meriwether's "History of Higher Education."

⁹ General Statutes of South Carolina II, 342, 376.

¹⁰ Ramsay II, 199, 63.

as South Carolina." In 1734 William Bull received "a degree in medicine" from the university at Leyden. In 1849 John Moultrie "obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of Edinburgh." Between the years 1768 and 1778 "ten more natives obtained the same honor." These men could not have succeeded in university work unless their scholarships had been high at home. How had this been done?¹¹ The connection between the settlements near the coast and Great Britain was very close. The influence of the Anglican Church was strong there; the ministers sent were scholars and part of their work was to encourage the setting up of schools for the teaching of children.

UNION OF CHURCH AND SCHOOL IN UP COUNTRY

As to education in other sections of the State we find these statements. "In the upper part of the State, which was settled by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, churches and school houses were built together by the ministers of that church, which has always been foremost in education in this country." Of the women of these people it has been written: "An education, knowledge of things human and divine, they prized beyond all price in their leaders and teachers, and craved its possession for their husbands and sons." Almost invariably as soon as a neighborhood was settled preparations were made for preaching the Gospel by a regular stated pastor: and wherever a pastor was located, in that congregation there was a classical school."

But in the upper country, "the church and the school were almost inseparably connected, until, in the last fifteen years of the eighteenth century, institutions for the higher learning had almost everywhere arisen." When we call to mind the ideals of this church, and their strictness, we can form some idea of the work that was being done. Doctor Howe's work is a history of the growth of a church. Mentions of schools are incidental to his narrative, but they are so frequent that we can be certain that education was a prominent factor in the life of that day. Doctor Buist "had for years taught large grammar schools." Mr. Malcomson "had obtained a respectable academy." The school of Doctor Waddel is mentioned often. Rev. Robert B. Walker "came back to South Carolina, and conducted an academy at Cedar Spring." Bethel Academy was an important means of education, of which many availed themselves. "Academic institutions under religious influences have contributed largely to the supply of ministers of the Gospel." Doctor Howe gives short sketches of a number of ministers who were prominent in the early days of the church; in many cases their work as teachers is mentioned.

FIRST INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL IN THE UNITED STATES

Ramsay in his Chapter X, "The Literary History of South Carolina," names and describes a number of these academies. Davis gives a list of charitable, educational and literary institutions, with the year in which each was incorporated and a short sketch of each. One idea worthy of notice is shown to exist here; that is, the disposition to put into effect industrial training. This was tried in several schools, one of which deserves special mention. Dr. John de la Howe, a native of France, lived for some time in Abbeville County. Here he accumulated a good deal of property, including a large tract of land. His

¹¹ McCrady.

will was executed in 1796; by this he gave his entire estate to trustees for the purpose of establishing an agricultural farm school. In 1805 the State assumed control of the trust. The school has been in operation most of the time since that date. The State in recent years has decided to enlarge the scope of the work and to develop that line of work. This is said to be the first school founded distinctively for industrial training in the United States.

The tone of the work done by the schools during this period can be judged by some of the facts. The supply of ministers of all denominations came from these schools. In the days when the thirteen colonies were endeavoring to secure reforms in their relations with Great Britain, the men from South Carolina took a leading in the decisions reached.

Then we have the statements: "Doctor Smith, the learned president of Nassau Hall, in New Jersey, has repeatedly said that he receives no scholars from any section of the United States who stand a better examination than the pupils of Doctor Waddel."

Since there was no change in the general plan for free schools up to the year of 1811, we take that date as the end of the Colonial Period in education. Most of the changes were made in the effort to provide for advanced work. In 1785 charters were granted to three colleges on the same day—the College of Charleston; Mount Zion College, in Winnsboro, and one at Cambridge. The last named institution never went into operation. The College of Charleston is still in active existence. Mount Zion College has had varied experiences and is represented today by the High School of Winnsboro.

SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE INCORPORATED

In 1801 the South Carolina College was incorporated; in 1805 the buildings were ready, the institution presented and the college began its work. This institution lives today in the University of South Carolina. Its influence has been woven into every strand of life in South Carolina, and its record more than that of any other institution would tell the history of the state.

III. A PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT: 1811-1860

In 1811 the State took the first step towards the establishment of a State system of public schools. This act provided for the establishment "in each district of parish free schools equal in numbers to the representatives in the lower house. Elementary instruction was to be imparted to all pupils free of charge, preference being given to poor orphans and the children of indigent parents."¹² The annual appropriation was fixed at \$37,000. It is rare that any progressive step is taken without opposition. There was represented in this act a great change in sentiment. In 1813 an effort was made to repeal this act. The attempt failed. Mr. Courtenay in his monograph "Education in South Carolina," published in the Year Book of the City of Charleston for 1880, gives a long extract from the speech of Mr. Crafte, who was one of the representatives from Charleston and who opposed the repeal.

There is an inherent weakness in this act. All initiative was left to the parish or district. No one was charged with putting the provisions of the act into effect. No one was punished for non-enforce-

¹² Davis: Sketch of Education, "Handbook of South Carolina."

UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS AND CAMPUS

ment. The spirit of the community was the only motive force, and any community might follow its own impulses.¹³ Governor McDuffie used this language in his message in 1835: "In no country is the necessity of popular education so often proclaimed, and in none are the schools of elementary instruction more deplorably neglected. They are entirely without organization, superintendence, or inspection of any kind, general or local, public or private." Notwithstanding these defects there was some growth. Intense individuality prevented co-operation, but zeal gave some results.

FREE SCHOOLS IN THE LATE '20S

The best statement of results we can find is that given in Mills's "Statistics of South Carolina," and the showing there made is better than might be expected. This book was published in 1826. The author takes up each district in the State and gives all information that could be obtained in reference to conditions then existing under a number of heads. One of these is "educational." In every district he states that "one or more free schools are in operation. In nearly every one there are one or more academies. In many there are libraries, and organizations for the encouragement and support of educational activities."

Ramage gives the following statistics: In 1828 there were 840 schools, with 9,036 pupils. In 1840 there were 566 free schools, with 12,520 pupils; in 1850, 724 free schools, with 17,838 pupils. Of these schools Meriwether (p. 99) says: "Before the war, pupils were thoroughly trained in the academies of the State."

PROGRESS FROM 1811 TO 1860

Close study is not needed to find many criticisms of conditions existing between 1811 and 1860. The statement of Governor McDuffie given above is sufficient. These facts were known, conditions were discussed; but no change was made. That some at least saw the need is shown in more than one case. In 1846 a report was made by R. F. W. Allston at the request of the State Agricultural Society. This report urged that the State appropriation be supplemented by local taxation, and suggested the appointment of some supervisor. In 1847 another report to the Legislature suggested the establishment of a normal school, and a more equitable distribution of public funds. "In 1853 Governor J. L. Manning rose to the highest conception of the whole question, and recommended the establishment of this central office, declaring that the whole system should not be an eleemosynary proffer, but rather a fountain flowing for all, at which they may partake freely." (Meriwether, p. 113) Local taxation, the training of teachers, the equitable distribution of school funds, are questions prominent in discussions relating to our school system today. Public sentiment was not static: In 1852 the Legislature doubled the appropriations for free schools, but made no changes in the plan of administration. There was no further change in school laws until 1868.

IV. SINCE THE WAR OF SECESSION

The constitution adopted in 1868 provided for a State system.¹⁴ There were State, county and district officials whose duty it was to

¹³ Meriwether.

¹⁴ Constitution of 1868, Article X.
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organize schools wherever needed and to supervise the work carried on. The schools were to be supported by an appropriation made by the Legislature, and by a tax of \$1 on all polls. The provisions of this constitution called for great changes. The State was divided into districts, and in each district one or more schools were to be in operation for twenty-four weeks. Attendance was compulsory for all persons between six and sixteen years of age, this provision to go into effect "when a system of public schools has been thoroughly and completely organized."

A State Normal School was to be organized within five years. This plan was a part of our organic law up to 1895. From 1868 to 1877 the State was passing through the "reconstruction period," under the "Carpet Bag" government. The schools fared as other lines of public business. Taxes were collected and wasted. Practically there was no growth. In 1875 the Legislature submitted to the people an amendment to Article X fixing the annual levy for school purposes at 2 mills. This was adopted and in 1878 was ratified by the Legislature which represented the real citizens of the State.

For a time progress was very slow. The State needed time to recover from the war and the effects of misgovernment. As good order was established, there was an improvement in all lines of governmental activity. The condition of the schools and the needs of the people were studied. It was soon proven that the funds derived from a 2-mills levy could not support a good school system, but it was useless to propose a higher levy. Resort was had to the plan suggested in 1846, of supplementing State funds by a tax levied on the district. The Legislature allowed this in a number of districts, and the number asking this right grew, but slowly. In 1888 the right to levy an additional tax was given to all districts, the tax not to exceed 2 mills. In 1893 this limit was extended to 4 mills; such tax was to be levied by a public meeting of citizens called by the local board of trustees.

The constitution of 1895 left the administrative organization unchanged; omitted all mention of compulsory attendance and fixed the State levy at 3 mills. Any district may now levy an additional tax. This levy is to be made by an election under a prescribed plan, and the amount levied may not exceed 8 mills. An amendment allowed another levy not to exceed 4 mills for maintenance of high schools. Special acts have been passed allowing certain districts to increase the amount of special taxes levied.

South Carolina provides separate schools for persons of white and black races. This far we have tried to show growth of schools for whites.

HISTORY OF NEGRO EDUCATION

There are a number of references to schools for negroes in the earliest days of the colony in history.¹⁵ Generally these were under church control and were supported as missions. For a long time the status of negroes was uncertain. This was definitely set at rest by the act of 1712, which says, "negroes, mulattoes, mestizoes who have been sold, or now are held or taken to be or hereafter shall be bought or sold for slaves, are hereby declared slaves." Together with their children, they are classed as chattels personal in the hands of their owners. With this question settled, conditions soon brought up another problem, the solution of which must produce vital results. This

¹⁵ General Statutes of South Carolina, pp. 352, 413, 468.

was "to what extent shall slaves be educated?" The missionary societies were already at work. Many owners felt that they were bound to give to their slaves such training as would enable them to make a profession of religion. Some attention must have been given to the matter, for in 1740¹⁶ the Legislature spoke in a manner concise and clear. It was made a criminal offense to teach a slave to write. The punishment fixed was a fine of £100. It should be noticed that this act refers only to slaves and to writing. It was not unlawful to teach free negroes, or to teach slaves to read. Records are meager as to what was done while this law remained unchanged. The next act passed shows that it was matter of public knowledge that some negroes could both read and write. This act was passed in 1834, after that of 1740 had been in force for nearly a century. By that time slavery was the basis of as much discussion as any other public question; and much feeling was shown. The act of 1834 forbids anyone to teach a slave to read or to write. The punishment varies in a way that shows the determination of those who framed the act. For a white person it is a fine of \$100 and six months' imprisonment. For a free negro, it was a fine of \$50 and fifty lashes; for a slave, fifty lashes. With the passage of this act, it became a crime for anyone to teach a slave to write.

The opinion of the people has never been unanimous on the matter, and circumstantial evidence shows that in many cases the law was disregarded. One author says: "The God-fearing men and women, in defiance of the law and public opinion, boldly taught some of their slaves to read in order that they might know the way of life."¹⁷ Another says: "Notwithstanding this prohibition, a number of servants managed to acquire some elementary knowledge, either through their own efforts, or aided by indulgent masters and mistresses, or, more often, by younger members of the family." The Charleston Courier, in its editorial columns, criticized the act as "unwise and inefficient." At this time the sentiment against teaching free negroes seems to have been as strong as against teaching slaves.

Whatever feeling may have existed against the strict observance of the law no change was made until after emancipation. With the adoption of the constitution of 1868 the difference in legal rights between whites and blacks ended. Those who expected an outburst of mentality were disappointed. Legislation could remove an obstacle itself had created. It could not remove mental inertia.

Then, an old idea dies slowly. For generations the majority of the white people in South Carolina believed that if a negro were educated his effectiveness as a worker would be lessened. This idea still lives and influences many. They may not put any obstacle in the way of the operation of law, but they give no moral support to those who believe that it is only through education that the negro can be made a better citizen. If both white and black had been willing to do their utmost to educate the negroes one condition alone would have hampered their efforts. That was the lack of teachers.

At no time since the War of Secession has the number of white teachers been sufficient to supply the schools for whites alone; and the sentiment is general and strong, though not settled, that better results are obtained by placing negro teachers in charge of negro schools. Where schools were provided for negroes, there were no teachers of that race, or such a small number that they could not

¹⁶ Henry's "Slavery in South Carolina," Chapter XVII.

¹⁷ Meriwether, p. 123.

much influence any general plan. The city schools of Charleston have employed white teachers in the negro schools with good results. A number of white teachers have come from other states and have taught in schools other than supported by the State fund. These are exceptional cases. In this respect there has been much improvement. There are many negroes qualified to teach, but the supply is still far from sufficient for the best work.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in the way of educating the negro is the attitude of the race toward education. There are some marked exceptions, well known, and the number who have the right point of view is rapidly increasing; but still the mass of negroes do not look on education as a preparation for work, but as a means of enjoying positions of honor and profit with little labor. Notwithstanding these difficulties, much progress has been made. With the enforcement of compulsory attendance the number will be greatly increased.

HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO

We will give here a statement of the work of the institutions established for the higher education of negroes.¹⁸ All the general plans for the education of this race have been put in operation since the constitution of 1861 went into effect.

ONLY COLORED STATE COLLEGE

The only institution supported by the State for higher education of negroes is the Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural and Mechanical College of South Carolina. The early history of this institution is interwoven with that of Claflin University. In 1869 Lee Claflin and other philanthropists in the North purchased buildings in Orangeburg and opened a school for the education of colored youth.

In 1872, under the educational act of Congress, the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic's Institute was located at Orangeburg in connection with Claflin University, and a farm of 116 acres provided. In 1877, the Agricultural College was made a part of the State University, and was retained at Orangeburg in connection with Claflin University. Subsequently, the State severed all connection with Claflin University and the college, as now organized, is a legal branch of the State University. The institution is giving special attention to agricultural work; is training teachers under the Smith-Hughes Act; is co-operating with the Federal Board for vocational education. Notwithstanding the loss from the draft for military service, the college enrolled more than 500 during the past year.

After the State had taken exclusive control of the Agricultural College, Claflin University continued its work and is one of a number of institutions named in Section I of this sketch. The work (the higher education of negroes) in which these institutions are engaged is receiving more thought and more attention today than ever before. The change in conditions since the end of the great war is not so absolute as that which followed after the War of Secession. But conditions are more complicated now and the lack of money hampers work sadly. In a report on the commencement exercises in 1888, the *News and Courier* says: "Claflin University is truthfully designated as the Model University of the South for colored people."

¹⁸ See Davis's "Sketch of Education" in South Carolina Handbook, and Meriwether's "History of Higher Education in South Carolina."

ALLEN UNIVERSITY

Allen University had a different origin. It is located in Columbia, was incorporated in 1880, and is under the control of the Columbia and South Carolina Conferences of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Its aim, as set forth by Right Rev. William Dickerson, D. D., is as follows: "To aid in the development of the highest type of Christian manhood; to prove the negroes' ability to inaugurate and manage a large interest; to train them not only for the pulpit, the bar, the sick room, and the school room, but for intellectual agriculturists, mechanics and artisans."

BENEDICT COLLEGE

Benedict College, also located in Columbia, was founded in 1870, under the name of the Benedict Institute. It was established as the result of a benefaction by Mrs. Bathsheba A. Benedict, of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, and under the auspices of the American Baptist Home Mission Society. In 1894, the Benedict Institute was incorporated as the college, under which name it has since been successfully operated. Benedict College has a permanent endowment of \$140,000 and is said to have graduated more than 1,000 colored students of both sexes.

ORGANIZATION OF DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

For the administration of the school law, the State provides for a state superintendent of education, an assistant state superintendent, a high school inspector, a supervisor of rural schools, a supervisor of mill schools, a supervisor of negro schools, and a supervisor of agricultural instruction. There is a State Board of Education, of which the governor and the state superintendent are ex-officio members, and seven other members are appointed by the governor. This board has wide powers and its duties are onerous. The compensation is almost nominal. In each county there is a superintendent and an advisory board. Provision is made for attendance officers, whose work is to enforce the provision of the law requiring attendance. The state also provides for a "bureau for the registration and employment of teachers." The certification of teachers is under the control of the State Board of Education. Those applying for certificates must stand an examination, or present a diploma from "some college or university, whose curriculum, standing, faculty and equipment have been examined and approved by the State Board of Education."

V. HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WHITES

The first positive step towards providing for higher education in South Carolina was made in 1785, when the legislature, in one day, granted charters to three colleges: The College of Charlestown; Mount Zion, at Winnsboro, and one at Cambridge.¹⁹

The one at Cambridge was never organized.²⁰ Mount Zion is represented by the high school of that community today. The work of the College of Charlestown has been more than once interrupted, but has never been lost sight of. It has a considerable endowment, and

¹⁹ General Statutes of South Carolina, IV, p. 674, and V, p. 403.

²⁰ Meriwether, pp. 56, 135 and 166.

stands high as a classical college. No support is given this institution by the State, so that its history is not that of a State institution. It is non-sectarian, and is the only college in South Carolina that is not supported by the State.

DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE INTO STATE UNIVERSITY

The act establishing the South Carolina College was ratified in 1801. In 1805 the institution opened its doors. Those who founded this institution seemed to have had two distinct aims. The preamble of the act establishing the College shows both: "Whereas, the proper education of youth contributes greatly to the prosperity of society; and, whereas, the establishment of a college in a central part of the State,²¹ where all its youth may be educated, will highly promote the instruction, the good order and the harmony of the whole community."

The trustees appointed to give effect to this act did their work well. As to its work (holding the two aims in mind), the number of men who have been educated at this institution and who have stood high in our nation testifies to its success in realizing its first aim. In referring to the college, after Mr. McDuffie had spoken in the Legislature, one of our leaders said: "Mr. Speaker, if the South Carolina College had done nothing, Sir, but produce that man, she would have amply repaid the State for every dollar that the State has expended, or ever will expend, upon her." As to the second aim, there is positive testimony. At the semi-centennial celebration one of the orators said: "As to the past, there is much ground for congratulation in the effect which the college has had in harmonizing and uniting the State." Dr. J. H. Thornwell, once president of the college, was of the opinion that it weakened sectarian feeling. We shall not attempt to give any details of the work of the institution. There are two full works giving its record. These are named in the list of authorities to which reference is made in this paper. But it is only fair to say that one who studies closely the life of the institution will find reflected there more of the thought and feeling of South Carolina than can be found in the history of any other organization. It has shared in the prosperity of the people and no phase of life in the State shows more clearly our helplessness and our oppression. More than once it has changed its name, and its organization. Its friends have more than once had to fight for its existence. After more than a century of work, the influence it exerts is seen more clearly, the support given is more loyal and more liberal than ever before. It now lives under the name of the University of South Carolina.

In 1842 the state passed an act establishing military schools at the Arsenal, Columbia, and the Citadel, Charleston.²² Both were in operation until closed during the war. The buildings were seized by United States troops. Much of the property of the Arsenal was sold and some diverted to other uses. That school has never been reopened. The buildings and grounds of the Citadel were held for the United States until 1882. In 1887 they were again occupied as the Military Academy of South Carolina. The course is similar to that offered at West Point. The United States details an officer who serves as commandant; and both in the State and Nation the institution holds high rank.

As we scan the records of educational work we find occasional

²¹ N. A. Review, Vol. XIV, p. 312.

²² General Statutes XI, p. 244.

VIEWS OF CLEMSON AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

Upper: Main building and dormitories.

Lower: Horticultural plant of the college.

mention made of some effort to give vocational or industrial training. At one time there was in the university a "College of Agricultural and Mechanic Arts." There had already been a demand for an agricultural college separate from the university.

In 1888 Mr. Clemson left his entire estate to trustees who were to act with trustees named by the State for the purpose of establishing an agricultural college. The State accepted the trust and in 1889 organized Clemson College. The State made large appropriations for buildings and in 1893 the college was opened. Funds for the support of this institution are not appropriated directly by the Legislature, but are secured by a "privilege tax" on all fertilizers sold in the State. This gives the college liberal support. The amount contributed by the State far exceeds the value of the Clemson bequest, although a majority of the trustees are chosen under the direction of Mr. Clemson as expressed in his will, and are not under authority of the State. The college has been in operation little more than a quarter of a century, but its graduates are making its influence felt in the lines in which they have been trained.

DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES

The existence of these is surely due to the desire of earnest church members to provide for such religious training as is approved by them and to prevent children from coming in contact with any "false doctrine" while in college. In speaking of these institutions Meriwether says: "The first denominational college established in this state was due to the zealous effort of the Associate Reformed Presbyterians."²³ It was a settled rule with them to allow no one to preach until he had been through a classical course and had studied theology under a competent instructor for several years. To furnish facilities for these high requirements, it was felt as a duty at the earliest, to provide instruction for the ministerial candidate. The Baptists of the State were aggressive in spreading the Gospel. They went forth, first to convert and then to educate. Naturally and properly, their first aim was to educate the ministers, the leaders and teachers of the people, for in those early days and in that thinly settled country a sermon was almost the only intellectual food the people could get.

Of Wofford College he says: "It is the only institution in the State that owes its existence to the beneficence of one man." Of this man "he felt called to preach, entered the Methodist ministry, and became a circuit rider." In his will he provided for establishing "a college for literary, classical and scientific education, to be under the control and management of the Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of my native state." Students were forbidden to attend the theater or a party at a public place. These statements make plain the sentiment and determination back of the organization of the denominational colleges of the State. Those named in the early part of this article are in active operation today, and form an organic and important part of our educational system.

It may be added that "Wofford College owes its existence to the far-sighted philanthropy of the Rev. Benjamin Wofford, a local preacher of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who died in 1850, leaving \$100,000 to found a Christian college at Spartanburg. The college was chartered in 1851 by the State Legislature and opened its doors for regular work in 1854. Since

²³ Meriwether, pp. 92 and 99.

that date it has not closed its doors for a single session. Even during the war between the States it offered instruction to the few youths who might resort to it at this trying period, and in the midst of the dark days following the war and during Reconstruction, when other institutions were forced to close, Wofford remained open to all who might come. In spite of the fact that its endowment and resources were swept away in the wreck of the war, it was enabled to furnish higher education to the youth of the State by the heroic sacrifices of its professors and the annual contributions of the Methodist Church in South Carolina. Since those days the history of the college has been a record of steady progress" (South Carolina Handbook).

HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN

We have no record of any effort on the part of the State to provide for the higher education of women until 1883. In that year a bill

JOHN B. CLEVELAND SCIENCE HALL, WOFFORD COLLEGE

was introduced in the Legislature to provide for State aid in the higher education of women. The consideration of the bill was indefinitely postponed. In 1885 another effort was made and a committee was appointed to consider the matter and report to the Legislature. We find no report. In 1887, the Winthrop Training School was incorporated and the State made an appropriation providing one scholarship in each county for young women who should attend. The school also received aid from the Peabody Board.

WINTHROP NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE CREATED

In 1891 the State passed an act creating "The Winthrop Normal and Industrial College of South Carolina," and used the training school as the basis of this organization. The location of the college was moved to Rock Hill, and in 1895 the college began work there.

The aims of the college were stated by the orator on the occasion of laying the corner stone of the building:²⁴ First, mental culture; second, to train women in the industries suitable for them; third, to train women as teachers. In addition to the regular work at the col-

²⁴ Winthrop's "Corner Stone Day," p. 57.

ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, WINTHROP NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL
COLLEGE, ROCK HILL

lege, Winthrop has an active part in extension work in co-operation with the National Government, and provides courses for training home demonstration agents in all the lines of work undertaken by them.

This is the only institution maintained by the State for the higher education of women. Beginning work without a charter in 1886, with no buildings and little equipment, its influence has extended over the State through its graduate teachers, as business workers and as home makers. Such a result in so short a time shows the guiding influence of a clear head and a strong hand. While the State was late in providing for the higher education of women, personal effort and sacrifice have accomplished much. Before 1860 there were a number of colleges for women in operation and these were well known. Some of the most prominent were those at Limestone, Brahamville, Orangeburg, Laurens, Yorkville and Sumter.

In almost every case these institutions owed their existence to the work and influence of some one man, or some small group of men.²⁵ By degrees most of them went under the direct influence, if not the control, of some denomination. This connection is not as intimate as that between the denomination and the college for men. The strain brought to all social institutions by the War of Secession was felt and some of these institutions never were reopened.

CONVERSE AND COKER COLLEGES

The fact that some depended so much on personal influence explained why some flourished greatly for a while and then ceased to exist. Two of those named in this sketch (Converse and Coker) have been organized in recent years and owe their existence to the zeal of the community in which they are located and to the vision and liberality of one man. Each bears the name of the patron to whom its existence is largely due. Of the colleges for women, Converse is the only one classed as non-sectarian. The patronage of these institutions shows the esteem in which they are held.

CONCLUSION

In this sketch we have endeavored to avoid any eulogy or pæan, but have endeavored to give a statement of the greater changes that have marked the growth of the State system of education. There have been in our history individuals of strength devoted to the cause of education. These gave their thought and effort sometimes to a State-wide movement, sometimes to aid the effort of a denomination, and again to build up a school under the influence of some teacher. A study of the work of these would show the accomplishments and disappointments that attend efforts in all phases of human activity. The number of these is too great for us to consider them in such a sketch. To select some as more worthy than others from the point of view of the public is impossible; for many who wrought with master hand on the souls of youth now live only as names and as influences extending in ever-widening circles, guiding and strengthening many who do not know the source of the force which aids them.

There are some features of a general nature that stand out in bold relief, and give food for thought to all who are more willing to think than to feel. The first of these is the extreme tendency to allow or

²⁵ Meriwether, p. 105, and Davis, "South Carolina Handbook," p. 514.

PEABODY GYMNASIUM, WINTHROP NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE,
ROCK HILL

encourage individuality. This involves a lack of co-operation and a loss of the benefits which all must admit flow from this factor only. There are two features of the work of men trained under that system that claim consideration before the plan is weighed and found wanting. The first is the influence and acknowledged power exerted up to 1860 by men trained wholly under this plan. The second is the success that attended their efforts in reorganizing the social life of their country after an unsuccessful war and nearly a decade of foreign and military control. The United States is one of the nations which ended a successful war over two years ago. Is the successful nation adjusting itself to the needs of civilization with clearer vision or steadier will than did the defeated State of South Carolina in 1866?

Another feature worthy of consideration is the marked influence of the desire for religious education. This has shown itself in the development of the denominational colleges. The number, the force, and the differences in creeds represented means that this feeling is general. The prominence of graduates of these institutions and their work is conclusive proof of the force of their fundamental principles.

The last we shall mention is one over which there is still discussion. The two races, white and black, living side by side, have not had equal attention. Is it well that they should? The demand today is for greater production. Is production, then, greatest when each individual is trained to his highest capacity as an individual, or is it better to train some who shall guide, while others follow in a mass?

CHAPTER LXX
THE LEADING INDUSTRIES OF THE STATE

By August Kohn

Thirteen years ago at the request of *The News & Courier*, with which newspaper the writer was then actively associated, as manager of its Columbia Bureau, there was printed a series of articles prepared by me, afterwards published in a volume "*The Cotton Mills of South Carolina*."

In beginning that series of articles it was said:

"It is admitted on all sides that South Carolina holds first place among the Southern States in the development of the cotton mill industry.

"When the true history of the cotton mills is written it will be found that South Carolina was probably the very first State to undertake the development of cotton manufacturing. From what can be gathered it is safe, historically, to date the development from 1790, when cotton mill industry was built along English lines. Various writers hold that the power loom was not used in England until 1806, and that it was not until 1812 or afterward that the power loom came into use in America.

"It is perhaps just to concede to Slater the distinction of going into cotton mills in a business-like way, but the claim that the first mill built was erected at Beverley, Massachusetts, in 1787, is questionable and the distinction of having the first cotton mill most probably belongs to South Carolina, as well as does the distinction of being now foremost in their development among the Southern States.

"The cotton manufacturers have had a rough road to travel in South Carolina. Prior to the war the chief difficulty was on account of the prejudice against cotton mills, and the belief that the labor could be more profitably used on the farms. Up to the close of the war colored slave labor was very largely used in cotton mills. After the terrible struggle brought about by the War between the States and reconstruction there was no money with which to build cotton mills. It was not until the early eighties that the cotton mill industry was given the impetus by such men as Hammett, Converse, Montgomery, McCaughrin and Smyth, protagonists in an industry that has lead up to the present era of prosperity and given this State more than three and a half million active spindles."

Since that date there has been an increase of a million and a half spindles.

As year after year has passed that phase of the State's history has assumed cumulative importance in the prosperity and international standing of the Palmetto State.

Yet with the remarkable development of the textile industry in this State and the permanency that it has achieved it may be well to make note of those who have had the vision and the courage to be the pioneers in this now all important phase of South Carolina's growth.

The record of the early and sporadic building of cotton mills is given in "Cotton Mills of South Carolina," but the lasting and growing development began in 1816 when New England settlers went to the upper part of Carolina and laid the foundation for the tens of thousands of spindles which were in due course of time to hum in the Piedmont belt. Among these pioneers who went to the foot hills of the Blue Ridge were George Hill and Leonard Hill, W. B. Shelden and Clark, William Bates, who was the grandfather of Mr. J. D. Hammett (the present successful president of the American Cotton Manufacturer's Association), John Weaver and James Edward Henry. All of these men came about the same time, and several of them came together. It is most interesting to follow the work of these New

OLD-TIME COTTON FIELD, MILL AND WATER POWER

Cotton field now occupied by Columbia manufactories.

Englanders, who came to the State to try to make a success of manufacturing "cotton thread." It is not essential whether the Hills or Weavers started their factory first, but it is evident that the Hill factory, which was begun by Leonard Hill and John Clark, and which was probably the Industrial Manufacturing Company, was started about the same time as the plant which was erected by Phillip Weaver, Lindsay Weaver, Thos. Hutchings, William Bates and John Stack.

The Hill factory in 1816 contained 700 spindles and of course it is to be remembered that all of the machinery had to be hauled from Charleston to Spartanburg County by wagon. Hill died in 1840.

The part that David R. Williams and William Gregg played in convincing the people of the state that there was substance and economic sense in the development of cotton mills is worth far more than a paragraph, but this is not the place for such a sketch. They were both real leaders of industrial thought.

It is, however, interesting to note, now that we are in the midst of an "overall" agitation, that in 1808 the "homespun" fad became

acute in South Carolina, and the resolutions of the House of Representatives for that year show that at the June session a resolution was passed that all members of the General Assembly should appear during the session clad in homespun suits. There was about that time in operation the South Carolina Homespun Company, of Charleston. Dr. John L. E. W. Shecut was the moving spirit in the enterprise.

THE FIGURES OF 1880

It is really worth while to record the status of the industry in 1880 as compared with to-day—less than one hundred thousand spindles as against practically five million to-day.

Here are the surviving pioneers of 1880;

Name	Spindles
1. Graniteville, Aiken	24,264
Campertown, Greenville	12,840
Langley, Aiken	11,880
Piedmont, Greenville	10,624
Vaocluse, Aiken	10,000
Saluda, Lexington	7,000
Glendale, Spartanburg	5,000
Reedy River, Greenville	2,600
Fork Shoals, Greenville	2,000
Buena Vista, Greenville and Spartanburg	2,000
Red Bank, Lexington	1,936
Pendleton, Anderson	1,600
Batesville, Greenville	1,152
Fingerville, Spartanburg	1,000
Cedar Hill, Spartanburg	800
Valley Falls, Spartanburg	500
Crawfordville, Spartanburg	480
Westminster, Oconee	264
	<hr/>
	95,938
Looms	1,933

These are the surviving and then operating cotton mills. Most of them are running to-day.

It is however within the past thirty years that the cotton industries of the up-country have grown so enormously as to make South Carolina the leader of the South in the textile industry and to completely overshadow all other forms of manufacture. As an illustration—in 1919 the value of all manufacturing throughout the State was \$355,181,322 and of that amount \$228,912,960 represents the output of the cotton industries.

COTTON INDUSTRIES PRIMARILY UP-COUNTRY

That this supreme factor in the industrial prosperity of South Carolina is largely confined to the up-country will also become evident by an examination of the latest statistics, which are included and indicate to-day's pronounced leadership of such counties as Spartanburg, Greenville, Cherokee, Anderson and York. The equivalent of about 60 per cent of the cotton that is consumed by South Carolina mills is what is known as local or upland cotton. Practically all of

this is bought in Upper Carolina or Georgia; the balance is bought in Alabama or farther west, besides the long staple cotton.

The prosperity of the cotton mills of South Carolina has made itself felt in many ways—in the paying of increased wages and bonuses and in the paying of dividends for the control of the great majority of the cotton mills vested in South Carolina stockholders, although nonresident stockholders have bought in very heavily in the last five years. But the most appreciable evidence of this prosperity is in the improvement in the general tone of the industry and the domestic conditions in the mills.

In November, 1919, I prepared for *The News & Courier*, of Charleston, an article on the cotton mills of the State, from which it

COTTON MILL COTTAGE OF THE UP-COUNTRY (1890)

may be well to here condense such facts and statements as seem appropriate for a State history. Pertinent additions and revisions are also made that this chapter may bring the subject matter up to date.

GENERAL REVIEW

South Carolina is in the midst of abundant prosperity. The farmer, the merchant, the banker, or the cotton manufacturer, who has not been able to record profits during the past three or four years is scarcely to be ranked as a business success. Those who have had something to sell have prospered. All things considered the past two or three years have been the most successful—the most consecutively successful, in the history of the cotton mill industry in South Carolina. An enterprise that materially and substantially affects hundreds of thousands of the people of this State must be of vital concern. Now that the war is over home folks can again look about and carefully

examine an industry in their own midst that sustains fully two hundred thousand of our white population; that has on its pay rolls almost fifty thousand; that sells to the world over \$200,000,000 worth of cloth; that is showing human and intelligent interest in its employees; that has practically avoided the conflicts of labor and capital, and that is broadening.

Twelve years ago I prepared a series of over twenty letters that undertook to give a resume of mill conditions. Today much more might be written because of the changed conditions and new angles of interest. I have now been requested to briefly outline the recent development, and, so to speak, "touch the high spots."

WHY INDUSTRY PROSPERED

First of all the industry has prospered. It has succeeded because of the good will between employers and employees; because of the laws of supply and demand; because of intelligent management and because ample capital is now available.

A large farm is visualized by the number of plows it operates and so cotton mills grow in proportion to the number of spindles. It is my purpose in this review not to individualize, but to generalize as much as possible, and individual illustrations are intended only to illustrate what is thought to be general.

Here briefly is shown how South Carolina has gone forward in its cotton development, and it spells a wonderful story if carefully studied:

Year.	No. of Spindles.
1849-50	36,500
1859-60	30,890
1869-70	34,940
1874-5	70,282
1879-80	82,424
1884-85	217,761
1889-90	332,784
1890-91	415,158
1891-92	467,825
1892-93	503,269
1893-94	569,033
1894-95	619,849
1895-96	802,854
1896-97	1,056,198
1897-98	1,205,272
1898-99	1,285,328
1899-1900	1,693,649
1900-01	1,908,692
1901-02	2,246,926
1902-3	2,479,521
1909-10	3,846,117
1910-11	4,088,782
1911-12	4,332,264
1912-13	4,373,914
1913-14	4,527,430
1914-15	4,620,865
1915-16	4,708,414
1916-17	4,759,687
1917	4,867,319
1918	4,914,524

HOW WAGES HAVE GONE UP

Wages throughout the country have gone forward by leaps and bounds, and it is worth while to note what has occurred in the cotton mills. Taking the same cotton mills I have been able to secure accurate data concerning the average pay; by average pay is meant the average reward of every man and woman and minor within the mill. It does not include the pay of executive officers, the president or any one not actually engaged in the manufacturing process.

Average pay per day per operative:

1902	\$0 72
1904	97
1906	1 10
1907	1 23
1913	1 26
1919	3 16

TYPICAL SOUTH CAROLINA COTTON MILL

In other words, the actual records of this typical mill show an increase in individual wage between 1913 and 1919 of exactly 250 per cent, and this is typical. In addition, the employees are sold coal, ice, wood and the like at actual or less than cost.

One of the most successful and conservative cotton mills gave me these inside and accurate figures taken from the actual cost sheets and it is wonderfully illuminating if fully analyzed. In October, 1916, what is known as 68x72 count goods, 39 inches wide and weighing 4.75 yards to the pound, cost .0445 per pound. The same goods now cost the manufacturer .1364 per pound to make.

The cotton mills of South Carolina pay relatively the same wage scale, some pay bonuses for continuous service, some add this to the current wage; others make the inducement in rents. There is no absolutely fixed scale of wages, but there is, in the last analysis, very little difference in the scale, the demand for labor being so insistent that wages are constant.

In the matter of weaving, as in many other problems, the wages

are largely influenced by the skill of the operator. Some weavers earn twice as much as others. In some mills a bonus of \$5 per month is paid for efficiency—ninety per cent production. In other mills if an employee does not miss a work day in four weeks, he or she receives a bonus of four per cent and the bonus grows month by month for continuous service. Other mills accentuate the pay per piece produced, all striving to get maximum production and all wanting satisfied employees.

FEWER WOMEN AND MINORS

South Carolina, more so than any other section, has native white labor. It is a more intelligent, a more patriotic, a more loyal and a more thrifty operative class than is to be found in other sections. Generations have grown up in the communities, and while the number of operatives in the mills shows a slight decline the production is ninety per cent of maximum because of automatic machinery and increased skill among the operatives.

High wages, high prices for farm products and cotton have all combined to minimize the employment of women and minors in the mills. The fathers, brothers and husbands are now all receiving such compensation that they can and do let their loved women folks remain at home.

Years ago there was much stir about what was called "child labor." It is a condition that has worked itself out and there is now really no child labor problem. First, because of both the Federal and State laws, and because of the abundance of wages and the lure of the good schools.

Through the courtesy of Commissioner B. Harris and with the cooperation of his mill statistician, Sidney C. Groeschel, I am able to present these interesting and accurate figures relative to "child labor" in this State:

Years.	Children Employed		Under Twelve Years.
	14 to 16 Years.	12 to 14 Years.	
1909	4,412	3,876	726
1910	5,099	4,095	620
1911	4,858	3,176	410
1912	5,073	3,619	....
1913	5,003	3,581	....
1914	4,945	3,435	....
1915	4,932	3,518	....
1916	5,229	3,278	....
1917	4,739	....	....
1918	3,768	....	....
1919	3,709	....	....

The above statistics, compiled from textile reports, show a steady decrease despite the many additional spindles and looms which have been installed since 1909, and since the latter part of 1917 all children between the ages of twelve and fourteen have been eliminated from the mills owing to the change of the law from the minimum age of twelve years to fourteen years.

Under the present law no child under fourteen years of age can work under any conditions in cotton mills, and under the Federal law no child under sixteen is allowed to work over eight hours in any one day.

In this connection these pre-war and present conditions are forceful:

	1916.	1919.
White males employed.....	30,738	27,339
White females employed.....	16,204	15,882

The total employees, including colored help for heavy work, opening, scrubbing and the minors, show:

1916	54,686
1919	50,898

These are actual figures gleaned from the inspectors' reports, indicating numbers at work and not including periodical workers. The census is made in August, 1919. The percentage is larger now because many who have "laid-by" their crops have now gone into the cotton mills. The pay rolls now show a maximum and the usual

A MODERN MILL SCHOOL

exodus will likely occur in spring, induced by the desire to get out of doors and prospective high prices for cotton. The experience has been that in good farming years there is a decided exodus from the mills to the farms, particularly as many operatives now own their farms.

It would be interesting to follow out the wonderful development of the schools and particularly those fostered by the cotton mills, but this is perhaps for another time. Superintendent Swearingen will in due time discuss this development, and how today the mills are generally co-operating toward long term and well conducted schools, and how under the vocational training plan there has been a remarkable development along this particular line all for the making of better citizens.

HOURS OF LABOR

Previous to 1909 the South Carolina law limited the hours of labor in cotton mills to sixty hours per week. Later on the law was changed to a maximum of sixty hours per week and the statutory law is

now sixty hours per week, applying to cotton mills. In April of the present year (1919) the Cotton Manufacturers' Association, which numbers among its members practically all of the cotton mills in South Carolina, recommended to its members a maximum of fifty-five hours per week instead of sixty hours as permitted by law. Under this resolution of the Cotton Manufacturers' Association practically all of the cotton mills in South Carolina are now operating a maximum of fifty-five hours per week, that is not over ten hours per day. There are a few mills that are running as much as sixty hours per week, and very few are doing any night work. This is being done largely to balance various departments, where one class of work shows larger production than another.

The fifty-five hour voluntary rule has apparently worked most satisfactorily both to the mills and the employees. The pay has been so largely increased that the reduction in hours has amounted to nil, and the better hours have made the work in the plants more attractive and kept help that might otherwise have left, and at this time the great problem in cotton mills, as well as everything else, is to get satisfied labor.

SATISFIED EMPLOYEES

The labor in the cotton mills in South Carolina has been satisfied. During the last year when strikes have occurred in other sections more regularly than breakfast food has been served, there has been practically no conflicts in this State between the operatives and their employers. In what is known as the Piedmont section, where the overwhelming majority of spindles are located, there have been no strikes, lockouts or walkouts.

MANY NOTABLE IMPROVEMENTS

In these recent years of prosperity when the cotton mills have perforce been compelled to pay hundreds of thousands and millions of dollars to the Federal Government by way of excess profit and while things were going well they have also without exception been almost extravagantly liberal in what is known as their welfare work, and particularly in making the homes of their operatives more attractive. Many of the mill communities, Winnsboro and others by way of illustration, have completely rebuilt the homes of their operatives. Where sewerage and water have been available and it has been possible to install, some part of the profit of the mills has gone into this development. The Federal law has permitted the purchase of a certain amount of new machinery and the keeping of the plants up to date, and it has also encouraged the use of profits for permanent improvements such as the building of homes for the help, and hundreds of thousands of dollars have within the last two years gone into the building of new and attractive cottages. The building of new welfare homes, higher wages for school teachers, the construction of cement walks, the installation of moving picture shows and everything that has been possible within the range of consistency to make the life in the mill communities as attractive if not more so than anywhere else, have been accomplished; but this phase of the mill situation will probably be discussed more at length later on.

HOW MILLS HELP COTTON PRICES

Cotton mills have been material factors in the upbuilding of many communities in South Carolina. This is strikingly illustrated by the wonderful development of Greenville and Spartanburg. The more

consumption there is for cotton the more demand there is for that commodity. The more cotton that can be locally used the better the local demand.

On October 17th of this year there was published in The State a schedule of prices that were paid on the preceding day for cotton in the various markets. The prices were given for twenty-one markets in these dispatches and without exception the quotations were higher in mill communities than in those that did not have cotton mills.

It will be of decided interest to note the consumption of cotton by the mills in this State as compared with the production. The figures I give have just been received from Mr. Hester, secretary of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange, and are, therefore, entirely reliable:

Years.	Commercial Crop.	Consumption.
1918-19	1,491,000	779,000
1917-18	1,295,000	905,000
1916-17	1,127,000	972,000
1915-16	1,370,000	932,000
1914-15	1,325,000	826,000
1913-14	1,475,000	822,000
1912-13	1,270,000	782,000
1911-12	1,730,000	733,000
1910-11	1,225,000	631,000
1909-10	1,184,000	650,000
1908-09	1,298,000	700,000
1907-08	1,226,000	625,000
1906-07	957,000	667,000
1905-06	1,175,000	667,000
1904-05	1,200,000	625,000
1903-04	825,000	564,000
1902-03	950,000	613,000
1901-02	925,000	614,000
1900-01	911,000	510,000
1899-1900	921,000	497,000

COTTON CONSUMPTION BY COUNTIES

The following table, compiled up to August, 1919, shows the consumption of cotton by counties in South Carolina. The difference between these figures is explained in the time for which the record is compiled and the reporting mills:

	Length of Staple of Cotton		Bales, Total.
	3-4 to 1 1-16 In.	1 1-16 to 1 5-16 In.	
Abbeville	12,800	.....	12,800
Aiken	42,349	.....	42,349
Anderson	93,824	2,320	96,144
Bamberg	1,250	.....	1,250
Charleston	6,755	350	7,105
Cherokee	18,438	.....	18,438
Chester	37,800	.....	37,800
Chesterfield	3,640	.....	3,640
Darlington	6,961	.....	6,961
Dillon	7,200	.....	7,200
Edgefield	1,600	.....	1,600

	Length of Staple of Cotton		Bales, Total.
	3-4 to 1 1-6 In.	1 1-16 to 1 5-16 In.	
Fairfield .....	.....	3,000	3,000
Greenville	120,693	6,073	126,766
Greenwood	42,345	.....	42,345
Kershaw	3,200	.....	3,200
Lancaster	20,600	.....	20,600
Laurens	16,164	2,700	18,864
Lexington	7,089	.....	7,089
Marion	1,580	.....	1,580
Marlboro	5,000	8,000	13,000
Newberry	33,100	.....	33,100
Oconee	11,591	2	11,593
Orangeburg	5,820	.....	5,820
Pickens	31,493	.....	31,493
Richland	49,243	2,500	51,743
Spartanburg	124,349	7,155	131,504
Union	54,907	.....	54,907
York	39,813	5,450	45,263
Total	799,604	37,547	837,151

It can readily be figured how much the farmers of these counties will make if an additional cent per pound is to be figured in the cotton as marketed. Anderson County, for instance, uses in its home mills all the cotton it produces and can readily afford to pay the freight saving.

PRICES OF COTTON GOODS

Prior to the World War the standard price of four-yard sea island sheeting was from 5 to 6¼ cents per yard. It is now 25 to 35 cents per yard, at retail, varying with the count. Previous to the war "Fruit of the Loom" retailed at from 10 to 12½ cents per yard. Now it is 32 to 35 cents per yard.

What folks want to know is why this great increase. There is perhaps more reason than in the advance in price of eggs or pecans. But the chief point is about the manufactured product.

In 1913-14 raw middling cotton was quoted at from 13.70 to 14½ cents per pound. In 1916-17 it was quoted at 16 to 18 cents per pound, while this October it is selling locally freely at from 30 to 35 cents per pound.

Then labor has increased fully 200 per cent. With these there is ample profit for the manufacturers, but it is a great mistake to imagine that the difference between old time and today's prices goes into the mill's treasury. It does not. First comes the commission house, then the converter, and they make and no doubt deserve large profits because of the risks they take. Then the jobber and finally the retailer, who justifies profits by the hazard in these times. All these factors, aside from the original cotton, the wastage and labor, add to the ultimate cost before the goods get to the consumer.

It will be interesting to note that the tax compilation for South Carolina shows all personal, real estate, banks, railroads, and other taxable property to be \$404,771,208, and of this the cotton mills alone pay taxes on \$39,895,920 of property.

But it is not values alone that cotton mills have made. They have

brought sunshine and opportunity into the lives of tens of thousands of our own people and the men at the helm of our mills of today, the Hammetts, the Beatties, the Springs, the Geers, the Smiths, the Moores, the Twittys, the Montgomerys, the Ligous, the Hamricks, the Calverts, the Nicholsons, the Smyths, the Morgans, the Poes, the Woodsides, the Westervelts, the Grahams, the Summers, the Longs, the Fleitmans, the Hagoods, the Wheats, the Norrises, the Laws, the Clevelands, the McKissicks, the Dursts, and a multitude of others, are but following and oftentimes adding to the wealth of happiness and prosperity planned and hoped for by such men as William Gregg, Colonel Moore, the elder Montgomery, Colonel Hammett, James L. Orr, D. E. Converse, John B. Cleveland, Lewis W. Parker, Thos. C.

A SPARTANBURG MILL OPERATED BY ELECTRICITY

Duncan, W. B. Smith Whaley and the host of others who helped blaze the way for the present day prosperity and success.

HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER

Another interesting study is with reference to the motive power of the mills. Quoting from the annual report of Commissioner Harris this table shows the great decrease in steam power and the increase in electricity generated by water:

	1910.	1918.	1919.
"Horse power, water.....	29,670	37,003	27,510
Horse power, steam.....	76,986	69,011	64,853
Horse power; hydro-electric.....	41,958	83,130	89,737
Horse power, steam-electric.....	17,325	12,945	14,987

"While in ten years the water turbine power actually decreased 2,140 horse power and the steam power decreased 12,100 horse power

and the electricity generated by steam decreased 2,340 horse power, yet the hydro-electric power increased 47,800 horse power or more than 100 per cent. I would hail the day when no mill in South Carolina would use coal, but I fear this may be many years hence. The total increase in horse power from 1910 to 1919 was 41,138 horse power, and the manufacturing energy was increased from 3,846,117 to 4,947,644; looms from 96,281 to 115,130; bales of cotton consumed from 765,966 to 837,152. * * *

OUR PLACE IN THE SUN

"South Carolina was upon a firm basis industrially in 1919. There was no phenomenal bulge in the production or prices, but a steady increase and a very considerable increase in wages. When we consider what a truly wonderful year was 1918, we may well be grateful that there was no recession in 1919. But, even after the armistice, even during the drab days when industry the world over was paralyzed by strikes and labor agitations, everything moved smoothly forward in South Carolina. For which all of us are profoundly grateful to a kind Providence.

"While traditionally and fundamentally an agricultural State, South Carolina has the unique distinction of being first in the South and second in the Union in the extent of textile manufacturing industry. The relative importance of this industry to the life of the State is observed when I say that the value of the product of the textiles is in round numbers, \$210,000,000, while the total value of all manufactured products, including textiles, is but \$355,200,000. There are 81,800 persons employed in industry in this State, while in textiles alone there are 51,400.

"In the late months of 1914 it seemed that the textile industry in this State, as well as the crushing of cotton seed, the manufacture of lumber and the making of commercial fertilizers, was adrift on a sea of chaos. None of us likes to look back upon those times of disorder and discouragement, but for the sake of comparison it is permitted that we do, to realize how much better is the situation of the State today with regard to the future. There is now no feeling of helplessness, and the people of South Carolina have their destiny in their own hands."

Mr. Harris goes on to say: "Then there were embargoes and declarations of blockades, the lanes of the sea were infested with raiders of war and the merchant marine trembled for its own security. The warring countries were clamoring for the constituent elements necessary for the conduct and prolongation of the war, but it appeared that the textile industry might receive a blow which would set it back half a century. The industry was saved. After months of anxiety and careful business management the textile manufacturers have come through and at last have come into the realization of a prosperity long merited and long deferred.

"The first effect of the European war upon our finances, our agriculture and our industries was bad, as was to be expected. The whole of half of the world's industries can not be stopped without the industries of the other half of the world feeling the shock. But the paralysis of our industries was temporary and our great system has begun to function in a tremendous manner and will continue to do so.

WORKING OF CHILDREN

"A feature of mill life in which the entire public has been interested is the working of children. I am proud of the record that South

Carolina bears, and of the distinction which she has. There is not in the South another State which has made more in regulatory and protective legislation. Our laws compare favorably with the most approved methods in any State. The particular pride that this department feels is in the fact that during the year 1918 there were in South Carolina several inspectors who came to see how the laws were being applied. It was with great gratification that I was told by these inspectors that they found our regulations being observed most commendably throughout the State and that this department was doing its work as well as any State that they had visited.

"In December, 1918, the United States Senate put a rider into the appropriation bill to put a tax of 10 per cent upon all goods made in mines or mills where children under sixteen are employed. When this became a law, the South Carolina department stated that it would assist in its enforcement, although as a matter of fact I feared at the outset that this is ill considered and special legislation, and that its effect will be not to injure the industry or to be of help to the child, but rather to disturb relations that now seem to be increasingly satisfactory.

"The observation of this department is that there are kinds of work in mills that can be given to children, especially in school vacation periods, that will not be harmful to them. While the general purpose of the proposed regulation may be proper and commendable, it is not sufficiently elastic to be really as humane as it appears."

"South Carolina leads the South in the textile industry. The following figures show the tremendous importance of the manufacture of cotton, and the table is prepared to show comparison with the figures of the first year that the regulatory laws affecting the industry were put under this department."

ALL INDUSTRIES COMPARED WITH COTTON

Having made a survey as compact as possible, within the limits of this paper, it seems fitting for purposes of comparison, and also to convey valuable information regarding all the industries of South Carolina, to refer to the 1919 report of the Labor Division of the Commissioner of Agriculture, Commerce and Industries. For that year Commissioner B. Harris presents to Governor Cooper a remarkably full and valuable report.

In it the commissioner gives the following table covering the progress of South Carolina industries during the period of America's participation in the World War:

	1917	1918	1919
Capital invested	\$171,444,183	\$192,451,487	\$201,237,320
Value of product	236,567,681	326,169,138	355,181,322
Wages to employees	34,075,174	44,687,949	58,519,003
(Not salaries)			
Average number of employees	83,726	76,772	81,807

While the gross increase in wages paid was 34 per cent, the per capita was only 31 per cent, as the total number of employees had increased in 1919 by 5,100, or $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The average number of working days in 1919 was 252. The ice plants, cotton oil mills, fertilizer factories and other part time industries pull down that average. As a matter of fact the textiles operated 296 days out of the year, against 288 in 1918.

COTTON MILLS OF SOUTH CAROLINA, JULY, 1920

The table, which is appended, is intended to give at a glance the names, locations, sizes, and capital stock of the various cotton mill enterprises in South Carolina. The data was as complete as possible on July 1, 1920. For the purpose of condensation much of the data that might otherwise be included is omitted. Generally speaking the number of spindles indicates the size and importance of the enterprise.

The information follows:

ABBEVILLE COUNTY

Abbeville—Abbeville Cotton Mills; H. A. Hatch, president; 28,800 spindles; capital stock, \$317,700.

Calhoun Falls—Calhoun Mills; Jas. P. Gossett, president; 25,600 spindles; capital stock, \$600,000.

AIKEN COUNTY

Bath—The Aiken Mills; W. C. Langley, president; 32,832 spindles; capital stock, \$572,071.

Graniteville—Graniteville Manufacturing Co.; Jacob Phinizy, president; 58,000 spindles; capital stock, \$800,000.

Langley Mills—The Langley Mills; W. C. Langley, president; 46,720 spindles; capital stock, \$494,048.

Clear Water—The Seminole Mills; W. C. Langley, president; 23,104 spindles; capital stock, \$721,700.

Warrenville—Warren Manufacturing Co.; Jacob Phinizy, president; 36,080 spindles; capital stock, \$500,000.

ANDERSON COUNTY

Anderson—Anderson Cotton Mills; W. C. Langley, president; 71,392 spindles; capital stock, \$800,000.

Anderson—Anderson Hosiery Mills; R. H. Coney, president; capital stock, \$25,000.

Belton—Belton Mills; Ellison A. Smyth, president; 63,048 spindles, capital stock, \$2,800,000.

Belton—Blair Mills; E. B. Rice, president; 1,542 spindles; capital stock, \$25,000.

Anderson—Brogan Mills; Jas. P. Gossett, president; 27,780 spindles; capital stock, \$660,875.

Honea Path—Chiquola Manufacturing Co.; J. D. Hammett, president; 42,000 spindles; capital stock, \$716,000.

Anderson—Conneross Yarn Mills; A. S. Farmer, president; 1,200 spindles; capital stock, \$32,000.

Anderson—Equinox Mills; Wm. H. Wellington, president; 17,544 spindles; capital stock, \$300,000.

Anderson—Gluck Mills; Wm. H. Wellington, president; 36,160 spindles; capital stock, \$450,000.

Iva—Jackson Mills; Alfred Moore, president; 25,536 spindles; capital stock, \$345,550.

Anderson—Orr Cotton Mills; James D. Hammett, president; 62,272 spindles; capital stock, \$1,600,000.

Pelzer—Pelzer Manufacturing Co.; Ellison A. Smyth, president; 136,000 spindles; capital stock, \$3,000,000.

Pendleton—Pendleton Cotton Mills; B. B. Gossett, president; 10,784 spindles; capital stock, \$123,150.

Autun—Pendleton Manufacturing Co.; E. N. Sitton, president; 3,250 spindles; capital stock, \$125,000.

Anderson—Riverside Manufacturing Co.; B. B. Gossett, president; 25,312 spindles; capital stock, \$1,000,000.

Anderson—H. C. Townsend Cotton Mills; J. B. Townsend, president; 3,480 spindles; capital stock, \$115,000.

Anderson—Toxaway Mills; B. B. Gossett, president; 27,248 spindles; capital stock, \$487,000.

Williamston—Williamston Mills; Jas. P. Gossett, president; 32,256 spindles; capital stock, \$500,000.

Anderson—Hetrick Hosiery Mills; W. A. Hetrick, president.

¹ Bamberg—Bamberg Cotton Mill Co.; John H. Cope, president; 10,752 spindles.

Blackville—Sunlight Hosiery Mill; J. M. Farrell, president.

² Charleston—Charleston Bagging Mfg. Co.; John D. Filly, president; 1,536 spindles; capital stock, \$12,000,000.

Charleston—General Asbestos and Rubber Co.; C. B. Jenkins, president; 5,312 spindles; capital stock, \$5,000,000.

Charleston—Royal Mills; F. W. Wagener, president; 13,056 spindles; capital stock, \$250,000.

CHEROKEE COUNTY

Blacksburg—Broad River Mills; W. C. Hamrick, president; 13,000 spindles; capital stock, \$125,000.

Cherokee Falls—Cherokee Falls Manufacturing Co.; W. F. Forbes, president; 28,020 spindles; capital stock, \$200,000.

Gaffney—Gaffney Manufacturing Co.; Alfred Moore, president; 66,224 spindles; capital stock, \$1,600,000.

Gaffney—Globe Manufacturing Co.; L. G. Potter, president; 3,840 spindles; capital stock, \$50,000.

Gaffney—Hamrick Mills; W. C. Hamrick, president; 25,000 spindles; capital stock, \$500,000.

Gaffney—The Irene Mills; H. D. Wheat, president; 4,816 spindles; capital stock, \$100,000.

Gaffney—Limestone Mills; J. A. Carroll, president; 25,000 spindles; capital stock, \$500,000.

Blacksburg—Volunteer Knitting Mill; C. H. Bird, president.

CHESTER COUNTY

Chester—Baldwin Cotton Mills; Alex Long, president; 31,488 spindles; capital stock, \$600,000.

Chester—Eureka Cotton Mills; Leroy Springs, president; 25,752 spindles; capital stock, \$150,000.

Lando—Manetta Mills; R. A. Willis, president; 16,000 spindles; capital stock, \$300,000.

Great Falls—Republic Cotton Mills; Robt. S. Mebane, president; 58,848 spindles; capital stock, \$1,200,000.

Chester—Springstein Mills; Leroy Springs, president; 15,000 spindles; capital stock, \$300,000.

CHESTERFIELD COUNTY

Cheraw—Cheraw Cotton Mills; Robert Chapman, president; 6,912 spindles; capital stock, \$126,100.

Cheraw—Pee Dee Knitting Mills; Robert Chapman, president; capital stock, \$109,000.

¹ Bamberg Mills part of Santee group.

² American Manufacturing Company, of Brooklyn, owns the Charleston Bagging plant.

WATER POWERS OF THE UP-COUNTRY

Upper: Great Falls (Chester County) plant.

Lower: Power plant at Rock Hill, York County.

DARLINGTON COUNTY

Darlington—Darlington Manufacturing Co.; G. H. Milliken, president; 51,392 spindles; capital stock, \$1,000,000.

Hartsville—The Hartsville Cotton Mill; C. C. Twitty, president; 36,064 spindles; capital stock, \$250,000.

DILLON COUNTY ³

Dillon—The Dillon Mills; L. A. Tatum, president; 40,584 spindles; capital stock, \$750,000.

EDGEFIELD COUNTY

Edgefield—Addison Mills; H. P. Kindell, president; 17,312 spindles; capital stock, \$175,000.

FAIRFIELD COUNTY

Winnsboro—Winnsboro Mills; H. Harold Greene, president; 35,160 spindles; capital stock, \$5,200,000.

GREENVILLE COUNTY

Greenville—American Spinning Co.; T. H. Morgan, president; 53,760 spindles; capital stock, \$525,000.

Greenville—Beaver Duck Mills; W. D. Crouch, president, 5,528 spindles; capital stock, \$500,000.

Greenville—Brandon Mills; Aug. W. Smith, president; 87,808 spindles; capital stock, \$1,500,000.

Greenville—Camperdown Mills; C. E. Graham, president; 12,672 spindles; capital stock, \$100,000.

Greenville—Conestee Mills; Thos. I. Charles, president; 20,292 spindles; capital stock, \$200,000.

Greenville—Duncan Mills; H. T. Haynesworth, president; 50,720 spindles; capital stock, \$1,413,900.

Fountain Inn—Fountain Inn Mfg. Co.; J. T. Woodside, president; 17,000 spindles; see Woodside Mills.

Greer—Franklin Mills; W. E. Mason, president; 11,100 spindles; capital stock, \$80,000.

Greer—Greer Mfg. Co.; W. E. Beattie, president; 25,600 spindles; see Victor Monaghan.

Greenville—Judson Mills; B. E. Greer, president; 52,640 spindles; capital stock, \$1,250,000.

Fountain Inn—Virginia Mfg. Co.; Clinton J. Morgan, president; 5,248 spindles; capital stock, \$115,800.

Greenville—Mills Mill; M. R. Reeves, president; 31,000 spindles; capital stock, \$529,400.

Greenville—Monaghan Mills; W. E. Beattie, president; 60,032 spindles; capital stock, \$8,210,705.

Greenville—Riverdale Mills; F. H. Cunningham, president; 2,500 spindles; capital stock, \$200,000.

Greer—Pelham Mills; Henry Crigler, president; 10,752 spindles; capital stock, \$200,000.

Piedmont—Piedmont Mfg. Co.; W. E. Beattie, president; 70,840 spindles; capital stock, \$1,500,000.

Greenville—F. W. Poe Mfg. Co.; F. W. Poe, president; 70,352 spindles; capital stock, \$2,000,000.

Greenville—Poinsett Mills; Aug. W. Smith, president; 27,776 spindles; capital stock, \$500,000.

Greer—Prospect Mills; E. D. Descamps, president; 3,014 spindles; capital stock, \$25,000.

³ Maple Mills, Dillon & Hamer Mills is one organization.

Greenville—Saluda Mfg. Co.; F. H. Cunningham, president; 3,590 spindles; capital stock, \$35,000.

Simpsonville—Simpsonville Cotton Mills; J. T. Woodside, president; 25,000 spindles; see Woodside.

Greenville—Union Bleaching and Finishing Co.; John W. Arrington, president; capital stock, \$400,000.

Greenville—Vardry Cotton Mills; Clifton Corley, president; 4,200 spindles; capital stock, \$71,000.

Greenville—Victor-Monaghan group; Wm. E. Beattie, president; separately listed; capital stock, \$8,300,000.

Greenville; Woodside Cotton Mills; J. T. Woodside, president; 113,060 spindles; capital stock, \$5,000,000.

Greenville—Nuckasee Mfg. Co.; capital stock, \$125,000.

GREENWOOD COUNTY

Greenwood—Greenwood Cotton Mills; J. C. Self, president; 52,088 spindles; capital stock, \$500,000.

Greenwood—Greenwood Hosiery Mill.

Greenwood—Grendel Mills, No. 1 and No. 2; J. P. Abney, president; 62,080 spindles; capital stock, \$1,250,000.

Ninety-Six—Ninety-Six Cotton Mills; J. P. Abney, president; 24,192 spindles; capital stock, \$400,000.

Greenwood—Panola Cotton Mills; S. H. McGhee, president; 17,472 spindles; capital stock, \$372,700.

Ware Shoals—Ware Shoals Manufacturing Co.; Benj. D. Riegel, president; 70,200 spindles; capital stock, \$1,300,000.

Greenwood—Greenwood Hosiery Mills; W. T. Bailey, president.

KERSHAW COUNTY

Camden—Hermitage Cotton Mills; R. B. Pitts, president; 16,640 spindles; capital stock, \$227,100.

Camden—Wateree Mills; H. P. Kendall, president; 18,816 spindles; capital stock, \$300,000.

LANCASTER COUNTY

Kershaw—Kershaw Cotton Mills; Leroy Springs, president; 12,160 spindles; capital stock, \$265,900.

Lancaster—Lancaster Cotton Mills; Leroy Springs, president; 139,608 spindles; capital stock, \$1,200,000.

LAURENS COUNTY

Goldville—Banna Manufacturing Co.; Geo. M. Wright, president; 14,224 spindles; capital stock, \$248,300.

Clinton—Clinton Cotton Mills; M. S. Bailey, president; 68,512 spindles; capital stock, \$350,000.

Laurens—Laurens Cotton Mills; N. B. Dial, president; 44,832 spindles; capital stock, \$350,000.

Clinton—Lydia Cotton Mills; M. S. Bailey, president; 22,544 spindles; capital stock, \$160,000.

Laurens—Watts Mills; Geo. M. Wright, president; 43,200 spindles; capital stock, \$1,250,000.

LEXINGTON COUNTY

Lexington—Lexington Manufacturing Co.; I. R. Stewart, president; 6,784 spindles; capital stock, \$100,000.

Batesburg—Middleburg Mills; I. R. Stewart, president; 10,624 spindles; capital stock, \$200,000.

Lexington—Saxe-Gotha Mills; I. R. Stewart, president; 11,200 spindles; capital stock, \$53,000.

MARION COUNTY

Marion—Marion Manufacturing Co.; W. Stackhouse, president; 7,168 spindles; capital stock, \$100,000.

MARLBORO COUNTY

McColl—Marlboro Cotton Mills; Claude Gore, president; 46,000 spindles; capital stock, \$2,500,000.

Bennettsville—Sterling Hosiery Mill; W. D. Smith, president.

NEWBERRY COUNTY

Whitmire—Glenn-Lowry Manufacturing Co.; E. E. Child, president; 70,848 spindles; capital stock, \$2,000,000.

Newberry—Mollohon Manufacturing Co.; George W. Summer, president; 40,192 spindles; capital stock, \$500,000.

Newberry—Newberry Cotton Mill; Z. F. Wright, president; 43,678 spindles; capital stock, \$500,000.

Newberry—Oakland Cotton Mills; W. H. Hunt, president; 26,432 spindles; capital stock, \$334,900.

OCONEE COUNTY

Clemson College—Textile Department; W. M. Riggs, president; 680 spindles.

Newry—Courtenay Manufacturing Co.; W. L. Gassaway, president; 25,344 spindles; capital stock, \$300,000.

Walhalla—Hetrick Hosiery Mills; W. A. Hetrick, president.

Westminster—Oconee Mills Co.; Robert Lassiter, president; 13,000 spindles; capital stock, \$262,000.

Seneca—Seneca Cotton Mills; W. E. Beattie, president; 19,840 spindles; Victor-Monaghan group.

Walhalla—Walhalla Cotton Mills; W. E. Beattie, president; 18,816 spindles; Victor-Monaghan group.

Walhalla—Keowee Yarn Mills; W. A. Hetrick, president; yarn; capital stock, \$200,000.

ORANGEBURG COUNTY

Orangeburg—Orange Cotton Mill; Wm. Wannamaker, president; 5,000 spindles.

Orangeburg—⁴ Santee Mills; John H. Cope, president; 14,848 spindles; capital stock, \$1,100,000.

PICKENS COUNTY

Easley—Alice Mill; B. E. Geer, president; 23,552 spindles; capital stock, \$500,000.

Easley—Easley Cotton Mills; B. E. Geer, president; 37,740 spindles.

Liberty—Easley Cotton Mills, No. 2; B. E. Geer, president; 25,540 spindles.

Liberty—⁵ Easley Cotton Mills, No. 3; B. E. Geer, president; 11,776 spindles.

Easley—Glenwood Cotton Mills; W. M. Hagood, president; 45,016 spindles; capital stock, \$592,400.

Central—Issaqueena Mill; W. L. Gassaway, president; 25,680 spindles; capital stock, \$315,000.

Catechee—Norris Cotton Mills Co.; T. M. Norris, president; 19,968 spindles; capital stock, \$500,000.

Pickens—Pickens Mill; W. M. Hagood, president; 25,040 spindles; capital stock, \$250,000.

⁴ Santee includes Bamberg plant.

⁵ Capital stock, covering three Eastley mills, \$1,800,000.

OLYMPIA COTTON MILLS, NOW A UNIT OF THE PACIFIC MILLS,
COLUMBIA

COLUMBIA CANAL AND COLUMBIA MILLS

RICHLAND COUNTY

Columbia—Columbia Mills Co.; Howard Baetjer, president; 29,556 spindles.

Columbia—Glencoe Cotton Mills; P. H. Wannamaker, president; 6,048 spindles.

Columbia—Pacific Mills; Robert F. Herrick, president; 198,736 spindles.

Columbia—Palmetto Cotton Mills; I. R. Stewart, president; 10,320 spindles.

Columbia—F. T. Parker Co.; F. T. Parker, president.

Columbia—Southern Aseptic Laboratories; G. A. Guignard, president.

SPARTANBURG COUNTY

Arlington—Appalache Mills; W. E. Beattie, president; 19,712 spindles; Victor-Monaghan group.

Arcadia—Arcadia Mills; H. A. Ligon, president; 33,952 spindles; capital stock, \$360,000.

Spartanburg—Arkwright Mills; R. G. Cates, president; 20,256 spindles; capital stock, \$200,000.

Spartanburg—Beaumont Manufacturing Co.; B. L. Jennings, president; 37,320 spindles; capital stock, \$310,000.

Spartanburg—Calton Manufacturing Co.; C. H. O'Neale, president.

Landrum—Blue Ridge Hosiery Mills; Joseph Lee, president.

Chesnee—Chesnee Mills; John A. Law, president; 20,160 spindles; capital stock, \$400,000.

Clifton—Clifton Manufacturing Co.; J. C. Evans, president; 86,832 spindles; capital stock, \$2,000,000.

Glendale—D. E. Converse Co.; W. E. Lindsay; 37,370 spindles; capital stock, \$1,000,000.

Fingerville—Cohannet Mills; B. B. Gossett, president; 9,000 spindles; capital stock, \$66,600.

Cowpens—Cowpens Manufacturing Co.; H. W. Kirby, president; 17,360 spindles; capital stock, \$120,000.

Spartanburg—Crescent Manufacturing Co.; D. W. Montgomery, president.

Spartanburg—Drayton Mills; B. W. Montgomery, president; 44,800 spindles; capital stock, \$600,000.

Enoree—Enoree Mills; Allen J. Graham, president; 36,000 spindles; capital stock, \$600,000.

Fairmont—Fairmont Manufacturing Co.; L. Roy Curtis, president; 12,608 spindles; capital stock, \$300,000.

Wellford—Fort Prince Printing Co.; Henry Cleveland, president; 3,200 spindles; capital stock, \$25,000.

Woodruff—W. S. Gray Cotton Mills; W. S. Gray, president; 20,032 spindles; capital stock, \$580,000.

Inman—Inman Mills; J. A. Chapman, president; 33,024 spindles; capital stock, \$1,000,000.

Mayo—Mary-Louise Mills; William Whitman, president; 6,844 spindles; capital stock, \$150,000.

Pacolet—Pacolet Manufacturing Co.; V. M. Montgomery, president; 132,764 spindles; capital stock, \$2,525,000.

Spartanburg—Saxon Mills; J. A. Law, president; 41,216 spindles; capital stock, \$1,000,000.

Landrum—Shamrock-Damask Mills; H. L. Spears, president.

Spartanburg—Spartan Mills; W. S. Montgomery, president; 85,000 spindles; capital stock, \$1,000,000.

Spartanburg—Star Hosiery Mill; H. W. Kirby, president.
 Tucapau—Tucapau Mills; J. F. Cleveland, president; 65,184 spindles; capital stock, \$1,076,000.
 Spartanburg—Valley Falls Manufacturing Co.; I. R. Stewart, president; 9,984 spindles; capital stock, \$91,600.
 Greer—Victor Manufacturing Co.; W. E. Beattie, president; 59,136 spindles; Victor-Monaghan group.
 Whitney—Whitney Manufacturing Co.; J. B. Cleveland, president; 30,652 spindles; capital stock, \$350,000.
 Woodruff—Woodruff Cotton Mills; August W. Smith, president; 44,052 spindles; capital stock, \$525,000.
 Spartanburg—Spartan County Mills; Jno. B. Cannon, president; 6,500 spindles.
 Spartanburg—Textile Industrial; D. E. Camak, president; 2,240 spindles.
 Spartanburg—National Mill; capital stock, \$37,500.

UNION COUNTY

Union—Excelsior Knitting Mills; Emslie Nicholson, president; 5,516 spindles; capital stock, \$500,000.
 Union—Gault Manufacturing Co.; C. H. Gault, president; capital stock, \$20,000.
 Lockhart—⁶ Lockhart Mills; W. E. Winchester, president; 57,184 spindles; capital stock, \$4,000,000.
 Union—⁶ Monarch Mills; W. E. Winchester, president; 78,528 spindles; capital stock, \$4,000,000.
 Union—⁷ Otteray Mills; W. E. Beattie, president; 22,656 spindles.
 Union—Union-Buffalo Mills Co.; A. C. Fleitman, president; 152,800 spindles; capital stock, \$7,000,000.
 Jonesville—⁷ Wallace Mill; W. E. Beattie, president; 15,584 spindles.

YORK COUNTY

Rock Hills—Aragon Cotton Mills; Alex Long, president; 23,552 spindles; capital stock, \$389,900.
 Rock Hill—Arcade Cotton Mills; Alex Long, president; 18,576 spindles; capital stock, \$258,700.
 York—Cannon Manufacturing Co.; M. L. Cannon, president; 15,572 spindles; capital stock, \$1,000,000.
 Clover—Clover Manufacturing Co.; K. S. Tanner, president; 24,000 spindles; capital stock, \$200,000.
 Rock Hill—Enterprise Manufacturing Co.; T. L. Johnston, president; 108 spindles.
 Fort Mill—Fort Mill Manufacturing Co.; Leroy Springs, president; 41,968 spindles; capital stock, \$400,000.
 Rock Hill—Hamilton-Carhartt Mills; Hamilton Carhartt, president; 12,132 spindles.
 Carhartt—Carhartt Mills, No. 2; Hamilton Carhartt, president; 6,600 spindles. Capital stock, ⁸ \$1,000,000.
 Clover—Hawthorn Spinning Mills; Thos. McConnell, president; 7,200 spindles.
 Rock Hill—⁹ Highland Park Manufacturing Co.; C. W. Johnston, president; 16,256 spindles; capital stock, \$645,000.

⁶ Lockhart and Monarch under one management and capital consolidated.

⁷ The Otteray and Wallace Mills are part of the Victor-Monaghan group, with headquarters at Greenville.

⁸ Capital stock of \$1,000,000, covering both mills.

⁹ Highland is given as part of the Charlotte group. Cannon Manufacturing Co. is part of the Kanapolis group, of this corporation.

Rock Hill—Liberty Hosiery Co.; J. C. Cauthen, president.

York—Lockmore Cotton Mills; C. B. Armstrong, president; 6,000 spindles; capital stock, \$100,000.

Rock Hill—Black Buckle Mills; Alexander Long, president; 18,840 spindles; capital stock, \$100,000.

York—Neely Manufacturing Co.; W. B. Moore, president; 6,000 spindles; capital stock, \$60,000.

Bowling Green—Reynolds Cotton Mill Co.; S. A. Siffors, president; 1,664 spindles.

York—Travora Cotton Mills; W. B. Moore, president; 5,000 spindles; capital stock, \$30,000.

Rock Hill—Victoria Cotton Mills; W. J. Roddey, president; 17,664 spindles; capital stock, \$700,000.

Rock Hill—Wymojo Yarn Mills; C. B. Armstrong, president; 8,568 spindles; capital stock, \$175,000.

The information above tabulated does not include looms, where used, the quality of goods manufactured or other facts; but it is condensed as much as possible. The capitalization varies from time to time, and recently there have been considerable changes because of stock dividends.

